I. ABTEILUNG

THE DATE OF THEOGNOSTOS' *ORTHOGRAPHY:* A REAPPRAISAL

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Theognostos is a well-known author of a surviving orthographical work and a lost history of the revolt of Euphemios in Sicily. The dating of his *Orthography* (*Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας*) and of Theognostos himself has long been considered as settled on account of the ground-breaking 1964 dissertation of K. Alpers.[1] He argued that the *Orthography* was dedicated to Emperor Leo V (813–820), as had already been the *communis opinio* upheld by a series of scholars, starting with Villoison in 1781 and including Krumbacher, Reitzenstein and Wendel. Against this view, Hirsch had argued in 1876 in favour of Leo VI (886–912) and was followed not least by Egenolff.[2] Alpers also suggested that the work had been composed long before its dedication. Accordingly, he dated its compilation to perhaps even before 800.[3] The thesis of the dedication to Leo V was subsequently accepted into Lemerle's *Le premier humanisme byzantin*,[4]

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1 K. ALPERS, Theognostos, Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. Überlieferung, Quellen und Text der Kanones 1–84. Diss. Hamburg 1964, 61–64.

2 For the relevant literature, see ibid., 61 with notes 3–6, and J. SCHNEIDER, Les traités orthographiques grecs antiques et byzantins (*CC, Lingua Patrum*, 3). Turnhout 1999, 278 note 3.

3 ALPERS, Theognostos (as note 1 above) 63, and ID., Eine byzantinische Enzyklopädie des 9. Jahrhunderts. Zu Hintergrund, Entstehung und Geschichte des griechischen Etymologikons in Konstantinopel und im italogriechischen Bereich, in: G. CAVALLO/G. DE GREGORIO/M. MANIACI (eds.), Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18–25 settembre 1988). Spoleto 1991, I, 235–269 (with 10 plates), esp. 243. Other scholars assign Theognostos a date in the first half of the ninth century; as notes 4–7 below.

4 P. LEMERLE, Le premier humanisme byzantin. Paris 1971, 253 with note 30, who speaks of the compilation of the work at the beginning of the ninth century.

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Hunger's handbook of Byzantine literature,[5] the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,[6] and the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*,[7] to name but a few examples. Nevertheless, in recent years a revisionist approach timidly made its appearance. When discussing the work of Theognostos in his book on the Byzantine orthographical treatises, J. Schneider referred to an oral suggestion by B. Flusin, who returned to the earlier opinion that the emperor addressed in the dedicatory poem must be Leo VI.[8] Flusin himself, in his study of the history of John Scylitzes, identified Theognostos with the Σικελιώτης διδάσκαλος, whose work was among Scylitzes' sources, and dated Theognostos' historical work to "the second half of the ninth century at the latest".[9] In addition, in a footnote in an article that appeared at the same time, Nichanian and Prigent stated that Leo VI is "certainly" the person addressed in the *Orthography*, whereas the history "was certainly not composed before the 830's".[10] In the present article I intend to approach the issue again, re-examining the scanty evidence.

Our sources for dating Theognostos and his works are limited and have been used repeatedly. I will start with the external piece of evidence, which has played a prime role in determining Theognostos' date. Theophanes Continuatus, speaking of the revolt of the superior army officer Euphemios in Sicily and the subsequent beginning of the Arab occupation of Sicily, events that

5 H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner. Munich 1978, II, 19–20 (early 9th cent.).

6 Ed. A. Kazhdan. New York/Oxford 1991, III, 2055 (A. Kazhdan: first half of the 9th cent.).

7 Erste Abteilung (641–867). Erstellt von R.-J. Lilie/C. Ludwig/Th. Pratsch/I. Rochow et al. nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns, 7 vols. Berlin/New York 1998–2002, esp. I.4 (2001) 563–564 no. 8012 (first half of the 9th c.).

8 Schneider, Les traités orthographiques (as note 2 above) 278–279; cf. my review in *JÖB* 56 (2006) 306–309. Schneider's view provoked a vehement rejection by Alpers in his review of the book; see K. Alpers, Die griechischen Orthographien aus Spätantike und byzantinischer Zeit. Anmerkungen zu einer Publikation, *BZ* 97 (2004) 1–50, esp. 29 note 112 ("unmöglich und leichtfertig").

9 Skylitzes, proem, 3, l. 18, ed. I. Thurn. Berlin 1973; for Flusin's view, see Jean Skylitzès, Empereurs de Constantinople. Texte traduit par B. Flusin et annoté par J.-C. Cheynet (*Réalités byzantines*, 8). Paris 2003, IX with notes 29 and 31. According to A. Markopoulos, Byzantine History Writing at the End of the First Millenium, in: P. Magdalino (ed.), Byzantium in the Year 1000 (*The Medieval Mediterranean*, 45). Leiden/Boston 2003, 183–197, esp. 193, the "Sicilian teacher" did not exist; but see Id., Η ιστοριογραφία των δυνατών κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο. Ο Ιωάννης Κουρκούας και η ιστορική συγγραφή του πρωτοσπαθάριου και κριτή Μανουήλ, in: I. K. Promponas/P. Valavanis (eds.), ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΗ. Τόμος χαριστήριος στον Παναγιώτη Ι. Κοντό (= *Παρουσία* 17–18 [2004–2005]). Athens 2006, I, 397–405, esp. 400 note 16, where he accepts Flusin's argumentation.

10 M. Nichanian/V. Prigent, Les stratèges de Sicile. De la naissance du thème au règne de Léon V, *RÉB* 61 (2003) 97–141, esp. 129–130 and note 229.

took place in the reign of Michael II (826/7),[11] notes: δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα σαφέστατα καὶ πλατικώτερον ἡ τότε γραφεῖσα ἱστορία[12] Θεογνώστῳ τῷ περὶ ὀρθογραφίας γεγραφότι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθοῦσα ἡμῶν, ἣν ὁ βουλόμενος μεταχειριζόμενος τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀναδιδαχθήσεται (bk. II, p. 82, l. 17–20, ed. Bekker).

The temporal pointer τότε, "then, at that time", was interpreted restrictively by the line of eminent scholars that argued in favour of the dedication of the *Orthography* to Leo V, with Alpers indicating exactly 826/7 as the year of composition of the history. On the contrary, Hirsch contended that Theognostos could not have been such a close contemporary of the events described, if he were still alive under Leo VI. Recently the credibility of Theophanes Continuatus' account of the revolt and of his testimony regarding his source, namely Theognostos, was seriously challenged.[13] But even without casting a shadow over the chronographer's reliability, what can be safely gained from this tenth-century information is only that the work was a contemporary account. It is not specified, on the other hand, whether Theognostos was himself an eye-witness of the events nor what his age was at the time, so that the evidence in question cannot by itself be used as an argument against a connection of Theognostos with Leo VI. Admittedly, this connection appears unlikely at first glance, but it is possible, since it would be expected that some time, probably a few years, elapsed between the events described, the gathering of the information necessary for a work that was allegedly both precise and extended, as the chronographer attests, and the actual composition.[14] I will come again to the issue later (p. 10). As for τότε, its use with reference not to a specific year but to a somewhat broader time-span would not be surprising in a historical work written roughly a century later, around the middle of the tenth century.

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11 On the revolt of Euphemios, see recently *PmbZ* I.1 (1999) 538–539 no. 1701 with literature; cf. E. Kislinger, Elpidios (781/782) – Ein Usurpator zur Unzeit, in: Byzantino-Sicula III. Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Bruno Lavagnini (*Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Quaderni*, 14). Palermo 2000, 193–202.

12 The word ἱστορία absent from Bekker's edition, but exists in *Vat. gr. 167*, which is in essence the *codex unicus* of the work; see J. Signes Codoñer, El periodo del segundo Iconoclasmo en Theophanes Continuatus. Análisis y comentario de los tres primeros libros de la crónica. *Classical and Byzantine Monographs*, 33. Amsterdam 1995, 341.

13 After pointing out the inadequacies of the narration, including factual errors and inexplicable omissions for someone who allegedly had a good account at his disposal, Signes Codoñer suggested that the author either had read Theognostos' historical work a long time before composing his own account and was quoting from memory without going back to his source, or possessed only indirect knowledge of Theognostos' work; see Signes Codoñer, El periodo del segundo Iconoclasmo (as above) 345–346, 661 with note 1.

14 Cf. the views of Flusin and Nichanian/Prigent on the dating of the history mentioned (as notes 9 and 10 above) 1–2. A date closer to the actual events appears more likely.

The internal group of evidence is provided by the dedicatory epigram and epistle preceding the actual text of the *Orthography* and contained in the famous tenth-century codex *Baroccianus 50.*[15] It is helpful to quote the epigram and the parts of the epistle relevant to the issue examined here.[16]

Epigram, ed. Alpers p. 68, l. 1–7

Τῷ δεσπότῃ μου καὶ σοφῷ στεφηφόρῳ
Λέοντι, τῷ κρατοῦντι πάντων ἐν λόγοις,
Θεύγνωστος εὔγνωστός τις ὡς ὢν οἰκέτης,
δῶρον φέρω κάλλιστον αὐτῷ καὶ φίλον
ἐμοὶ πονηθὲν ἐκ σχολῆς[17] παλαιτάτης.

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15 On the *Baroccianus* and the long debate on its date and origin, see J. Irigoin, Pour un bon usage des abréviations: le cas du Vaticanus graecus 1611 et du Barocci 50. *Scriptorium* 48 (1994) 3–17, esp. 11–15; and recently, F. Ronconi, La miscellanea che non divenne mai silloge: il caso del Bodl. Barocci 50, in: R.M. Piccione / M. Perkams (eds.), Selecta colligere, II. Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus. Alessandria 2005, 295–353 with 8 plates on p. 460–467; and again with few changes in Id., Il caso del Bodleiano Barocci 50: da Occidente a Oriente, in: Id., I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII. *Testi, Studi, Strumenti*, 21. Spoleto 2007, 91–131; cf. also M. D. Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts, I. *WBS*, 24/1. Vienna 2004, 325, on a collection of poems at the end of the manuscript, some of which date from after 886. F. 1r containing the dedicatory texts is in very bad condition, which makes it, especially its upper half, hard to read. An apograph of the *Baroccianus* (*B*), cod. *Caen 450* (17th cent.: *C*), was therefore also used by Alpers in his edition, on which see the following note. On the manuscript tradition of Theognostos, see Alpers, Theognostos (see above note 1) 4–26; also W. Bühler, Eine Theognosthandschrift aus der Zeit um 1000 auf Patmos. *JÖB* 22 (1973) 49–91, on another early, but acephalous manuscript of the *Orthography*, *Patmiacus 737.*

16 The prefatory texts were first edited by J.A. Cramer, Anecdota Graeca e codd. mss. Bibl. Oxon. descripta, II. Oxford 1835 (repr. Amsterdam 1963) 1–2. A new corrected edition was published by Alpers in his aforementioned book, 68–69a. He subsequently re-published a large part of the epistle (p. 68, l. 8–31) with more corrections and taking into account an autopsy of cod. *B* by Bühler; see K. Alpers, Xerxes und Artaxerxes. *Byz* 39 (1969) 5–12, esp. 5–6. — While checking the *Baroccianus*, f. 1rv, during a research stay in Oxford in the summer of 2002 and again in 2008 with the help of a special lamp, I verified the following readings that should be corrected in a future new edition: p. 68, l. 5 ἐκβολῆς: ἐκ σχολῆς, as does cod. *C*; cf. W. Bühler's reluctance to accept the meaning "expulsion" for ἐκβολή, *Gnomon* 40 (1968) 662. At the same verse, it should also be noted that, as stated by Cramer, *B* has παλαιοτάτης. — l. 11 instead of ὕδωρ read ῥεῖθρον; cf. Bühler, *Gnomon* 40 (1968) 662 — l. 12 add ἐγὼ after οὓς as in Cramer's edition — l. 20 instead of βασιλείας read βασιλείου — p. 69, l. 6 before πρὸ add τ(ῶν) as in Cramer's edition — l. 16 instead of ἐνοιδοκιμεῖν read ἐνευδοκιμεῖν as in Cramer's edition; also, H. Hunger, *BZ* 58 (1965) 370 — l. 17 instead of Δαὶδ read Δα(υ)ῒδ; see Hunger, ibid.

17 On the reading ἐκ σχολῆς instead of ἐκβολῆς of the edition, see the preceding note; also, below, p. 8.

Ὃ καὶ λαβὼν φάνηθι κἀμοὶ συντόμως
λιμὴν ἄκλυστος, ἀρραγεστάτη σκέπη.

In the dedicatory epistle that follows the epigram, Theognostos addresses the emperor in the following words:

a) p. 68, l. 8. 26–31 Βασιλέων σοφώτατε καὶ πραότατε· | … τὴν μετὰ χεῖρας προσαγομένην | ἐπίδοσιν καρποφορεῖν σοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡγούμενος ὡς | μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τὰ περὶ λόγους ἐν οὕτω νεαρᾷ τῇ | ἡλικίᾳ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντι τῇ σῇ προσφέρω θεοστέπτῳ | μεγαλειότητι, ἵνα καὶ αὐτός τι τοῖς σοῖς δόξω συν|αγωνίσασθαι. p. 69, l. 1–3. 11–12 Πάλαι γάρ μοι διαπονουμένῳ τὰ γραμματικὰ καὶ | ἑκάστης λέξεως τὸν ἁρμόδιον κανόνα ἀπὸ τῶν φοιτητῶν | ἀπαραιτήτως εἰσπραττομένῳ μοι (i. e. he demanded that his students provide the canon relevant to each word) | … τῇ σῇ προσάγω θεοσόφῳ καὶ πανευμενεῖ | γαληνότητι …

b) p. 69, l. 14–17 ἐπειδὴ ὡς αὐτὰ βοᾷ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ περὶ τὰ | ὅπλα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὁ ὑπὸ σοῦ καθαρῶς λατρευ|όμενος Κύριος ἐνευδοκιμεῖν σοι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἄνθει τῆς | νεότητος ὡς ἄλλῳ Δαυῒδ ἐδωρήσατο.

Theognostos dedicated his *Orthography* to "the wise crown-bearer Leo" (Epigram, v. 1), who was unsurpassed ἐν λόγοις (Epigram, v. 2; cf. Epistle, p. 68, l. 28–29; p. 69, l. 14–16) and was also a master of military matters (Epistle, p. 68, l. 28–29; p. 69, l. 14–16). Alpers argued against Hirsch that the address of the emperor in question as wise should not be taken at face value, but as a servile declaration meant as *captatio benevolentiae.*[18] This had also been the argument of Krumbacher, who, however, admitted that the epigram suits Leo VI better than his earlier namesake.[19]

Wisdom indeed belongs to the inherent qualities of a ruler. Even so, it is difficult without further investigation to dismiss Theognostos' insistence on Leo's wisdom as a pure topos and simple indication of subservience: the word "wise" in one or the other form is mentioned three times, and the emperor's ability in *logoi* another three. Here I would like to adduce a few, in my view significant parallels, which have not hitherto been noticed.

In an epigram that was originally destined to accompany a manuscript of Xenophon presented with certainty to Leo VI, the unknown poet addresses the

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18 Alpers, Theognostos (as note 1 above) 61.

19 K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453). Munich ²1897, 586 note 3. Leo V, the instigator of the second phase of Iconoclasm, is on the whole negatively portrayed in iconophile Byzantine sources, yet elements of a positive evaluation of his character and administration (not including his education) are also present; see the overview in O. Kresten, Datierungsprobleme 'isaurischer' Eherechtsnovellen. I. Col. I 26, in: D. Simon (ed.), Fontes Minores IV. *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 7. Frankfurt am Main 1981, 37–106, esp. 82–88. Kresten, who dated the novel in the title of his article to the reign of Leo V, warned against the "iconodule propaganda" on the μιξοβάρβαρος Leo and lined up with Alpers in dating the dedication of the *Orthography* to the same reign; see ibid., p. 87 note 155.

emperor in the following words (v. 12–16 and 27–28; the underlining is mine):[20]

σκοπὸς γάρ ἐστι τῶν λόγων ὁ δεσπότης
Λέων, τὸ φαιδρὸν ἀγλάϊσμα τοῦ κράτους,
ὃς ἐξερευνῶν συγγραφὰς παλαιτάτας
τρυγῶν τ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν κοσμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν
ὀφθαλμός ἐστι τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης …
εὐχὴν δὲ λοιπὸν μετρίαν προσακτέον
τῷ μαργαρίτῃ καὶ σοφῷ στεφηφόρῳ …

The similarity in subject (Leo's wisdom) and vocabulary between the two dedicatory epigrams is striking. As far as I could determine, the phrase σοφὸς στεφηφόρος, the same as in the epigram at the beginning of the *Orthography*,[21] occurs nowhere else, so it does not appear to be formulaic (in the sense of its application to any emperor). Moreover, the wisdom of Leo VI is also praised in another dedicatory book epigram that speaks of Leo's μουσουργία and refers to him as ἡ τῶν ἀνάκτων πανσοφωτάτη λύρα.[22] It is also significant that another emperor whose wisdom was extolled in comparable epigrams was Leo VI's son, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, to whom the application of such praise was also more than justified.[23] The epigrams addressed to the two highly educated emperors reflect, therefore, their official public image.

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[20] The full text of the epigram, which extends to thirty verses, was edited and commented upon by A. Markopoulos, Ἀποσημειώσεις στόν Λέοντα ΣΤ′ τόν Σοφό, in: ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ στή μνήμη τῆς Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα. Athens 1994, 193–201; repr. in: Id., History and Literature of Byzantium in the 9th–10th Centuries (*Variorum Collected Studies Series*). Aldershot 2004, no. XVI; the text is found on p. 195. On the epigram, see further, Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry (as note 15 above) 208–212, who plausibly dates it to 904.

[21] The word στεφηφόρος occurs also in canon 562 of the *Orthography*, according to which it should be spelled στεφειφόρος; see the edition by Cramer (as note 16 above) p. 96, 7.

[22] See the edition by A. Markopoulos, Ἐπίγραμμα πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ Λέοντος ΣΤ′ τοῦ Σοφοῦ. *Σύμμεικτα* 9 (1994) (= Μνήμη Δ.Α. Ζακυθηνοῦ) 33–40, esp. 34–35, v. 2 and 14.

[23] It is worth mentioning that it was largely on account of the insistence on and the kind of Constantine's "wisdom" that he instead of Constantine the Great was finally identified as the addressee of a dedicatory book epigram; see Al. Cameron, Bacchius, Dionysius, and Constantine. *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 256–260, esp. 259. In another dedicatory book epigram Constantine VII is also praised as σοφός, while a third one lavishes praise on him as λόγων φίλος and also speaks of his μουσουργία; see respectively Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium libri duo. Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome subiunctis Aeliani Timothei aliorumque eclogis, ed. S.P. Lambros, *Supplementum Aristotelicum*, I.1. Berlin 1885, 1, and Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta, II. Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis. Pars I, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst. Berlin 1906, 3.

As for the mention of *logoi*, Hirsch and Krumbacher interpreted the word more broadly as "Wissenschaften".[24] Yet, the meaning "speaking, discourses" is equally possible and well documented. It is noteworthy in this respect that among contemporary sources that praise Leo VI's rhetoric, an anonymous poem on his death written about 913 employs comparable language with Theognostos' epigram in commending the dead emperor's homilies (*logoi*).[25] Furthermore, it is interesting to note the affinity in language and style of Theognostos' epigram with yet another poem, which serves as the title (v. 1–5) of the metrical homily on St. Clement of Ancyra by none other than Leo VI:[26]

Λέοντος, ὃς τὰ σκῆπτρα δεξιᾶς ἔχει
ἀεὶ κρατούσης, ὧν παρέσχε καὶ λόγων,
δῶρον λόγου τῷ δόντι τῆς σφαγῆς χύσιν,
λαβόντι κλῆρον ἀντίδωρον δεσπότου,
Κλήμεντι τῷ τρέψαντι τὴν πλάνην πάλῃ.

The *logos* at v. 3 is the metrical homily that follows (Λόγος κϚʹ in Leo's collection of Homilies), which is the emperor's actual gift to the saint. The pun with the *logoi* at v. 2 implies that the emperor is referring not just to his broad education and command of science in general, but to his rhetorical ability in particular, which God gave him alongside his office. And when an emperor named Leo deliberately and explicitly propagated both his wisdom — as is now well established[27] — and his rhetorical ability, it is hard to dismiss the apparent connection with Theognostos' dedicatee.[28] Moreover, the reference to the emperor's literary production in the context of the prefatory epigram of a work

24 F. Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien. Leipzig 1876, 197; Krumbacher, loc. cit. (as note 19 above). In the epigram in the Xenophon codex quoted above, p. 5, *logoi* refers to the work contained in the manuscript.

25 See I. Ševčenko, Poems on the Deaths of Leo VI and Constantine VII in the Madrid Manuscript of Scylitzes. *DOP* 23–24 (1969–1970) 185–228, esp. 202 (text), 204 (translation), 207 (commentary) on Poem III, e.g. v. 21 ἐν λόγοις φέγγος ἄδυτον; v. 30–31: Ἰσοῦνται σου τὰ ῥεύματα τῶν λόγων τῇ θαλάσσῃ / ἡ λύρα δὲ τῶν ὕμνων σου μέλιτος ἀποστάζει. On this and other relevant testimonies, see T. Antonopoulou, The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI (*The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453,* 14). Leiden/New York/Cologne 1997, 35–36.

26 Ed. T. Antonopoulou, Leonis VI Sapientis imperatoris byzantini Homiliae (*CCSG*, 63). Turnhout 2008, 345.

27 See, for example, S. Tougher, The Wisdom of Leo VI, in P. Magdalino (ed.), New Constantines: the Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries. Aldershot 1994, 171–179; P. Magdalino, L'Orthodoxie des astrologues. La science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance (VII[e]–XIV[e] siècle) (*Réalités byzantines*, 12). Paris 2006, 70–71, 77–79.

28 As regards the praise by Theognostos of Leo's military exploits, surely a topos in the encomium of an emperor, Leo VI may not have disposed of the military background of Leo V, but he took care of military matters, not least in the military handbooks he composed.

that concerned the language such as the *Orthography* would have been most appropriate.

The parallels adduced would not by themselves suffice to support the identification of Theognostos' Leo with Leo VI, if it were not for another clue that concerns the age of the emperor addressed. Theognostos insists that Emperor Leo was a young man at the time of the dedication (Epistle, p. 68, l. 29–30; p. 69, l. 16–17). He mentions Leo's youth twice, apparently because this fact was particularly worth mentioning;[29] it has thus been justifiably used in recent arguments in favour of Leo VI.[30] Even though the date of Leo V's birth is not known, he may have been in his thirties at the time of his accession (813):[31] not too old, but not that young either. As for Leo VI, he was almost twenty years old when he became emperor on 30 August 886. Having started composing his own literary works when still a teenager (in 882–883), he made public appearances as an orator from early on in his reign. He delivered, for instance, an oration at the ordination of his brother Stephen as patriarch on Christmas day 886 and made an impressive demonstration of his talents in 888, when he delivered a Funeral Oration on his parents. Most of his surviving discourses date from the early period of his reign.[32]

The idea that Theognostos was a contemporary of both Michael II (820–829) and Leo VI has met with opposition in previous scholarship due to the chronological distance between the two reigns. Already Villoison, who wrongly thought that Theognostos composed a history of Michael's reign, considered him as a mature man at the time.[33] Recently Schneider attempted a compromise by noting that Leo VI was born in 866 and crowned in 870.[34] By this remark he seems to imply that Theognostos dedicated his work to a very young Leo VI, who was merely a child and not the chief emperor yet. In fact, given that Leo was imprisoned by his father Basil I for three years prior to his ascent to the throne (August 883 – July 886), the dedication would have to be dated to the time before his confinement, when he was not yet seventeen

[29] Cf. the epigram in the Xenophon codex, above, p. 5 with note 20, which may contain a subtle hint at Leo's relative youth, when it argues that the reading of a παλαιὸς λόγος, in this case Xenophon's text, γέροντα ποιεῖ τὸν νεώτερον χρόνῳ | ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς γνώσεως τῶν πραγμάτων (v. 9–10).

[30] Schneider, Les traités orthographiques (as note 2 above) 278; Nichanian/Prigent, Les stratèges de Sicile (as note 10 above) 130, who also state that, given that the addressed emperor was young, he cannot have been Leo V.

[31] See D. Turner, The Origins and Accession of Leo V (813–820), *JÖB* 40 (1990) 171–203, esp. 176 (in his early twenties by 802); W. Treadgold, A History of the Byzantine State and Society. Stanford, California 1997, 431 (in his late thirties in 813).

[32] On the chronology of the Homilies, see Antonopoulou, The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI (as note 26 above) 52–71.

[33] J. B. C. d'Ansse de Villoison, Anecdota graeca. Venice 1781, II, 127 note 1.

[34] Schneider, *Les traités orthographiques*, p. 278.

years old. This would not accord well with the praise of Leo's achievements and wisdom in particular, an image that he cultivated himself as the ruling emperor, as already mentioned. Still, as I am going to argue, Theognostos must have lived under both emperors.

It should be underlined that, as mentioned above, we dispose of no indication regarding Theognostos' age in 826/7, even if he was an eye-witness of the events he described. Nor is there a way to identify him with any certainty with another person of the same name active in 812.[35] Furthermore, it is not known which of the two works of Theognostos preceded the other. Though the general consensus seems to be that the *Orthography* preceded the historical work, no such inference can be drawn from Theognostos' words, which imply only that the *Orthography* was not composed at the time of its dedication but long before it. The latter fact, which had escaped the notice of previous scholars, was rightly recognised by Alpers.[36] Theognostos, according to his own statement, had dealt with grammar and the teaching of spelling in the past (Epistle, p. 69, l. 1–3) and his work was the outcome or by-product of very old times of study (as is, in my opinion, the meaning of πονηθὲν ἐκ σχολῆς παλαιτάτης at Epigram, v. 5).[37] Consequently, I would suggest that Theognostos did not compile the *Orthography* at the time of its dedication to Leo VI, when he was probably very old, but rather a long time earlier. What he dedicated to the emperor was an exemplar of a work that already existed either in its final form or as a draft.[38] Theognostos' gift could have been a specially prepared presentation copy of what he obviously considered a major accomplishment of his career, worthy of being offerred to an emperor.

For the occasion Theognostos would have composed the dedicatory verses and the dedicatory epistle. In the latter he took the opportunity to subtly flatter

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35 Alpers, Theognostos (as note 1 above) 63, explained *oiketes* (Epigram, v. 3) as "Beamter" and went on to suggest that Theognostos may be identified with a *protospatharios* by the same name, attested in 812 on a diplomatic mission to the West, on whom see *PmbZ* I.4, 563 no. 8011. Kazdan, loc. cit. (as note 6 above), and the authors of *PmbZ* I.4, 563–564 nos. 8011 and 8012, are reluctant to accept the identification of the two persons; Nichanian/Prigent, Les stratèges de Sicile (as note 10 above) 130 reject it.

36 Alpers, Theognostos (as note 1 above) 63; Id., Die griechischen Orthographien, 29 note 112.

37 For the reading ἐκ σχολῆς παλαιτάτης, see above, note 16.

38 The preparation by an author of an exemplar of an older philological work of his for the sake of an acquaintance under special circumstances is not unique. Perhaps at the end of the ninth century the Sicilian *grammatikos* Theodosios sent the presbyter John his lexicon on the iambic canons attributed to John of Damascus, which he had compiled a long time before his friend asked for his help: Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ φίλος, ἔκπαλαι πονηθέντά μοι, μετὰ τῶν ἐπερώτησας, ἐξαπέστειλα; ed. G. de Andrés, Carta de Teodosio el gramático (s. IX) sobre el léxico de los cánones de San Juan Damasceno, según el códice Complutense 'Villamil n.º 30', *Emerità* 41 (1973) 377–395, esp. 382, 395.

the emperor by indirectly comparing him to Xerxes (Epistle, p. 68, l. 8–25). The implied parallelism was pointed out by Alpers, who explained the replacement of the Artaxerxes of the original story, which survives in various versions, with Xerxes as a conscious effort on behalf of Theognostos to compare "the soldier Leo [V]" not "with the weakly Artaxerxes" but with the strong Xerxes.[39] To my mind, the parallelism in question makes better sense in the framework of the supposed connection of the Macedonian dynasty with the Arsacids and through them with an Achaemenid royal ancestry. One should only be reminded of Leo VI's well-known claim in the Funeral Oration on his parents of 888 that Artaxerxes I, namely the son of Xerxes, was the ultimate ancestor of his father.[40] The imaginary Armenian/Parthian lineage was apparently concocted by Patriarch Photios.[41] The reason for Theognostos' changing of Artaxerxes into Xerxes would still be so as to have the opportunity to mention the great number of the latter's army (Herodot VII 186). He would thus furnish a welcome addition to the Macedonian myth.

At this point it is time to deal with the last, grave argument against a possible dedication to Leo VI: the *Orthography* was among the sources of the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, which thus marks the *terminus ante quem* for its composition. In particular, Alpers, who noted the fact, excluded Leo VI on the basis of Reitzenstein's dating of the first draft of the *Et. Gen.* to 882, that is, before Leo's ascent to the throne.[42] Leaving aside that Leo had been crowned co-emperor already in 870, and that Reitzenstein's view is no longer accepted, the same argument should *mutatis mutandis* still hold true following Alper's later suggestion that the *Et. Gen.* was compiled around the middle of the ninth century or a little later.[43] Nevertheless, such an argument presupposes that the

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39 Alpers, Xerxes und Artaxerxes (as note 16 above) 11; see ibid., 6–10, for the various surviving versions of the story.

40 Hom. 14, l. 130–132 Ἕλκουσι (i.e. the Arsacids) γὰρ τοῦ αἵματος τὰς πηγὰς ἐκ τῶν Ἀρταξέρξου ναμάτων, ὃς ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνου βασιλείῳ κράτει ἐμεγαλύνθη …, ed. Antonopoulou (as note 26 above) 199.

41 See Markopoulos, Ἀποσημειώσεις, 197 with literature; A. Schminck, The Beginnings and Origins of the 'Macedonian' Dynasty", in: J. Burke / R. Scott (eds.), Byzantine Macedonia: Identity Image and History. *Byzantina Australensia*, 13. Melbourne 2000, 61–68, esp. 65–67.

42 R. Reitzenstein, Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika. Leipzig 1897, 68.

43 K. Alpers, Marginalien zur Überlieferung der griechischen Etymologika, in: D. Harlfinger/G. Prato, Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983). Alessandria 1991, I 523–541 (with 7 plates in vol. II), esp. 525–526, for a probable date between 858 and 872 "at the latest", when Patriarch Photios would have used a manuscript of the *Et. Gen.*; Id., Eine byzantinische Enzyklopädie, 267–268, on the *Et. Gen.* as a work produced in the middle of the ninth century in Constantinople, probably in the environment of the Magnaura School, where Leo the Philosopher and Cometas were active; repeated in Id., Lexikographie. B.I. Griechische Antike, II. Byzanz, III. Lateinische Antike, in:

composition of the *Orthography* took place at the same time as its dedication: as we have seen, this does not appear to be the case. The redactor of the *Et. Gen.* could very well have had access to the *Orthography*, in its published or perhaps even in its draft form, long before its dedication.

To sum up, Theognostos must have addressed Leo VI very early in his reign, probably before 890. By that time he must have been (very) advanced in age. The *Orthography* had been a work of a considerably earlier time, though still the result of an already substantial educational experience with his students. Theognostos does not say how long it took him to compose the work. If we assume that he was in his seventies by 890, the *Orthography* could well have been ready and circulating in one form or the other by the mid-ninth century. This would tally well with its use by the *Et. Gen.*, even though the intervening period may have been very short.

The aforementioned suggestion by Flusin that Theognostos was the Sicilian teacher mentioned by Scylitzes[44] would explain his interest in the events of his place of origin. If he was born ca. 810, he would have been in his late teens when he witnessed (?) the events in Sicily. He would then have gathered his material and written his historical work over the next few years. The history of the revolt of Euphemios would accordingly be a work of Theognostos' youth. The place where the writing took place cannot be specified.

That Theognostos' lifespan would have covered the greater part of the ninth century is not at all impossible. What is more, this would roughly make him a contemporary of Patriarch Photios. The exact dates of the latter are not provided by our sources, but he is plausibly thought to have been born in the (early) 810's and to have died after 893.[45]

Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik, V. Tübingen 2001, 194–210, esp. 203; Id., Die griechischen Orthographien, 19–20. For a dating of the *Et. Gen.* to the second half of the ninth century, see Ch. Theodoridis, Der Hymnograph Klemens terminus post quem für Choiroboskos. *BZ* 73 (1980) 341–345, esp. 343.

44 See above, p. 2 with note 9.

45 On Photios' date of birth, see H. Ahrweiler, Sur la carrière de Photius avant son patriarcat, *BZ* 58 (1965) 348–363, esp. 355 ("vers 810"); C. Mango, The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios, in: A. Bryer / J. Herrin (eds.), Iconoclasm. Birmingham 1977, 133–140; repr. in: Id., Byzantium and its image. London 1984, no. XIII, 1–16, esp. 13 ("perhaps in his teens" in the last decade of Theophilos' reign); and W. Treadgold, Photius Before His Patriarchate, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002) 1–17, esp. 3–4 ("around 813"). On the date of his death, see R.J.H. Jenkins, A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the Vita Ignatii. *DOP* 19 (1965) 241–247, esp. 244. Also, *ODB* III, p. 1669 (A. Kazhdan); *PmbZ* I.3 (2000) no. 6523, esp. 671, 677 note 2. It has been calculated that Byzantine authors enjoyed a very high average life expectancy, surpassed only by that of holy men and women; see A.-M. Talbot, Old Age in Byzantium. *BZ* 77 (1984) 267–278, esp. 269–270; also G.T. Dennis, Death in Byzantium. *DOP* 55 (2001) 1–7, esp. 2.

Theognostos would have been a retired teacher by the time of the dedication.[46] The use in the epigram of the pun on his name, εὔγνωστός τις ὡς ὢν οἰκέτης, may be explained as a hint at Theognostos' writing activity, which would have earned the author a reputation and made the emperor familiar with the name and works of his "servant", the history and the *Orthography*, conceivably from his own school years. Possibly faced with the problems of old age, Theognostos reminds the emperor of his past achievements, dedicating to him his *magnum opus*, and asks for immediate (Epigram, v. 6 συντόμως) imperial help and protection.

According to the reconstruction attempted here, the *Orthography* would still derive from Theognostos' teaching experience in the first half of the ninth century, but would date from mid-century. At the same time, the shifting of Theognostos' activity from the end of the eighth – first half of the ninth century to the ninth century, the fact that Theognostos was still alive and present in the early reign of Leo VI, and that a manuscript of his work was dedicated to him instead of Leo V, affect our construction of the cultural profile of the ninth century.

Abstract

Theognostos is a well-known author of a surviving orthographical work and a lost history of the revolt of Euphemios in Sicily. Although the dating of the *Orthography* was the subject of controversy in the distant past, the issue has long been considered as settled: the work is generally thought to have been dedicated to Emperor Leo V (813–820), not Leo VI (886–912), as the opposite opinion held. The present article re-examines the problem on the basis of a re-evaluation of all available evidence as well as by bringing new parallels into the discussion. The solution reached goes some way in-between the two previous propositions. According to it, the *Orthography* would still derive from Theognostos' teaching experience in the first half of the ninth century (its second quarter in particular), but would date from mid-century. The dedication of the author's *magnum opus* would have taken place much later, in the very early reign of Leo VI, for reasons also discussed here. Thus, Theognostos emerges as a ninth-century figure and a contemporary of Patriarch Photios.

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[46] P. Egenolff, Die orthographischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur (*Wissenschaftliche Beilage zu dem Programm des gr. Gymnasiums Heidelberg für das Schuljahr 1887/88*). Leipzig 1888, 21–22 note 18, who suggested that Theognostos lived at the end of the ninth – beginning of the tenth century, thought it was not impossible, though he could not prove it, that Theognostos might be identified with the monk, Exarchos of Patriarch Ignatios and Archimandrite "of Old Rome" by the same name, on whom see *PmbZ* I.4, 565–566 no. 8018. There is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

NEW TESTAMENT BOOK EPIGRAMS
Some New Evidence from the Eleventh Century

KLAAS BENTEIN, FLORIS BERNARD, KRISTOFFEL DEMOEN, MARC DE GROOTE / GENT

In his study on the Byzantine epigram, Marc Lauxtermann singles out the "book epigram" as a category apart.[1] These poems, encountered frequently in Byzantine manuscripts, range from unpretentious scribbles of the scribe commenting on the text, to elaborate poetic ornaments which aspire to add to the value of the book. They form a kind of 'paratext' beside the main text of manuscripts.

Only seldom do distinctive features of this particular genre receive a scholarly treatment on their own. In earlier studies, they are merely collected, or investigated to determine the date or provenance of the manuscripts.[2] More recently, however, a number of studies has focused on the verses themselves: their content,[3] function,[4] structure,[5] lay-out,[6] categorization,[7] etc.

It is our intention to edit, translate and comment on some epigrams that we have come across during our extended research of eleventh-century manuscripts.[8] All of them come from manuscripts containing the New Testament or

We wish to express our sincere gratefulness to the anonymous reviewer who has made some astute remarks and proposals, several of which we were glad to accept when revising this article for publication.

1 Cf. M.D. Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Wien 2003, 197: "book epigrams are poems that are intimately related to the production of literary texts and manuscripts". At p. 202–203 the importance of studying book epigrams is stressed.

2 E.g. E. Follieri, Epigrammi sugli evangelisti dai codici Barberiniani greci 352 e 520, *BollGrott* 10 (1956) 61–80 and 135–156; A.D. Kominis, Συναγωγὴ ἐπιγραμμάτων εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας Εὐαγγελιστάς. *EEBS* 21 (1951) 254–279; S.Y. Rudberg, Annotations historiques et adscripta métriques contenus dans les manuscrits de Basile de Césarée, *Scriptorium* 15 (1961) 61–67; H. von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte. Teil 1, Vol. I. Göttingen 1902, 377–387.

3 E.g. H. Hunger, Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz: Die byzantinische Buchkultur. München 1989, 94–99.

4 E.g. I. Ševčenko, Captions to a David Cycle in the Tenth-Century Oxford Auct. D. 4. 1, in: C. Scholz /G. Makris (eds.), Polypleuros Nous. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag. München 2000, 324–341.

5 E.g. E. Gamillscheg, Struktur und Aussagen der Subskriptionen griechischer Handschriften, in: E. Condello/G. De Gregorio (eds.), Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa. Spoleto 1995, 417–421.

6 E.g. W. Hörandner, Visuelle Poesie in Byzanz, *JÖB* 40 (1990) 1–42.

7 E.g. Lauxtermann (cf. note 1) 197–198.

8 We would like to thank the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO) for enabling this research, which resulted in the collecting of 568 epigrams from 414 eleventh century manuscripts. It was supervised by K. Demoen and M. De Groote, and carried out by K.

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commentaries on it. Some of them are unedited, while the second one is a conflation of known epigrams and the third an unknown version of a previously edited poem. As this genre has a particular tendency to be reused and adapted, the texts presented here can be considered as a chronological cross-section in an extensive chain of recyclable material.

1. The four evangelists

Source: Paris. Coisl. 199, f. 9. This manuscript (328 folios) was written on parchment and measures 18.9 by 14 cm. The main text consists of the four *Gospels* (ff. 1–8v, 25–157v), the *Acts of the Apostles* (ff. 159–200), the *Catholic Letters* (ff. 200v–204v), Paul's *Letters* (ff. 221–236) and the *Apocalypse* (ff. 311–325v). Devreesse dated the manuscript to the eleventh century.[9]

Στίχοι ἰαμβικοί
Ἀφεὶς τελώνης τὰς δεκάτας ὠνίων
πράως δεκατοῖ τὴν Χριστοῦ γεναρχίαν.
Μάρκος, λέων Λόγου δε, βάπτισμα γράφει
καὶ πᾶν τὸ θαῦμα μέχρις εἰς πόλου δρόμον.
5 Ὁ βοῦς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Λουκᾶς αὐλακεργάτης,
Χριστοῦ γένος, θαύματα καὶ πόλου δρόμον.
Ὁ δ' ἀσπαλιεὺς τὸν βυθὸν παρεὶς κάτω
γράφει τὸ βάθος τῆς ἄνω θεωρίας.

3 Μάρκου… Λόγος *cod.*

Iambic verses
The publican has ceased taking tithe of goods
and now gently takes tithe of the genealogy of Christ.
Mark, the lion of the Word, writes about the baptism
and the whole miracle until the Ascension.
The ox of Christ, Luke, the ploughman,
writes about the birth of Christ, his miracles and Ascension.
The angler, having left the deep water below,
now writes about the depth of the higher contemplation.

Bentein, in close cooperation with F. Bernard. Since the completion of this article, our research group at Ghent University has been awarded a substantial grant by the 'Hercules programme' of the Flemish government, which will enable us to enlarge the collection and to construct a searchable database of Byzantine book epigrams. A first version of this database should be accessible online in the foreseeable future.

9 R. Devreesse, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Le fonds Coislin. Paris 1945, 176.

This poem, preceding the Gospels, has been written in honour of the four evangelists. Its structure is quite transparent: in each of the four distichs, the evangelist is mentioned directly or obliquely, and the typical features of his particular gospel are presented. Within this overall symmetry, the four distichs clearly fall into two types: Matthew and John are only indicated by a reference to their former profession (with a typical antithetical pun), whereas Mark and Luke are named and accompanied by their animal symbol.[10] This could either be a matter of conscious variation or an indication of the combination of distichs from various sources.

The poem uses some fairly exceptional and high-brow words, such as ἀσπαλιεύς (v. 7; a most unusual denomination for John) and αὐλακεργάτης (v. 5). On the other hand, the designation of Matthew as a τελώνης in the first verse of laudatory book epigrams is very common, cf. e. g. "Ματθαίου τόδε τοὖργον ἀριστοπόνοιο τελώνου",[11] "Ὁ πρὶν τελώνης καὶ σχολάζων τοῖς φόροις",[12] and "Τὸν ἐκ τελώνου θαύμασον θεηγόρον".[13]

The poet also differentiates between the content of the four Gospels. The three synoptic ones are characterised by the events that mark their openings and endings. Book epigrams on the evangelists mention these features frequently, e. g. "καλλιγραφῶν πάρεστι Λουκᾶς ἐνθάδε".[14] In the eighth verse "τὸ βάθος τῆς ἄνω θεωρίας" is used to refer to the theological heights of John's gospel. In another laudatory epigram, "Τῆς εὐσεβείας θερμὸς ὢν θεηγόρος",[15] Matthew is as well called "μύστα τῆς ἄνω θεωρίας", which indicates that the formula was not exclusively associated with John.

The prosodic technique of this poem concurs with the principle of visibility: the quantity of the vowels is respected, except for dichrona (cf. e. g. v. 8 βάθος

10 The association of the evangelists with the four living creatures mentioned in Ez. 1:10 and Ap. 4:7 is attested as early as the second century, with Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* (3.11.8). Although there was some inconsistency in the beginning, by the end of the fourth century a fixed representational order was established: Matthew was symbolized by the angel or human, Mark by the lion, Luke by the ox and John by the eagle. Cf. O. Böcher, Evangelistensymbole, in: [4]*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* II (1999) 1734–1735.

11 Athous Lavr. A 21, f. 78; Gotting. Theol. 28, f. 6v; Mosq. Len. Bib. 12, f. 1v; Petropolit. Gr. 249 Granstrem, f. 13v; Vatic. Gr. 757, f. 2; Vindobon. Suppl. Gr. 50*, f. 24. Edited by Follieri (cf. note 2) 79. The book epigrams mentioned in this article are referred to by their initial verse, according to the usage of I. Vassis, Initia Carminum Byzantinorum. Berlin/New York 2005, an invaluable reference work that was obviously very useful for the compilation of the database.

12 Athous Vat. 937, f. 13v.; Budapest. Gr. Bibl. Sc. Univ. 1, f. 10; Prag. Bibl. Nat. Univ. XXV B 7, f. 11v; Marc. Gr. Class. I, 18, f. 2v. Edited by Kominis (cf. note 2) 264.

13 Athous Lavr. A 22, f. 77v; Vindobon. Suppl. Gr. 50*, f. 7. Edited by Kominis (cf. note 2) 264–265.

14 Parm. Bibl. Pal. f. De-Ross. 1 (location unknown). Edited by Kominis (cf. note 2) 272.

15 Athen. Gr. 2, f. 8v. Edited by Kominis (cf. note 2) 263–264.

with long α), and proper names (v. 5 Λουκᾶς). We have not accentuated the particle δε in v. 3, following the manuscript. According to the accentual rules of the dodecasyllable, the seventh syllable just before the verse pause cannot have an accent. For that reason, many scribes regarded words as δέ in that position as an enclitic, and consequently did not accentuate it.[16]

2. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles

Source: Vindobon. Theol. Gr. 302, f. 16r. This manuscript (367 folios) was written on parchment and measures 18 by 13 cm. The main text consists of the *Acts of the Apostles* (ff. 18r – 101r), the *Catholic Letters* (f. 101v–140v), Paul's *Letters* (ff. 141r – 312) and John's *Apocalypse* (ff. 314r – 353v). Hunger dated the manuscript to the middle of the eleventh century.[17]

Λουκᾶς ἠπιόθυμος, ἀκεστορίης ἐπιΐστωρ,
ὅσσα περὶ Χριστοῖο θεηγόρος ἔθνεα Παῦλος
κηρύσσων ἐδίδασκεν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἐριτίμων,
ἐνθάδε πάντ' ἐπάγειρε καὶ ἐν σελίδεσσιν ἔθηκε·
5 τοὔνεκα <καὶ> μερόπεσσιν εὐάγγελος ἄλλος ἐδείχθη.

5 καὶ addidimus, nixi Il. IX.159, XIII.728 et Greg. Naz. passim, coll. ceteris versionibus huius carminis

Gentle-hearted Luke, versed in the knowledge of medicine,
has collected here and put on paper all the things
about Christ that Paul, divinely inspired,
preached and taught to the gentiles, with his highly-praised mouth.
Therefore he appeared to the mortals as another evangelist.

This epigram is not entirely new: the first verse is also the initial verse of numerous epigrams in honour of Luke the Evangelist.[18] The remainder of our

16 I. Hilberg, Ein Accentgesetz der byzantinischen Jambographen, *BZ* 7 (1898) 337–365, esp. 355–356. Cf. also P. Maas, Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber, *BZ* 12 (1903) 278–323, esp. 313. Some editors take over the practice of the scribe not to put an accent on these words, cf. G. Papagiannis (ed.), Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments. Wiesbaden 1997.

17 H. Hunger, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Codices Theologici 201–337. Wien 1992, 345.

18 Athous Lavr. A 21, f. 201v; Gotting. Theol. 28, f. 83v; Mosq. Len. Bib. 10, f. 132v; Mosq. Len. Bib. 12, f. 122v; Petropolit. Gr. 249 Granstrem, f. 133; Vindobon. Suppl. Gr. 50*, f. 158. Edited by Kominis (cf. note 2) 270.

poem forms an epigram of four verses that is equally widespread in contemporary New Testament manuscripts, and normally accompanies the gospel of Mark.[19] Our scribe made only two noticeable deviations from the original: he changed “Πέτρος” into “Παῦλος” (v. 2) and “Μάρκος ἄγειρε” into “πάντ’ ἐπάγειρε” (v. 4). By doing so, the praise is awarded to Paul and Luke, instead of Peter and Mark. This way, the scribe succeeds in fitting this existing poem into its new context. Since our poem precedes a text of the *Acts of the Apostles*, this combination and adaptation of two traditional poems – which indeed often occur in the same manuscript – lead to the composition of a new one, but now in honour of Luke and his acts, and of Paul, the protagonist in these acts.

This poem is written in dactylic hexameters, which is rather unusual.[20] These verses, albeit prosodically correct, show some peculiarities in their versifying technique: all but three of the feet are dactyls. This evolution towards a hexameter without or with only one spondee is typical of later Byzantine hexameters, and marks the end of an evolution discernible from Late Antiquity onwards.[21] This conformity also extends to the caesura: the caesura in this poem always falls κατὰ τὸν τρίτον τροχαῖον. The vocabulary and morphology are distinctly epic; some words, however, do not occur in Homer but only in later hexametric poetry (e.g. σελίς, which appears well after Homer).

3. Commentary on the Praxapostolus

Source: Paris. Coisl. 26, f. 1v. This manuscript (381 folios) was written on parchment and measures 29.8 by 23.3 cm. The main text consists of Ps.-Oecumenius’ *Commentary on the Praxapostolus* (ff. 2–379). It apparently belonged to the great Lavra (cf. the note on f. 1v: βιβλίον τῆς τετάρτης θέσεως). Halkin dated the manuscript to the tenth or eleventh century.[22]

19 Athous Lavr. A 34, f. 76; Gotting. Theol. 28, f. 53; Monac. Gr. 518 (location unknown); Mosq. Len. Bib. 10, f. 83v; Mosq. Len. Bib. 12, f. 78v; Petropolit. Gr. 208 Granstrem, f. 355; Petropolit. Gr. Libr. 249 Granstrem, f. 87v; Vatic. Gr. 349, f. 113(?); Vindobon. Suppl. Gr. 50*, f. 106. Edited by Kominis (cf. note 2) 267. These manuscripts agree in reading καὶ in the last verse.

20 The dodecasyllable is by far the dominant meter for book epigrams. Out of the 568 epigrams that our database contains, 518 are written in dodecasyllables.

21 Cf. E.M. van Opstall, Jean Géomètre. Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques. Édition, traduction, commentaire. Leiden 2008, 83; for the ancient evolution, see G. Agosti/F. Gonnelli, Materiali per la storia dell’esametro nei poeti cristiani greci, in: M. Fantuzzi/R. Pretagostini (eds.), Struttura e storia dell’esametro greco. Roma 1995, 289–434.

22 F. Halkin, Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique. Paris 1968, 238.

Ἰδὼν τὸ κάλλος ὧδε τῶν γεγραμμένων
ὡραῖον, ὡς θαυμαστόν, ὡς γνῶσιν γέμον,
ἀνεμποδίστως προσλαβὼν χρῶ προφρόνως·
νοῦν γὰρ πιαίνει εἰς καλῶν ὁδηγίαν.
5 Νόμος διδάσκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου φύσιφ·
τούτων τὸ τέλος τῆς χάριτος τὸ φάος.
Ὅθεν προσῆκε, ὡς μέλι, γλυκασμάτων
ὑπερφυῶς τῶν τῆδε λαμβάνειν μέγα.

4 ὀδιγίαν *cod.* 5 φύσης *cod.* 6 φάως *cod.*

See the beauty of these writings
– how lovely and wonderful, how full of knowledge it is –
and take it unhindered, use it readily,
for it enriches the mind on the way to virtue.
The law gives instructions and so does nature before the law;
of these the light of grace is the completion.
So it befits to take abundantly, as from honey,
from the sweetness contained here.

This epigram (more specifically seven of its verses) can be found at the beginning of various manuscripts containing John Georgides' *Gnomologium* (s. X). When removing the sixth verse of our text one notices the acrostic "ιωαννου", which of course could refer to Georgides. Thanks to Paolo Odorico, however, we know that the poem was originally written by another John, the author of the so-called *Florilegium Marcianum*, an anthology probably dating from the first half of the ninth century.[23] He wrote it as "una nota di lettura"[24] on the *Catena in Proverbia Salomonis*[25] (preceding the *Florilegium* in the Codex Marcianus). Georgides, basing his own work on the *Florilegium*, took over this epigram which was written a century earlier.

Our scribe most probably copied the epigram from one of the tenth- or eleventh-century manuscripts of Georgides' *Gnomologium*:[26] they have the

[23] Georgides poem has been edited in P. Odorico, Il prato e l'ape: il sapere sentenzioso del Monaco Giovanni. Wien 1986, 119: Ἰδὼν τὸ κάλλος ὧδε τῶν γεγραμμένων | Ὡραῖον, ὡς θαυμαστόν, ὡς γνῶσιν γέμον, | Ἀνεμποδίστως προσλαβὼν χρῶ προφρόνως· | Νοῦν γὰρ πιαίνειν εἰς καλῶν ὁδηγίαν | Νόμος διδάσκει καὶ, πρὸ τοῦ νόμου, φύσις· | Ὅθεν προσῆκεν ὡς μέλι γλυκασμάτων | Ὑπερφυῶς τῶν τῆδε λαμβάνειν μέτα. The identity of this John still remains obscure, cf. Odorico, 17–25. The title of the *Florilegium Marcianum* is coined by Odorico. It refers to the sole surviving manuscript, the Codex Marcianus Graecus 23.

[24] Odorico (cf. note 23) 18.

[25] Cf. M. Richard, Le commentaire du codex Marcianus Gr. 23 sur Prov. XXX, 15–33, in M. Richard, Opera Minora. Leuven 1976, III, No 84: 357–370.

[26] Odorico (cf. note 23) 61–62 enumerates the following manuscripts: Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1246 (s. X ex.), Paris. Gr. 1166 (s. X ex.), and Laur. Plut. VII. 15 (s. XI med.).

same deviations from the "original" in the *Florilegium Marcianum:* ἀνεμποδίστως instead of ἀσυνδυάστως (v. 3) and μέγα instead of μέτα (v. 8).[27]

It is clear that the addition of the sixth verse was done by our scribe: besides cutting through the acrostic, it contains the only visible prosodic errors of the poem (the fourth, eighth and tenth syllable fail to be long). This intervention is exemplary for the attitude of scribes towards these poems: they felt entitled to add or leave out elements, according to the new context of the epigram. Preceding a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, the inserted verse highlights the Christian message of grace spread by the apostles and superseding the teachings of nature and the law (v. 5), subject of the Old Testament Proverbs to which the original version of the poem was related. This poem is therefore exemplary for the procedure of recycling that is so common in book epigrams.

4. A series of epigrams for Paul

Source: Vatic. Gr. 363, ff. 239, 257v, 272v, 284, 289. This manuscript (337 folios) was written on parchment and measures 20 by 16.3 cm. The main text consists of the four *Gospels* (ff. 5–161v), the *Acts of the Apostles* (ff. 166–210), the *Catholic Letters* (ff. 211–231) and Paul's *Letters* (ff. 240–335). Devreesse dated the manuscript to the eleventh/twelfth century.[28]

No 1 (f. 239)

Βροντῆς γεγωνέστερον Παῦλος ἠχήσας
τ̣ὴν βροντοφθογγόφωνον πνεύματος χάριν,
ἅπασαν ἐμβρόντητον σκεδάζει πλάνην.
Τ̣ο̣ῖς πιστοῖς ἡδύφθογγον μουσ{ι}ουργεῖ μέλο̣ς̣,
5 σέβειν τριλαμπὲς μονοκρατές τε φάος.
Ῥήτωρ πυρίπνους ὤφθη τῆς ἐκκλησίας
τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύξας τε πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει.

1 γεγονέστερον *cod.* 2 βροντοφθογγόφονον *cod.* 4 μουσιουργεῖ *cod.* 5 σέβειν *scripsimus:* ἥ̣βειν *vid. cod.* 6 ἐκκλησίας: ς *n.l.* 7 κηρύξας τε *scripsimus:* κηρύξαντα *cod.*

Paul, resounding with the thunder-voiced grace of the Holy Spirit,
a sound louder than the thunder,

[27] Cf. Odorico (cf. note 23) 16: "ἀσυνδυάστως" (v. 3) was probably changed by Georgides into the more usual "ἀνεμποδίστως". "μέγα" is a simple reading error for "μέτα".

[28] R. Devreesse, Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 330–603. Città del Vaticano 1937, 50.

drives away every thunderstruck error.
For the pious he creates a sweet-sounding song,
to worship the light with triple brightness that rules solely.
He showed himself to be a fire-breathing orator of the church,
and the proclaimer of Christ for the whole world.

No 2 (f. 257[v])

Ἔλυσας ἀχλύν, διεσκέδασας ζόφον,
τέτμηκας προθέλυμνον εἰδώλων πλάνην.
Πίστιν κατεφύτευσας ἐνθεεστάτην
πυριπνόοις ἔπεσιν βάλλων τοὺς πόρρω
5 ἀγχεμάχοις βέλεσιν τοὺς δεῦρο σφάττων,
Παῦλε, πυρφόρον τοῦ παρακλήτου στόμα.

2 εἰδώλον *cod.* 4 βάλλον τοῖς πόρρας *cod.* 5 τοῖς δεύρο *cod.*

You have dissolved the mist, you have dispersed the darkness,
you have rooted out the error of idolatry.
You have planted a faith that is most full of God,
pushing forward the people of the future with fire-breathing words,
and slaughtering those of the past with hand-to-hand weapons,
Paul, fire-bearing mouth of the Holy Spirit.

No 3 (f. 272[v])

Ὁ ἀντὶ Σαύλου κεχρηματικὼς Παῦλος
τὴν κλῆσιν κατάλληλον ἔργοις δεικνύει.
Τὸν πρὶν εἰς παῦλαν μεταρρυθμίζων σάλον
γαλήνειάν τε τῷ Χριστῷ κατεστάλη.

3 μεταριθμίζον *cod.* 4 γαλινιάν *cod.* κατεστάλη *scripsimus*: κατεστέλλει *cod.*

He who has taken the name "Paulus" instead of "Saulus"
shows by his works that his name is appropriate.
By changing his former tossing into rest
and stillness, he has found serenity in Christ.

No 4 (f. 284)

Ὢ οἷον καθώπλισε τὸν στρατηγέτην
ἡ πανσθενουργὸς ἄφθιτος ἐξουσία·
ὡς πᾶσαν ἄρδην ἐκπεριελθὼν κτίσιν
πάντας προσάγει προσκυνεῖν τὴν τριάδα.

1 καθόπλησε *cod.*

How greatly did the all-powerful
everlasting force arm the leader
since after having traversed the whole world
he prompts all to honour the trinity.

No 5 (f. 289)

Ἡ πνευματοκίνητος τοῦ παρακλήτου
λύρα διηχήσασα ἐμμελεστάτως
διέκερσε σύγχυσιν ἑσμόν τε πλάνης.
Ἁρμόσας ἐζόφωσεν, ἦρεν μετ' ἤχους
5 ὡς οὐχ ἥκιστα ταύτην ἐάσας μένειν.
Ἐξώθησεν, ὤλεσεν, ἄρδην καθεῖλεν·
ἵδρυσε Θεοῦ πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίας,
πίστιν κατεφύτευσεν εὐσεβοφρόνως,
Παῦλος ὁ θεῖος ὁ οὐράνιος τέττιξ,
10 λαμπροφανὴς ἥλιος καὶ φωσφόρος.
Πᾶσιν ἐκλάμπων δόγμασιν ὀρθοδόξοις
προσάγει λαὸν κυρίῳ σεσωσμένον.

4 ἁρμόσας *scripsimus*: εἱρμώσας *cod.* μετείχους *cod.* 5 ἤκηστα *cod.* 6 ἐξόθησεν *cod.* ὄλεσεν *cod.* 7 ἥδρυσε *cod.* 9 τέτιξ *cod.*

The lyre of the Paraclete, inspired by the Holy Spirit,
resounding very harmoniously,
cut into pieces the disorder and swarm of digression.
Being in tune, he threw it into darkness, he made an end to it with his sound,
so that not in the least he has allowed the error to stay.
He drove it out, destroyed it, utterly demolished it.
Everywhere he built churches for God,
planted faith with a pious mind,
Paul, the divine and heavenly cicada,

the brilliant and light-bringing sun.
Shining with all orthodox doctrines,
he leads the people he has saved towards the Lord.

In the Vaticanus Graecus 363 these five epigrams precede Paul's letters. Most likely they were all written by a single poet, since they share a remarkable number of characteristics regarding content, use of language and metrical features.

All epigrams concentrate on Paul, emphasising his spiritual value for mankind. He is described as the man who repels error. In this context the verbs that are used to mention his deeds are very warlike: σκεδάζει (poem 1), ἔλυσας, διεσκέδασας, τέτμηκας, βάλλων, σφάττων (#2), καθώπλισε (#4), διέκερσε, ἐζόφωσεν, ἦρεν (#5), etc. He is even called "general", "leader" in the fourth epigram. The imagery of light and fire is used frequently: τριλαμπὲς μονοκρατές τε φάος, πυρίπνους (#1), πυριπνόοις ἔπεσιν, πυρφόρον … στόμα (#2), λαμπροφανὴς ἥλιος καὶ φωσφόρος, ἐκλάμπων (#5). There is an emphasis on Paul's eloquence in the first (μουσουργεῖ μέλος, ῥήτωρ), second (πυρφόρον στόμα) and fifth (λύρα, τέττιξ) epigram. The "musical" imagery to refer to Paul's eloquence reminds of the many laudatory epigrams on David, such as "Ἡ μουσικὴ μὲν Ὀρφέως λύρα".[29]

The language of the poems is throughout quite conventional, with a few notable exceptions. The form γεγωνέστερον (poem 1, v. 1), if correct, is an unattested alternative for γεγωνότερον, coined by analogy. The *hapax* βροντοφθογγόφωνον (#1, v. 2) belongs to the kind of compounds that are not uncommon in Byzantine poetry. All verses typically have twelve syllables, easily recognisable verse pauses and a paroxytonic accent at the end, but the author does not take into account any prosodic rules. Note also that the half verse πίστιν κατεφύτευσας is used twice, with minor variations: in the second (v. 3) and fifth (v. 8) epigram.

These constatations demonstrate that this series of epigrams for Paul is a coherent unity, conceived by one and the same author. It is highly unlikely that the scribe of the Vaticanus Graecus 363 was this author. Not only did he make a considerable number of orthographical and grammatical mistakes, at times he failed fully to understand the text. In the epigram on folio 257v, for example, a later hand has made a sign indicating that in the fifth verse one should not read δεύρως φάττων (as the scribe wrote), but δεύρω σφάττων.

Other obvious failures to understand the text correctly lead to some problematic passages, where the original text can only be reconstructed hypothetically. In poem 3, v. 4, for instance, the manuscript has the non-existing

[29] Vatic. Gr. 342, ff. 281v–282. Edited by J.B. Pitra, Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata. Parisiis 1884, II 441.

form κατεστέλλει. An active present form καταστέλλει – at first sight the most obvious correction – would be difficult to connect with γαλήνειαν, for grammatical reasons (the particle τε would be superfluous), and semantic reasons (the verb καταστέλλει can mean 'bring to rest' when used with an object with negative value, which is obviously not the case here). We suspect κατεστάλη to have been the original form. In the passive voice, the verb can mean 'come to a rest', as it does for instance in John Chrysostom's *Exp. in Ps.* 55.356. Our reading and interpretation of poem 5, v. 4, is even more hesitant: the proposed reconstruction, with forms of ἁρμόζω (intransitive, 'be in tune') and τὸ ἦχος (a rare neuter), continues the metaphor of Paul as a lyre (see v. 2). Yet, we do not exclude the possibility that the manuscript reading εἰρμώσας derives from an *athesauriston* εἱρμόω, equally with a musical meaning.
It seems, then, that we are dealing here with an earlier collection of epigrams in honour of Paul, lost to us in its original form. Our scribe had recourse to this collection in an attempt to adorn the text of Paul's letters, as a poetic accompaniment and afterthought to a prose text, in the same way that epigrams adorn iconographical representations of religious subjects.

Abstract

The article offers an edition, translation and commentary of eight so-called book epigrams. They all stem from eleventh-century manuscripts containing the New Testament or commentaries on it, more specifically the *Paris. Coisl.* 199, the *Vindobon. Theol. Gr.* 302, the *Paris. Coisl.* 26, and the *Vatic. Gr.* 363. While most of them are unedited, the second one is a conflation of known epigrams, and the third an unknown version of a previously edited epigram.

Although book epigrams are frequently encountered in Byzantine manuscripts, the genre has not received much attention. In the track of the recently increasing interest in manuscripts as cultural artifacts in their own right, our commentary focuses on the relationship between epigram and manuscript, and the process of copying. It also discusses textual problems, structure, content, function, vocabulary, and metrical features of the poems.

The analysis is enriched by parallels from other, mostly contemporary, book epigrams, which were collected during an ongoing database project at Ghent University. The comparison shows, among other things, that the material belonging to this genre is 'recyclable': it is constantly re-used, sometimes with slight but meaningful modifications.

ECHI DEL ROMANZO E DI PROCOPIO DI GAZA IN FILAGATO CERAMEO

ALDO CORCELLA / UNIVERSITÀ DELLA BASILICATA

1. Filagato Cerameo – Filippo, prima dell'ordinazione a monaco – fu attivo nell'Italia meridionale normanna, sotto i regni di Ruggero II (1130–1154) e Guglielmo I (1154–1166).[1] Legato agli ambienti monastici calabresi e siciliani, e in particolare al Patir di Rossano e a Bartolomeo di Simeri, per cui pronunciò un elogio funebre, fu soprattutto grande predicatore in lingua greca: tale attività, da lui praticata in varie chiese e nella stessa cappella palatina a Palermo, è testimoniata da un consistente *corpus* omiletico, che conobbe una certa fortuna nel mondo bizantino.[2] Esso rivela una notevole cultura letteraria, tanto sacra quanto profana;[3] e poiché la figura di Filagato è stata spesso citata nelle controverse discussioni sulla circolazione dei testi antichi nell'Italia meridionale dell'epoca, per altra via attestata dalla produzione di manoscritti,

Devo molto al Prof. Dr. Albrecht Berger e agli anonimi revisori, che mi hanno suggerito importanti approfondimenti.

1 Per un primo orientamento sulla figura di Filagato si possono vedere A. Kazhdan, s.v. Philagathos, *ODB* 1648–1649 e L. Amelotti, Filagato da Cerami, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 47 (Roma 1997) 564–565; da ultimo, con la bibliografia precedente, C.-N. Gaşpar, Praising the Stylite in Southern Italy: Philagathos of Cerami on St Symeon the Stylite [*BHG* 822]. *Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica. Annuario* 4 (2002) 93–108 e specialmente N. Bianchi, Il codice del romanzo. Tradizione manoscritta e ricezione dei romanzi greci. Bari 2006, 7–67.

2 Dopo le fondamentali ricognizioni di A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche III 5. Leipzig 1943, 631–681, la tradizione del corpus fu indagata da G. Rossi Taibbi, Sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'omiliario di Filagato da Cerami, Palermo 1965. Lo stesso studioso ne intraprese quindi l'edizione critica, rimasta però incompleta (G. Rossi Taibbi, Filagato da Cerami. Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e per le feste di tutto l'anno. I. Omelie per le feste fisse. Palermo 1969: delle complessive 88 orazioni, elencate e numerate a XVI–XXIII, il volume contiene le prime 35, tra cui – al numero 34 – l'elogio di Bartolomeo). Tre ulteriori omelie sono state in seguito edite da S. Caruso, Le tre omilie inedite «Per la Domenica delle Palme» di Filagato da Cerami (LI, LII, LIII Rossi Taibbi). *EEBS* 41 (1974) 109–127, e una sezione dell'omelia 37 da G. Zaccagni, La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις in Filagato da Cerami: una particolare tecnica narrativa. *RSBN* 35 (1998) 47–65; ma per molti testi è ancora necessario far ricorso all'edizione di F. Scorso (Lutetiae Parisiorum 1644, con falsa attribuzione a Teofane Cerameo) ristampata con correzioni e aggiunte in *PG* 132 (Lutetiae Parisiorum 1864).

3 Un recente bilancio complessivo in N. Bianchi, Il codice del romanzo (come nota 1 sopra) 37–47. Vedi anche più sotto, nota 34.

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può essere interessante compiere qualche ulteriore sondaggio sugli autori che egli conosce e riprende.[4]

2. Proprio la ricca cultura profana di Filagato era in effetti tra gli elementi che avevano indotto a identificare con lui il 'Filippo il filosofo' autore della cosiddetta *Commentatio in Charicleam*, una dotta interpretazione allegorica delle *Etiopiche* di Eliodoro tramandata, in appendice al romanzo, nel manoscritto Marciano gr. 410 (522), databile al XII secolo e probabilmente originario proprio dell'Italia meridionale:[5] nel proemio, inizialmente modellato sul dialogo pseudoplatonico *Assioco*, l'autore si presenta in effetti come un anziano 'filosofo' che ha amato il romanzo eliodoreo in gioventù ma anche dopo averlo lasciato da parte per passare a diversi interessi spirituali e culturali, «come si lascia il latte della formazione infantile» (οἷόν τι γάλα τῆς νηπιώδους παρέντες παιδεύσεως, l. 24–25 Bianchi), è pronto a difenderne l'ispirazione morale e metafisica davanti a un pubblico di φιλόλογοι vivamente interessato al dibattito; tale compito viene quindi svolto attraverso una duplice interpretazione allegorica in chiave neoplatonico-cristiana, fondata su una rilettura del romanzo molto puntuale e ricca di precise riprese testuali.[6] L'identificazione di Filippo il filosofo con Filippo/Filagato Cerameo fu inizialmente proposta da Aristide Colonna e venne poi suffragata dalle

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4 Non è qui la sede per riprendere la discussione generale sulla circolazione dei testi greci nell'Italia meridionale in età normanna. Sono ormai classici J. Irigoin, L'Italie méridionale et la tradition des textes antiques. *JÖB* 18 (1969) 37–55; P. Canart, Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux. *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978) 103–162; G. Cavallo, La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria, in: I Bizantini in Italia. Milano 1982, 459–612. Nell'ampio dibattito successivo mi limito a menzionare la messa a punto di N.G. Wilson, Scholars of Byzantium. [2]London/Cambridge, MA 1996, 319–331 e il catalogo Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale (Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, 31 marzo – 31 maggio 2000), a cura di P. Canart / S. Lucà. Roma 2000; nonché, soprattutto, la rassegna ricca di spunti problematici lasciataci da J. Irigoin, L'apport de l'Italie méridionale à la transmission des textes classiques, in: Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches, sous la direction de A. Jacob / J.M. Martin / G. Noyé. Rome 2006, 5–20.

5 Il testo, che nel manoscritto porta il titolo Τῆς Χαρικλείας ἑρμηνεία τῆς σώφρονος ἐκ φωνῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, fu inizialmente edito da R. Hercher, Fragmentum Marcianum. *Hermes* 3 (1869) 382–388 e poi da A. Colonna, Heliodori Aethiopica. Romae 1938, 365–370, ma si legge ora in forma più corretta in Bianchi, Il codice del romanzo (come nota 1 sopra) 49–57 (da cui citiamo). Per l'origine del manoscritto si veda Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale (come nota 4 sopra), n° 45 (A. Jacob).

6 Sulla presenza di specifiche allusioni a passi eliodorei – il cui riconoscimento aiuta talora a stabilire il testo – si veda da ultimo A. Corcella, Note a Filippo il filosofo (Filagato da Cerami), Commentatio in Charicleam. *Medioevo greco* 9 (2009) 45–51.

ricerche di vari altri studiosi, tra cui soprattutto Carolina Cupane.[7] Di recente, è stata nuovamente proposta una datazione della *Commentatio* ad età tardoantica;[8] ma a favore della paternità filagatea, come ha da ultimo ribadito Nunzio Bianchi, vanno sia una evidente comunanza di ispirazione, contenuti e stile fra l'ἑρμηνεία e le omelie sia alcuni echi eliodorei in Filagato.[9]

Precise imitazioni eliodoree sono state in effetti individuate da Gaia Zaccagni nell'omelia 16 Scorso (= 37 Rossi Taibbi).[10] Una ricognizione del resto del corpus filagateo mostra che la presenza delle *Etiopiche* è pervasiva: molte omelie risultano largamente intessute di frasi, sentenze, espressioni riprese da Eliodoro. Un caso particolarmente significativo si legge nell'omelia 33 Scorso (= 76 Rossi Taibbi), dove a commento del πρωῒ σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης di Ev. Io. 20,1 Filagato afferma (660 C):[11]

> βούλεται μὲν δηλῶσαι τὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μεταίχμιον, ὃ σκιόφως ὠνόμασται.

Francesco Scorso, non trovando attestazioni della parola σκιόφως altrove, sospettava un'estemporanea creazione dell'autore dell'omelia;[12] di fatto, essa sembra essere attestata un'unica volta nella grecità superstite, e precisamente in Aeth. 5,27,1:

> ὁ μὲν ἥλιος ἀκριβῶς εἰς δυσμὰς περιελθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς σκιόφως ἀπετέλεσεν.

Filagato era evidentemente un attento lettore delle *Etiopiche*, e ne notava gli *hapax*. In vari altri casi sono *gnomai* e frasi memorabili ad essere tolte di peso da Eliodoro. Un bell'esempio si legge nell'omelia 20 Scorso (= 41 Rossi Taibbi) 441 C:

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7 A. Colonna, Heliodori Aethiopica (come n.5) 366; Id., Teofane Cerameo e Filippo filosofo. *Bollettino del Comitato per l'edizione nazionale dei Classici greci e latini* N.S. 8 (1960) 25–28; C. Cupane, Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος. Contributo alla storia della cultura bizantina in età normanna. *Siculorum Gymnasium* N.S. 31 (1978) 1–28, specialmente 16–20.

8 Così, in particolare, A. Acconcia Longo, Filippo il filosofo a Costantinopoli. *RSBN* N.S. 28 (1991) 3–21 e L. Tarán, The Authorship of an Allegorical Interpretation of Heliodorus' Aethiopica, in: Σοφίης μαιήτορες «Chercheurs de sagesse». Hommage à J. Pépin. Paris 1992, 203–230, ora ristampato in Id., Collected Papers (1962–1999). Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001, 74–108.

9 Bianchi, Il codice del romanzo (come nota 1 sopra) 22–47, soprattutto 35–36. Qualche ulteriore elemento in Corcella, Note a Filippo il filosofo (come nota 6 sopra).

10 Zaccagni, La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις (come nota 2 sopra), soprattutto 60–65.

11 Stampo qui il testo dello Scorso; ma nel f. 15r del manoscritto Matrit. gr. 4570 (per cui vedi più sotto, nota 36), come ho potuto verificare in fotografia grazie alla cortesia di Nunzio Bianchi, il τῆς manca – esattamente come in Eliodoro 5,27,1.

12 «Hujus vocis neminem alium auctorem habeo, quam ipsum hunc λογοδαίδαλον Theophanem»: *PG* 132, 660D.

> πάθος γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ μὲν ὀξέως γινωσκόμενον εὐβοήθητον· τὸ δὲ εὐλαβούμενον, ἀθεράπευτον· τὸ δὲ χρόνῳ παραπεμπόμενον, ἐγγὺς ἀνίατον.

Si tratta di una ripresa appena amplificata di Aeth. 4,5,7:

> πάθος γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ μὲν ὀξέως γινωσκόμενον εὐβοήθητον, τὸ δὲ χρόνῳ παραπεμπόμενον ἐγγὺς ἀνίατον.

Il brano di Eliodoro da cui Filagato trae la *gnome*, incentrato sul tema del 'mal d'amore' e del malocchio, ebbe in effetti una certa diffusione in età comnena, tanto da essere imitato anche nella versione di Grottaferrata del *Digenis Akritas* (4, 386–395).[13]

Ma Filagato sembra avere una qualche conoscenza anche dell'altro romanzo antico che alla sua epoca godeva di speciale fortuna, e cioè del *Leucippe e Clitofonte* di Achille Tazio.[14] Ciò è rivelato da due passi:

> Ἡ μὲν γὰρ πόλις Ναῒν πᾶσα συνέρρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ, καὶ θροῦς ἐγεγόνει πολὺς καὶ θρῆνος ἦν συμμιγής, ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή, γυναικῶν ὀλολυγή, παρθένων κωκυτός, παίδων κλαυθμυρισμός, πάντα δακρύων ἀνάμεστα (hom. 6,9 Rossi Taibbi).

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13 L'ampia presenza di riprese da Eliodoro e Achille Tazio nella versione G del Digenis Akritas è stata da tempo notata – vari casi sono registrati in E. Trapp, Digenes Akritas. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen. Wien 1971, ma si veda anche P. Odorico, La sapienza del Digenis. Materiali per lo studio dei loci simili nella recensione di Grottaferrata. *Byz* 59 (1989) 137–163 – ed è tra gli elementi che inducono a datarla ad età comnena (così tra l'altro N. Oikonomides, L''Epopée' de Digenis et la frontiére orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles. *TM* 7 (1979) 375–397; E. Jeffreys, The Comnenian Background to the romans d'antiquité, *Byz* 50 (1980) 455–486 [rist. in E. Jeffreys / M. Jeffreys, Popular Literature in Late Byzantium. London 1983, n. X], soprattutto 484). In 5, 64–65 la frase εἶτα καθίσαντες ὁμοῦ ἐν θώκῳ χαμαιζήλῳ / τάδε λέγειν ἀπήρξατο sembrerebbe discendere da Achille Tazio 1,2,3 (probabilmente imitato anche da Psello, Encomium in matrem l.1470 Criscuolo); non sarà un caso che il parallelo più vicino si legga però proprio nella Commentatio in Charicleam di Filippo il filosofo: εἶτα καὶ αὐτοὺς προσειπὼν ἐν χαμαιζήλῳ θάκῳ κατεκλίθημεν παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἱερᾶς πύλης οὐδόν, καὶ λέγειν ἀπηρξάμην ὧδε (l. 44–47 Bianchi).

14 Oltre che dalla tradizione manoscritta, la fortuna dei due romanzi tra XI e XII secolo è dimostrata dallo scritto che ad essi dedicò Michele Psello (edito da A. R. Dyck, Michael Psellus, The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. Wien 1986) e dai vari *testimonia* (raccolti nella edizione di Colonna [come nota 5 sopra] e, per Achille Tazio, in quella di E. Vilborg, Stockholm 1955), nonché dalle imitazioni nei romanzi bizantini di età comnena (su cui da ultimo P. A. Agapitos, Narrative, rhetoric and 'drama' rediscovered: scholars and poets in Byzantium interpret Heliodorus, in R. Hunter [ed.], Studies in Heliodorus. Cambridge 1998, 125–156). Sempre fondamentale in proposito H. Gärtner, Charikleia in Byzanz. *Antike und Abendland* 15 (1969) 47–69.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν νέηλυς ἐτεθνήκει, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔκλαιον, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ ἐκόπτοντο, καὶ θροῦς ἦν συμμιγής, συνδρομὴ συγγενῶν, κωκυτὸς οἰκετῶν, ὀλολυγμὸς γυναικῶν, οἰμωγὴ ἀνδρῶν, πάντα θρήνων καὶ δακρύων ἀνάμεστα (hom. 11,13 Rossi Taibbi).

Si tratta, evidentemente, di variazioni di un medesimo modello; e tale modello è per l'appunto Achille Tazio 3,2,8:

Ἦν οὖν ἀνέμων μάχη καὶ κυμάτων. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐδυνάμεθα κατὰ χώραν μένειν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς νηὸς σεισμοῦ. συμμιγὴς δὲ πάντων ἐγίνετο βοή· ἐρρόχθει τὸ κῦμα, ἐπάφλαζε τὸ πνεῦμα, ὀλολυγμὸς γυναικῶν, ἀλαλαγμὸς ἀνδρῶν, κελευσμὸς ναυτῶν, πάντα θρήνων καὶ κωκυτῶν ἀνάμεστα.

Non senza abilità, Filagato ha riutilizzato la descrizione dello sconvolgimento creato da una tempesta per dipingere enfaticamente il dolore collettivo derivante da un lutto.[15]

L'omelia 6, in particolare, è rappresentativa del modo in cui Filagato elabora i suoi modelli, fondendo cultura sacra e profana. La vicenda della vedova che vede morire l'unico figlio (parr. 5–12) si apre infatti, ai parr. 5–6, con un brano letteralmente ripreso da Gregorio di Nissa, de opificio hominis, *PG* 44, 220AB[16], cui fanno seguito ulteriori spunti gregoriani (in particolare, al par. 7, da orr. VIII de beatitudinibus I, *GNO* VII 2, 86,5, e al par.11 da de deitate filii et spiritus sancti, *PG* 46, 568 D) che vengono però subito ad intrecciarsi con materiali tratti dai romanzi. All'inizio del par.9 si ha infatti la scena di lutto collettivo riadattata da Achille Tazio che abbiamo citato, e anche il successivo riferimento alla «rosa della guancia» potrebbe essere ripreso dallo stesso autore (si vedano 1,19,1 e 5,13,1). Quindi subentra Eliodoro: sempre al par.9 il paragone con l'uccello che vede il suo nido devastato da un serpente è tratto, con poche varianti, da Aeth. 2,22,4, e arditamente affiancato a una citazione da Michea; mentre più sotto, al par. 12, la frase ἐμμανὴς ἐπὶ τὸν κράβαττον ἵεται· καὶ περιχυθεῖσα τῷ πτώματι καὶ μέλεσι μέλη τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ ἑαυτῆς συναρμόσασα, ἀπρὶξ εἴχετο καὶ γοεροῖς κατησπάζετο θρήνοις rielabora Aeth. 7,7,5 e la sequenza οἴμοι, σιωπᾷς καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ στόμα κατέσχε σιγὴ καὶ ζόφος περικέχυται ταῖς λαμπάσι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν è variazione di 2,4,3.

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15 Nella descrizione della tempesta di hom. 10,6 Rossi Taibbi, l'espressione παφλάζοντος … τοῦ πνεύματος potrebbe essere anch'essa ripresa da Achille Tazio, ma per il resto si avvertono piuttosto echi omerici; mentre in hom. 20,2–3 Rossi Taibbi modello è Alcifrone, come ha mostrato N. Bianchi, Tempesta nello stretto ovvero Filagato da Cerami lettore di Alcifrone. *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Bari* 48 (2005) 91–97.

16 Il dato fu notato da Rossi Taibbi (come nota 2 sopra) XLVII; ved. anche H. Maguire, Art and Eloquence in Byzantium. Princeton 1981, 39–40.

La conoscenza che Filagato ha dei più vari brani di Eliodoro, ben al di là di quanto poteva essere recuperato dalla tradizione gnomologica,[17] e il modo raffinato in cui li utilizza mostrano, al di là di ogni ragionevole dubbio, che egli ha attentamente studiato le *Etiopiche* e ha modellato il suo gusto letterario su di esse. Ciò è d'altra parte esplicitamente testimoniato dall'ἑρμηνεία, la cui paternità gli va a questo punto con buona sicurezza ascritta; e anche se il quadro, che da essa emerge, di un ambiente di dotti vivamente interessato a discutere di Eliodoro potrebbe risentire di una convenzione letteraria, l'effettiva circolazione dei romanzi nell'Italia meridionale dell'epoca trova conferma in quanto si può ricostruire dalla tradizione manoscritta, a partire proprio dal Marciano gr. 410 (522).[18] Ai tempi di Filagato, del resto, i romanzi erano entrati a far parte dei programmi formativi dei retori, cui fornivano un ampio repertorio di brani sentenziosi e descrizioni a tinte forti. La trattatistica è in questo senso esplicita: nel περὶ λογογραφίας attribuito a Gregorio Pardos, tanto *Leucippe* quanto *Cariclea* compaiono tra le letture consigliate, a fianco di Luciano, Sinesio ed Alcifrone, e costituiscono, in particolare, modelli da imitare ἐν … ταῖς ἀφηγηματικαῖς ῥητορικαῖς ἐννοίαις assieme a Filostrato, Senofonte e Procopio di Cesarea (parr. 34–37 DONNET);[19] canone che sarà riecheggiato in età paleologa da Giuseppe Rhakendytes (*Rhetores Graeci* 3, 521 WALZ).

3. In queste medesime liste di letture consigliate, fra i testi che non possono mancare nel bagaglio del retore compaiono anche i due grandi maestri della scuola di Gaza, Procopio e Coricio. Che Filagato conoscesse Coricio è stato di recente sostenuto sulla base di alcune consonanze tra le *ekphraseis* contenute nei due encomi per il vescovo Marciano del gazeo e l'*ekphrasis* della cappella palatina di Palermo da Filagato inserita nella sua omelia per la festa dei santi Pietro e Paolo (27 ROSSI TAIBBI).[20] L'argomentazione non appare però convincente, ché non si tratta, a dire il vero, di riprese letterali, paragonabili

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[17] Su Eliodoro (e Achille Tazio) nei florilegi sacro-profani si veda P. ANTONIOU, Les florilèges sacro-profanes et la tradition indirecte des romanciers Achille Tatius et Héliodore. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 25 (1995) 81–90. Il caso di Filagato è in questo senso analogo a quello della versione G del Digenis Akritas, le cui riprese dai romanzi non si limitano alle gnomai: così ODORICO, La sapienza del Digenis (come nota 13 sopra).

[18] Una discussione complessiva e la bibliografia precedente in BIANCHI, Il codice del romanzo (come nota 1 sopra) 38–39.

[19] D. DONNET, Le Traité Peri syntaxeos logou de Grégoire de Corinthe. Étude de la tradition manuscrite, èdition, traduction et commentaire. Bruxelles/Rome 1967, 321–322.

[20] M.L. FOBELLI, L'ekphrasis di Filagato da Cerami sulla Cappella Palatina e il suo modello, in: Medioevo: i modelli. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Parma, 27 settembre – 1 ottobre 1999, a cura di A. C. QUINTAVALLE. Milano 2002, 267–275, specialmente 270.

ad esempio a quelle operate da Giovanni Phokas nel compilare, nell'ultimo quarto del XII secolo, la sua *Descrizione dei luoghi santi.*[21]

Si può forse invece dimostrare in maniera più netta che Filagato conosceva l'opera di Procopio. Nell'omelia 24, 6–11 Rossi-Taibbi egli si cimenta con uno dei temi preferiti dell'*ekphrasis* patetica, già cavallo di battaglia di molti oratori sacri, la strage degli innocenti.[22] La descrizione è introdotta da due domande retoriche: «quale discorso potrebbe arrivare a narrare una tale pena? chi mai potrebbe trovare i degni accenti di tragedia per la grandezza di quella sciagura?» (Ἀλλὰ ποῖος ἐφίκοιτο λόγος, εἰς τοσούτου πάθους ἀφήγησιν; Τίς ἀξίως ἐκτραγῳδήσειε τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης τὸ μέγεθος;). Seguono delle esclamazioni: «O esecrabile spettacolo, o tremenda oscurità che calò allora su Betlemme! O lamento delle donne, e pianto dei bimbi strappati per andare a morire!» (Ὦ θέας ἀπευκτῆς, ὢ γνόφου δεινοῦ, κατασχόντος τότε τὴν Βηθλεέμ. Ὢ γυναικῶν ὀλολυγῆς, οἰμωγῆς τε παίδων ἁρπαζομένων εἰς ὄλεθρον). Si passa quindi a un tono più descrittivo:

> Ἐθρήνουν πατέρες, προσέπιπτον τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἱκέτευον, *καὶ μήτηρ περιεκέχυτο παῖδα*, πατὴρ δὲ ἀνεκαλεῖτο γονήν. Ὥρμα γυνὴ πρὸς φυγήν, φόρτον τοῖς ὤμοις τὸ παιδίον ἐπάγουσα· ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὁ δρόμος ὀξύτερος. Ἀλλήλοις δὲ συνεκρούοντο, καὶ φωναὶ συμμιγεῖς ἀνηγείροντο· ἠπείλουν οἱ στρατιῶται δεινόν τι καὶ δρακοντῶδες, ἠγριωμένοις δεδορκότες τοῖς ὄμμασιν. Ὠλόλυζον μητέρες αἵμασι πεφυρμέναι καὶ δάκρυσιν· ὠλοφύροντο νήπια ἐλεεινῶς συγκοπτόμενα. Τὰ γὰρ ξίφη, ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἐπ' αὐτὰ φερόμενα ἀθλίως ἠκρωτηρίαζε· καὶ τὸ μὲν χειρῶν ἀπεστέρητο, τὸ δὲ τὼ πόδε συντριβὲν ἐξ ἡμισείας ἀπώλετο· *ἄλλο κατεάγη τὴν κεφαλήν, τοῦ σώματος τὰ καίρια παρασπώμενον*, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐτέμνετο, ὡς ὁ θυμὸς ἐδίδου αὐτοματίζων ἑκάστῳ τὸν θάνατον. *Ὢ πόσοι παῖδες, μέσοι τμηθέντες, ἡμίθνητοι μεμενήκασι, μηδὲ τελευτὴν ὀξυτέραν ˮκερδαίνοντες*, ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ δαπανώμενοι. Παῖς παρέθεε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ψελλιζούσῃ φωνῇ τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἀνεκαλεῖτο. Ἀλλὰ

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21 Per le riprese si veda R. Foerster/E. Richtsteig, Choricii Gazaei Opera. Lipsiae 1929 (rist. an. Stutgardiae 1972), XXX. Su Giovanni Phokas, A. Kazhdan, s. v. Phokas, John, *ODB* 1667 e, da ultimo, A. Külzer, Konstantinos Manasses und Johannes Phokas – Zwei byzantinische Orientreisende des 12. Jahrhunderts, in: Erkundung und Beschreibung der Welt. Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte, hrsg. von X. von Ertzdorff/G. Giesemann. *Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis*, 34. Amsterdam/New York 2003, 185–209. Anche Giovanni Phokas era peraltro un lettore di Achille Tazio, la cui descrizione del porto di Sidone cita con approvazione al cap. 6 (*PG* 133, 932D).

22 Classica la trattazione di H. Maguire, Art and Eloquence in Byzantium (come nota 16 sopra), 24–34 (che giustamente insiste sul duplice influsso, nella doppia ekphrasis di Filagato, di modelli letterari e referenti iconografici); da ultimo, J. Barkhuizen, Romanos Melodos, 'On the Massacre of the Innocents': a perspective on ekphrasis as a method of patristic exegesis. *Acta Classica* 50 (2007) 29–50.

στρατιώτης ἐξάπινα εἰσδραμών, ἀφῃρεῖτο τῷ ξίφει τὴν κεφαλήν· φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦδε, ἡ κάρα κατεμίχθη τῇ κόνει
«I padri piangevano, si gettavano ai piedi dei soldati, li supplicavano; *e una madre si era avvolta ad abbracciare il figlio*, mentre un padre invocava il suo rampollo. Una donna si dava alla fuga, portando il figliolo addosso sulle spalle, ma più veloce era la corsa degli sgherri. Si urtavano tra loro, e si levavano voci confuse: i soldati profferivano minacce, lanciando sguardi terribili, da serpi, con occhi ferini;[23] le madri strillavano, bagnate di sangue e di lacrime; i bimbi gemevano mentre venivano miserevolmente mutilati – ché le spade, abbattendosi su di loro, infliggevano in mille modi orrende amputazioni: ad uno erano state tagliate le mani, mentre uno, con i piedi mozzati, era stato ucciso a metà; *un altro aveva avuta rotta la testa, ed era privato del centro vitale del corpo*, ed uno invece veniva tagliato tutto intero – a libero piacimento si dava una diversa morte a ciascuno. *Quanti fanciulli, tagliati a metà, restavano mezzi morti: neppure avevano il vantaggio di una morte rapida*, ma si consumavano lentamente! Un bambino stava correndo verso la mamma, e con accenti di pargolo chiamava la madre… ma in un attimo un soldato gli fu addosso, e gli staccava la testa con un colpo di spada; "e mentre ancora favellava, la testa fu tutt'uno con la polvere".» (parr. 6–7)

Quest'ultima è una chiusa omerica (Il. 10, 457; Od. 22, 329), sia pur adattata alla lingua e al ritmo della prosa, e Filagato infatti commenta: «l'argomento mi spinge a pronunciare parole poetiche. Ogni età fu allora toccata dallo strazio, e una tragica Erinni impazzava su Betlemme, flagellandola di guerre intestine» (Ἐξάγει γάρ με ὁ λόγος τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως φθέγξασθαι· πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν τὸ πάθος τότε συνείληφε, καὶ τραγῳδίας Ἐρινὺς τῇ Βηθλεὲμ ἐπεκώμαζε, τοῖς οἴκοθεν αὐτὴν πολέμοις μαστίζουσα). «Ogni età»: perché, in effetti, «anche l'anziano si lamentava, maledicendo i suoi tanti anni, che l'avevano conservato in vita solo per riservargli gli attuali strazi, e rimproverando la morte perché tardava ad arrivare; mentre la madre arrivava a rimpiangere di essere madre: felici invece le donne vergini e sterili, e quelle con figlie femmine, o senza figli! Seppure, forse, anche queste erano partecipi della sciagura, anche da loro condivisa per amicizia, rapporto di sangue, o naturale attitudine» (Καὶ πρεσβύτης μὲν ἐδυσχέραινε τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον καταιτιώμενος, ὡς πάθεσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς παροῦσι τετηρηκότα, καὶ τὸν θάνατον ὡς βραδύνοντα κατεμέμφετο· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὅτι καὶ γέγονε μήτηρ ὠδύρετο· ἐμακαρίζοντο δὲ παρθένοι καὶ στεῖραι, καὶ θηλυτόκοι καὶ ἄγονοι. Τάχα δὲ καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις κοινὸν ἦν τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐξ ἑταιρείας ἢ αἵματος ἢ τρόπου ἀνακοινούμενον, par. 8). Segue, infine, un'altra *ekphrasis*, la

[23] Riferisco i termini δεινόν τι καὶ δρακοντῶδες (dopo i quali non porrei virgola) a δεδορκότες sulla base dei paralleli citati più sotto alla nota 27.

descrizione di una raffigurazione iconografica, che offre il destro per effondersi in una ulteriore patetica descrizione del dolore di una madre (parr. 9–10); e anche in questo caso si ha un suggello poetico, in quanto il concetto per cui costei sembra «fondere le parole di Niobe e di Alcesti» (συνεῖρεν ἴσως τὰ τῆς Νιόβης καὶ τῆς Ἀλκήστεως) viene illustrato da tre versi euripidei dei quali il terzo è effettivamente tratto dall'*Alcesti* (882), mentre i primi due risalgono alla *Medea* (1029–1030), uniti a una sentenza che si ritrova, sulla bocca di Niobe, in un'etopea di Aftonio (prog. 11,4 Patillon = 35,20–36,1 Rabe):

> Μάτην ἄρα σε, τέκνον, ἐξεθρεψάμην,
> μάτην ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατεξάνθην πόνοις.
> Ζηλῶ δ' ἀγάμους καὶ γυναῖκας ἀτέκνους·
> βέλτιον γὰρ μὴ τεκεῖν ἢ τίκτειν εἰς δάκρυα (par. 11).

Questo lungo brano è un significativo esempio della tecnica con cui Filagato compone i suoi discorsi, che Gaia Zaccagni ha opportunamente paragonato ad «arazzi»;[24] e le domande retoriche all'inizio del par.6 possono ben essere intese come il preciso segnale dell'elevazione dello stile conseguente all'imitazione di modelli. Uno di questi modelli, probabilmente il principale, può essere individuato grazie al confronto delle sequenze che abbiamo riportato in corsivo con alcune citazioni riportate in uno dei lessici contenuti nel manoscritto Coislin 345, il cosiddetto περὶ συντάξεως.[25] In questo lessico, per esemplificare le costruzioni di alcuni verbi, sono riportati anche brevi brani di Procopio di Gaza; tre sono tratti da opere conservate, mentre a scritti oggi perduti viene attinta una quindicina di altri frammenti, fra cui i tre seguenti:[26]

> Κατεάγη: γενικῇ. Προκόπιος ἐκ τῆς Μονῳδίας Ἀντιοχείας· "ἄλλος κατεάγη τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ σώματος τὰ καίρια παρασπώμενος." (153,21–23 Bekker = κ 40 Petrova; Proc. fr. certae sedis I 2 Amato)
> Κερδαίνω: αἰτιατικῇ. Προκόπιος· "ὢ πόσοι μέσοι ξύλων ἀλλήλοις ἀντερειδόντων ἐγίνοντο, μηδὲ τελευτὴν ὀξυτέραν κερδαίνοντες." (153, 24–26 Bekker = κ 41 Petrova; Proc. fr. incertae sedis 22 Amato)
> Περιχέομαι: αἰτιατικῇ. Προκόπιος· "καὶ μήτηρ μὲν περιεκέχυτο παῖδα." (169,4–5 Bekker = π 70 Petrova; Proc. fr. incertae sedis 26 Amato)

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24 Zaccagni, La πάρεργος ἀφήγησις (come nota 2 sopra), 47.

25 Dopo l'edizione di I. Bekker, Anecdota Graeca I. Berolini 1814, 117–180, si dispone ora di quella a cura di D. Petrova, Das Lexikon "Über die Syntax". Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe des Lexikons im Codex Paris. Coisl. gr. 345. Wiesbaden 2006, accompagnata da un accurato studio in cui si propone una datazione al primo quarto del VII secolo e una possibile origine gazea (XXVII–XXVIII).

26 I frammenti ddi Procopio sono stati editi da E. Amato, Procopius Gazaeus. Opuscula Rhetorica et Oratoria. Berlin/Nwe York 2009. E. Amato, Sei epistole mutuae inedite di Procopio di Gaza ed il retore Megezio. *BZ* 98 (2005) 367–382: 370 nota 12; Petrova (come nota 25 sopra) XVI–XVII.

Filagato ha evidentemente riadattato nella sua omelia questi brani, con alcune ovvie variazioni. Si potrebbe, a rigore, supporre che li abbia ripresi da questo o da analogo lessico; ma non pare che altri frammenti, procopiani o non procopiani, presenti nel περὶ συντάξεως siano stati utilizzati da Filagato ed è senz'altro più naturale pensare che egli avesse accesso al testo stesso di Procopio.

Se ciò è vero, possiamo tentare un'ulteriore conclusione. Nel lessico περὶ συντάξεως, uno dei passi di Procopio imitati nell'omelia è attribuito alla *Monodia per Antiochia*, mentre per gli altri due non vi è indicazione dell'opera da cui sono tratti. Come abbiamo visto discutendo dell'omelia 6, Filagato è abile nel creare *pastiches* da testi diversi, e anche qui i passi tratti da Procopio sono fusi con altro materiale, tra cui – come di consueto – Gregorio di Nissa;[27] ma è verosimile che nei parr.6–7 egli stia imitando e variando un unico testo procopiano e che quindi anche i due brani privi di attribuzione nel περὶ συντάξεως – alla pari, probabilmente, di altre parole ed espressioni di analogo tono patetico presenti nel medesimo contesto[28] – siano ripresi dalla medesima *Monodia per Antiochia.* Questa monodia fu verosimilmente composta da Procopio in occasione del rovinoso terremoto del 526:[29] un po' come nel caso di Achille Tazio, Filagato avrebbe riadattato ad altra situazione la memorabile descrizione degli effetti di una catastrofe naturale. Capiamo allora bene perché il brano di Filagato si apra con un riferimento alla tragedia, e con dei lamenti espressi in forma esclamativa: conformemente alle origini stesse del genere

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27 Ciò vale innanzitutto per le frasi specificamente dedicate all'uccisione dei fanciulli, senz'altro aggiunte o variate rispetto al modello principale: così, ad esempio, il δεινόν τι καὶ δρακοντῶδες del par.7 varia lo ὕφαιμόν τι καὶ δρακοντῶδες di Gregorio di Nissa, orr. VIII de beat. VII, *GNO* VII 2, 156,1–2, un passo che Filagato ha più ampiamente imitato in hom. 9,13 Rossi Taibbi. Quanto al verso omerico alla fine del par. 7, esso poteva in teoria essere già presente nel modello, ma in ogni caso Filagato si mostra cosciente della sua origine.

28 Sarebbe facile sospettare, in particolare, della frase sulla «tragica Erinni» che «impazzava su Betlemme, flagellandola di guerre intestine» al par.8, sia perché le Erinni erano un topos delle monodie (cfr. A. Sideras, Eine byzantinische Invektive gegen die Verfasser von Grabreden. Ἀνωνύμου μονῳδία εἰς μονῳδοῦντας. *WBS*, 23. Wien 2002, 83–84) sia perché l'espressione «guerre intestine» (τοῖς οἴκοθεν … πολέμοις), di ascendenza platonica (Soph. 252c6), fa parte del vocabolario di Procopio (decl. 6 l.34 Garzya/Loenertz = op. 6 l. 39 Amato) e si ritrova in Niceforo Basilace (prog. 35 l. 6 Pignani: ved. più sotto). Occorre, però, prudenza, giacché l'immagine della Erinni potrebbe, per converso, ancora una volta derivare dalla tragica tirata (τραγικόν τι καὶ γοερόν) di Eliodoro 2,4,1 (τίς οὕτως ἀκόρεστος Ἐρινὺς τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ἐνεβάκχευσε…;), con un ulteriore influsso di 2,11,1, dove l'Erinni è descritta con una frusta.

29 Questa la data suggerita da Erwin Rohde, come riportato in K. Seitz, Die Schule von Gaza. Heidelberg 1892, 10.

letterario, l'ἐκτραγῳδεῖν era caratteristico della monodia,[30] e d'altra parte la monodia procopiana per Antiochia denunciava il suo carattere 'tragico' in maniera specifica ed esplicita. È quanto ricaviamo dall'unico altro frammento superstite, anch'esso trasmesso dal περὶ συντάξεως, in cui il dolore per la presa, rappresentata sulla scena, di una piccola città (presumibilmente Mileto) veniva contrapposto a quello suscitato dall'attuale rovina della grande metropoli dell'oriente:

> εἰ δὲ πόλιν σμικρὰν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς πορθουμένην ἐδάκρυσαν, τί ποτε ἄρα ἠκρωτηριασμένος τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅ τι δὴ τάχα κεφάλαιον; (125.26–29 Bekker = α 61 Petrova; Proc. fr. certae sedis I 1 Amato)[31]

La patetica descrizione procopiana dei molteplici lutti provocati dal terremoto di Antiochia ben si prestava, evidentemente, ad essere reimpiegata per raffigurare a tinte tragiche la strage di Betlemme. Né stupirà scoprire che una delle espressioni imitate da Filagato, μήτηρ περιεκέχυτο παῖδα, fu autonomamente riecheggiata in una sua monodia (2, l. 124 Pignani) anche da Niceforo Basilace, un autore che all'opera di Procopio di Gaza portò, notoriamente, grande interesse, dando il principale contributo alla sua diffusione in età comnena[32]. Ancora una volta, Filagato si rivela davvero «un lettore […] *à la page* con i gusti letterari del tempo».[33]

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30 Si veda in proposito Sideras, Eine byzantinische Invektive (come nota 28 sopra), 78 e 92–3 (sulle esclamazioni introdotte da ὦ) e 105–106 (sull'(ἐκ)τραγῳδεῖν, con ampia messe di attestazioni a nota 247). Sul genere della monodia, a partire dalla teorizzazione in Menandro Retore 16 (200,10–206,4 Russell/Wilson), materiali e letteratura in A. Sideras, Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend. Wien 1994, 45–88, specialmente 48–53 (48 e nota 17 per le monodie su città distrutte) e 73–82.

31 Ho introdotto il punto interrogativo e scritto ὅ τι δὴ con Bekker (l' ὅτι δὲ di Petrova mi pare un refuso). Il frammento, registrato s. v. ἀκρωτηριάζομαι, è introdotto da un'attribuzione che nel manoscritto si presenta come Προκοπίου ἐκ τῆς μονῳδίας 'Αντιόχου; Bekker segnalava i suoi dubbi con dei puntini di sospensione, mentre Petrova corregge in ἐκ τῆς μονῳδίας 'Αντιοχείας, conformemente a quanto si legge in 153,21 Bekker = κ 40 Petrova. Ci si aspetterebbe qualcosa come μονῳδία εἰς 'Αντιόχειαν (è questo in effetti il titolo attribuito all'opera da Amato, Sei epistole [come nota 26 sopra] 370 nota 12), ma per una definizione del tipo μονῳδία 'Αντιοχείας (o eventualmente μονῳδία τῆς 'Αντιόχου) si può confrontare ἐν τῇ Σμύρνης μονῳδίᾳ negli scolii ad Elio Aristide, 305, 27 Dindorf; in Tommaso Magistro la stessa opera è alternativamente indicata come ἡ ἐπὶ Σμύρνῃ μονῳδία (Ecloga 59,16–17, 266,17, 267,4–5 Ritschl), ἡ μονῳδία τῆς Σμύρνης (76,8 Ritschl) e ἡ εἰς Σμύρνην μονῳδία (179,1–2, 189,12 Ritschl). Cfr. Sideras, Eine byzantinische Invektive (come nota 28 sopra) 64–65. μονῳδία Ἀντιοχείας è il titolo ora accolto nell'edizione dei frammenti di Procopio di Amato (come nota 26 sopra) 107.

32 Si vedano A. Garzya / R.-J. Loenertz, Procopii Gazaei epistolae et declamationes. Ettal 1963, XXIII–XXIV e XXXV; A. Pignani, Frammento inedito di un encomio bizantino per l'Imperatore. *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* n.s. 27 (1978) 207–218: 211 nota 22;

4. Con estrema chiarezza nel caso di Eliodoro, con buona probabilità in quello di Procopio di Gaza, Filagato mostra insomma una familiarità con i testi che non si lascia semplicemente spiegare con il ricorso a gnomologi o antologie. Sarebbe certamente arbitrario estendere la stessa conclusione, senza ulteriore scrutinio, a tutti gli altri scrittori che Filagato più o meno sporadicamente riprende; e se, ad esempio, la fusione di mal attribuiti versi euripidei ed esercizi di scuola che abbiamo visto in hom. 24,11 fa in effetti pensare a una mediazione attraverso repertori, di prima mano parrebbe invece la conoscenza, recentemente messa in luce, di autori tutt'altro che banali come Alcifrone e Giuliano Imperatore.[34] Bisogna insomma distinguere i singoli casi, ma non mi pare di poter sottoscrivere il giudizio di chi – pur in nome di una ben giustificata prudenza rispetto agli eccessivi entusiasmi di altri interpreti – ha sostenuto che tutta la dottrina profana di Filagato sia nel complesso piuttosto comune e possa dipendere dall'uso di florilegi.[35] Filagato appare, piuttosto, un lettore straordinario, che certamente eredita una parte della sua erudizione attraverso il più consueto filtro antologico ma per altro verso sembra conoscere direttamente alcuni autori meno convenzionali, in linea con le più aggiornate correnti culturali della capitale.

Analoga prontezza – è noto – Filagato dimostra nel recepire le ultime 'novità' della letteratura sacra, come i commentarii evangelici di Teofilatto di Ocrida.[36] Ciò è però tutt'altro che stupefacente, giacché la biblioteca del Patir

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Ead., Niceforo Basilace. Progimnasmi e monodie. Napoli 1983, 40 nota 24; Amato, Sei epistole (come nota 24 sopra) 369 nota 11.

33 Bianchi, Il codice del romanzo (come nota 1 sopra) 37.

34 Ved. Bianchi, Tempesta nello stretto (come nota 15 sopra) e Id., Nuovi frammenti del Contra Galilaeos di Giuliano (dalle omelie di Filagato da Cerami). *Bollettino dei Classici.* S. III. 27 (2006) 89–104. Per le riprese di testi filosofici e scientifici, da ultimo, C. Torre, Un intellettuale greco di epoca normanna: Filagato da Cerami e il *De mundo* di Aristotele. *Miscellanea di studi stoici* 15 (2008) 63–141.

35 S. Lucà, I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del sec. XII. *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 60 (1993) 1–91, specialmente 76–79.

36 Dopo la messa a punto di H. Hennephof, Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos und die chrysostomische Tradition. Leiden 1963, 95–100, si veda ora A. Jacob, La réception de la littérature byzantine dans l'Italie méridionale après la conquête normande. Les exemples de Théophylacte de Bulgarie et de Michel Psellos, in: Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine (come nota 4 sopra), 21–67: 25–29, che giustamente richiama il ruolo del Patir di Rossano. A quanto egli osserva si può aggiungere che nel filone di tradizione italo-greca dell'omiliario di Filagato, e specialmente nei Matrit. gr. 4554 e 4570, in origine un unico manoscritto, fra i testi filagatei risultano inseriti proprio estratti dai commentari di Teofilatto (ved. Rossi Taibbi, Sulla tradizione manoscritta [come nota 2 sopra], 53 e note 1): circostanza che invita a rimeditare sull'idea che tale manoscritto – se pure non appartenuto allo stesso Filagato, come voleva Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand [come nota 2 sopra] 657–667 – riproduca comunque da vicino l'esemplare o le carte dell'autore.

di Rossano doveva offrire ampie possibilità di accedere alla produzione esegetica più recente, fin da quando Bartolomeo da Simeri si era recato a Costantinopoli per procurarsi icone e testi, «dato che i suoi compagni di ascesi avevano bisogno di libri sacri per lo studio e la comprensione delle sacre scritture – infatti, anch'essi erano, per imitazione del padre, molto studiosi e laboriosi in questo campo, nell'esaminare e rintracciare accuratamente ogni senso scritturale».[37] La familiarità di Filagato con alcuni testi profani risulta invece certo più singolare, e rimane aperta la domanda se la sua figura possa dirsi rappresentativa dei più complessivi orizzonti culturali del suo specifico ambiente o non vada piuttosto giudicata una sia pur significativa eccezione. Egli appare, in fondo, un autodidatta, né è possibile attribuirgli una organica attività di insegnante.[38] E si potrebbe del resto osservare che lo stesso modo in cui Eliodoro e Procopio vengono usati nelle omelie non sembra presupporre che il pubblico fosse in grado di riconoscere i prestiti: i brani attinti ai modelli non sono infatti impiegati con intento allusivo, ma solo come materiali e strumenti per elevare il tono e lo stile, sicché, ad esempio, nell'omelia 24 sono proprio le citazioni poetiche, probabilmente di seconda mano, ad essere espressamente segnalate come tali, mentre le più sostanziali riprese da Procopio restano celate nella complessa tessitura del discorso filagateo.

Potrebbe, insomma, essere errato assumere senz'altro Filagato ad esponente e simbolo di una più ampia e diffusa cultura. Resta il fatto che egli poteva evidentemente disporre di libri e testi dell'antica letteratura profana anche non comuni, e la sua eccezionalità – se tale essa va considerata – invita comunque a ulteriori indagini.

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37 È la celebre testimonianza della biografia di Bartolomeo, cap. 25, che cito dall'edizione e nella traduzione di G. Zaccagni, Il bios di san Bartolomeo da Simeri (BHG 235). *RSBN* 33 (1996) 193–274 (la possibilità, qui discussa a 201–204, di una attribuzione a Filagato mi pare assai incerta).

38 Le considerazioni di Cupane, Filagato da Cerami φιλόσοφος e διδάσκαλος (come nota 7 sopra) restano fondamentalmente valide per quanto riguarda la formazione di Filagato, mentre sul possibile ruolo di insegnante occorre tener conto delle riserve di Lucà, I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del sec. XII (come nota 35 sopra) 78–79. Per una definizione dell'ambiente culturale in cui Filagato si formò si veda anche M.B. Foti, Cultura e scrittura nelle chiese e nei monasteri italo-greci, in: Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Libro scrittura documento in età normanno-sveva. Atti del Convegno dell'Associazione italiana dei paleografi e diplomatisti (Napoli – Badia di Cava dei Tirreni, 14–18 ottobre 1991), a cura di F. D'Oria. Salerno 1994, 41–76.

Abstract

The real extension of Philagathus Cerameus' classical culture has been variously discussed. The homilies of this 12th century preacher from Southern Italy show a thorough knowledge of Heliodorus' Aethiopics (which, by the way, corroborates his identification with the author of the *Commentatio in Charicleam*). In hom. 24 Rossi Taibbi, on the other side, Philagathus appears to be drawing on Procopius of Gaza's Monody on Antioch, as is suggested by some fragments preserved in the lexicon περὶ συντάξεως. This confirms that he was especially acquainted with those ancient authors who were proposed as models in the rhetorical schools of the Comnenian age.

KRITISCHES ZU KAISERZEITLICHEN UND BYZANTINISCHEN EPIGRAMMEN

THOMAS GÄRTNER / KÖLN

Nikarchos V 39

οὐκ ἀποθνῄσκειν δεῖ με; τί μοι μέλει, ἤν τε ποδαγρὸς
ἤν τε δρομεὺς γεγονὼς εἰς Ἀίδην ὑπάγω;
πολλοὶ γάρ μ' ἀροῦσιν (Meineke: αἰροῦσιν P: ἐρέουσιν Pl)· ἔα χωλόν με γενέσθαι.
τῶνδ' ἕνεκεν, Χάρι, σοὺς (Unger: γὰρ ἴσως P Pl) οὔποτ' ἐῶ θιάσους.

Wenn γεγονώς richtig überliefert wäre, müßte man dieses Partizip einfach im Sinne von ὤν verstehen, insofern die scharfe Bedeutung „zu etwas geworden" nur mit dem ersten, fernerstehenden Glied ποδαγρός sinnvoll wäre; δρομεύς bezeichnet ja den durch mangelhafte Lebensführung nicht gebrochenen ursprünglichen Zustand der Gesundheit. Eher als diese Unschärfe hinzunehmen, die neben χωλόν με γενέσθαι in Vers 3 noch störender hervortritt, wird man eine τ-γ-Verschreibung annehmen und γεγονώς in ein an ἀποθνῄσκειν anknüpfendes τεθνώς ändern: „Welchen Unterschied macht es für mich, ob ich nach meinem Tod als Fußkranker oder als Wettläufer in die Unterwelt gelange?".

Julian von Ägypten VII 562

ὦ φθέγμα Κρατεροῖο, τί σοι πλέον, εἴ γε καὶ αὐδῆς
ἔπλεο καὶ σιγῆς αἴτιον ἀντιπάλοις;
ζῶντος μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντες ἐφώνεον · ἐκ δὲ τελευτῆς
ὑμετέρης ἰδίην αὖθις ἔδησαν ὄπα.
οὔτις γὰρ μετὰ σεῖο μόρον τέτληκε τανύσσαι
ὦτα λόγοις, Κρατερῷ δ' ἓν τέλος ἠδὲ λόγοις.

Das von Schulte[1] zur Stelle erläuterte Idiom τί σοι πλέον „was hast Du davon?" ist im hier vorliegenden Zusammenhang trotz seiner häufigen Verwendung im Grabepigramm aus zwei Gründen problematisch:

1. Das ganze Epigramm zielt darauf ab, die vorbildhafte Wirkung der „Stimme" des Krateros sowohl für das „Reden" als auch für das „Schweigen"

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[1] H. Schulte, Julian von Ägypten. *Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium* 3 (1991).

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der anderen herauszuarbeiten. Insofern wäre es höchst unökonomisch, wenn das Epigramm begänne mit der Aussage: „Was hast Du von dieser beispielhaften Wirkung".

2. Die Frage „Was hast Du davon" wäre nur passend, wenn sie sich an die Person des Krateros richtete (der ja jetzt in der Unterwelt nichts mehr von seinem rhetorischen Ruhm hat), nicht aber wenn sie sich an die Stimme des Krateros (ὦ φθέγμα Κρατεροῖο) richtet, der ja keine separate Existenz in der Unterwelt zugeschrieben werden kann.

Eine Besserung ergibt sich mit der Änderung eines einzigen Buchstabens: ὦ φθέγμα Κρατεροῖο, τί σοῦ πλέον; – „O Stimme des Krateros, was gibt es Gewaltigeres als Dich?". Erst so tritt der panegyrische Aspekt des Gedichts richtig hervor. Vgl. LSJ[2] s. v. πολύς I 2 a zur Verwendung in bezug auf Geräusche, Töne und Laute. Zum Gebrauch von εἴ γε „von unzweifelhaften Aussagen" im Sinne von ἐπειδὴ bzw. *quoniam* vgl. KÜHNER/GERTH[3] II 178.

VII 597

ἡ γλυκερὸν μέλψασα καὶ ἄλκιμον, ἡ θρόον αὐδῆς
　　μούνη θηλυτέρης στήθεσι ῥηξαμένη
κεῖται σιγαλέη· τόσον ἔσθενε νήματα Μοίρης,
　　ὡς λιγυρὰ κλεῖσαι χείλεα Καλλιόπης.

Das schlecht neben γλυκερὸν passende ἄλκιμον würde man gern mit Reiske zum Folgenden ziehen, wenn dies die Stellung des Artikels ἡ gestattete. Stadtmüller[4] erwog eine Umstellung zu ἡ θρόον ἄλκιμον und alternativ hierzu eine Herstellung von ἄλκιμον εἰς θρόον αὐδὴν / μούνη θηλυτέρην στήθεσι ῥηξαμένη, welche eine syntaktisch kompliziertere Konstruktion mit einer dreifachen Abänderung der Überlieferung erkauft. Indes liefert die zuerst erwogene Umstellung einen völlig befriedigenden Sinn, wenn man sie nur mit der Planudes-Variante θηλυτέροις verbindet: καὶ ἡ θρόον ἄλκιμον αὐδῆς / μούνη θηλυτέροις στήθεσι ῥηξαμένη „und die als einzige einen wehrhaften Klang ihrer Stimme aus weiblicher Brust hervorbrechen ließ", mit betonter Antithese zwischen ἄλκιμον und θηλυτέροις. Das ganze zweite Glied steht dem vorausgehenden ἡ γλυκερὸν μέλψασα entgegen, das die typisch weibliche Tonlage bezeichnet.

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2 H. G. LIDDELL/R. SCOTT, A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford[9] 1940.

3 R. KÜHNER/B. GERTH, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Hannover und Leipzig 1904.

4 H. STADTMUELLER, Anthologia Graeca. Leipzig 1894 ff.

IX 794

βουκόλε, πῆ προθέειν με βιάζεαι; ἴσχεο νύσσων·
    οὐ γάρ μοι τέχνη καὶ τόδ᾽ ὄπασσεν ἔχειν.

Mit „Denn auch noch dieses zu können, das hat mir die Kunst nicht verliehen“ (Schulte[5]) ergibt sich keinerlei Schlußpointe. Besserung ergibt sich, wenn man einen Wortabgrenzungsfehler annimmt und ein πῆ προθέειν με βιάζεαι variierendes οὐ γάρ μοι τέχνη καὶ τόδ᾽ ὄπασσε· τρέχειν herstellt („denn nicht hat mir die Kunst meines Schöpfers auch dies gegeben: laufen zu können“, antizipiert bereits in Jacobs’[6] Paraphrase: „currere tamen non dedit“)[7]. Zur hierbei vorausgesetzten Correptio attica mit ρ bei Julian vgl. Schulte[8] 25.

Abstract

This paper offers critical remarks to the text of four epigrams of the Greek Anthology, namely V 39 (Nikarchos), VII 562 (Julian of Egypt), VII 597, and IX 794.

5 Wie oben Fußnote 1.
6 F. Jacobs, Anthologia graeca sive poetarum graecorum lusus. Leipzig 1794 ff.
7 Zur Correptio attica mit ρ bei Julian vgl. Schulte (wie oben Fußnote 1) 25.
8 Wie oben Fußnote 1.

PROPOSTE DI CORREZIONI AL TESTO DEI NUOVI 'MORCEAUX CHOISIS' DI MICHELE PSELLO

AUGUSTO GUIDA / UDINE

Nel 1967 Paul Canart, passando in rassegna vari testi di Michele Psello ancora inediti, segnalava all'attenzione degli studiosi anche gli estratti anonimi presenti nel codice Vaticano gr. 712, ff. 58r–61r,[1] di cui R. Devreesse[2] aveva associato la paternità a quella dei testi epistolografici pselliani riportati dallo stesso manoscritto ai successivi ff. 61r–85r. Su tali estratti, rimasti complessivamente inediti, l'infaticabile e benemerito studioso è tornato dopo un quarantennio, prendendo spunto anche dalla stampa del prezioso catalogo ragionato di tutte le opere di Psello a cura di Paul Moore,[3] per pubblicarli e identificarli:[4] si tratta di 27 brani, cinque dei quali (gran parte del nr. 2, e i nrr. 20, 21, 22 e 24) corrispondono a testi altrimenti noti di Psello; assolute novità sono invece gli altri passi, per i quali Canart è senz'altro orientato verso la paternità pselliana, a cui conforto segnala in vari casi stretti paralleli con altre opere del poligrafo bizantino (per i nr. 7, 13, 17, 18, 25), alcuni su indicazione di E. V. Maltese.

In margine a tale eccellente edizione che mette a disposizione nuovo materiale certamente pselliano, anche se forse talora rimaneggiato dall'escertore, presento alcune proposte di correzioni e d' interpretazione, con richiami in qualche caso a testi paralleli di Psello. Nell'indicazione dei passi degli escerti ripeto il sistema adottato da Canart, riferendomi al numero di serie e, in parentesi, al numero dato da D(evreesse) e ai fogli del Vat. gr. 712, con l'eventuale aggiunta del numero di rigo dell'edizione.

1 (1 D; f. 58r) Nella lettera, una tipica 'laus epistulae acceptae et amicitiae', come definita da G. Weiss citato da Canart, ai rr. 11 sgg. il ms. presenta questo testo: Φιλεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς ἄνεσιν μετατίθεται, ἐστιωμένη λόγοις ἡδίστοις φίλων ἀγαθῶν καὶ βεβαίων, τὰς ἐπαχθεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ φροντίδας καὶ λύπας ὥσπερ ἅμματα χαλῶσα καὶ διαλύουσα. La frase, impreziosita alla fine, come segnala Maltese, dalla citazione di Plutarco, De Is. et Os. 383 f, mi pare sia però difettosa nella sintassi; basterà correggere μετατίθεται in μετατίθεσθαι, con l'infinito in

1 P. Canart, Nouveaux inédits de Michel Psellos. *REB* 25 (1967) 43–60: 58 sg.

2 Codices Vaticani Graeci, III: codices 604–866, rec. R. Devreesse. Bibliotheca Vaticana 1950, 200–205: 201 sg.

3 P. Moore, Iter Psellianum, Toronto 2005 (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies). Ai numeri generali continui di questo repertorio farò riferimento nelle citazioni di testi pselliani.

4 P. Canart, Les «morceaux choisis» de Psellos du Vaticanus Graecus 712. *Bollettino dei Classici* 27 (2006) 3–14.

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dipendenza da φιλεῖ (= εἴωθε): l'anima ama rilassarsi, rallegrata dai discorsi dolcissimi di amici cari e sicuri etc. Per l'impiego metaforico, di ascendenza platonica (Resp. 571d), del verbo ἑστιᾶν, cf. Psello, Orat. min. 30, 7 LITTLEWOOD (nr. 924 MOORE) καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγοις τὴν ἀκοὴν ἑστιάσωσιν.

1, 23 sg. A conclusione della lettera lo scrivente ribalta sul suo corrispondente la protesta per la pigrizia nella risposta: Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ κατηγορίας ἄξιος διὰ τὸ βραδέως ἅψασθαι γραφῆς, σὲ τῆς τοιαύτης [αἰτ]ίας τίς ἐξαιρήσεται περιλαμπὲς τὸ δραστήριον ἔχοντα τῆς ψυχῆς, φύσει μὲν κεχρημένος ἀόκνῳ καὶ ἀκαμάτῳ, γνώμῃ δὲ φιλο[πό]νῳ καὶ φιλεργῷ; Mi pare che κεχρημένος, che risulta coordinato a τίς, non sia sostenibile e vada corretto in κεχρημένον, riferito al precedente σὲ … ἔχοντα.

5 (3D; f. 58v) Ὁ σκορπίος πλήττει προσερπύσας τοῦ χηραμοῦ καὶ ἰὸν τῷ πλαγέντι λεληθότως ἐνίησιν. L'editore rileva la difficoltà di τοῦ χηραμοῦ e riporta in apparato l'integrazione <ἀπὸ> τοῦ χηραμοῦ di Maltese, senz'altro preferibile alla proposta τῷ χηραμῷ. Una soluzione forse più semplice mi pare la correzione di προσερπύσας in προερπύσας, secondo uno scambio paleografico molto frequente;[5] per l'espressione sono da ricordare ad es. Babr., Myth. 107, 13 ὁ μῦς δὲ λάθρῃ χηραμοῦ προπηδήσας, Aristoph. gramm., Hist. anim. epit. (*CAG* Suppl. I 1) II 282, 2 Lambros τοῦ φωλεοῦ πρόεισι, Eutecn., Paraphr. in Opp. Cyn. p. 39, 25 Tüselmann τοῦ φωλεοῦ προελθών, Soran., Gyn. III 5, 144 sg. Burg./Gour./Mal. οὐ γὰρ ὡς θηρίον ἐκ φωλεῶν ἡ μήτρα προέρπει, nonché lo stesso Psello, Oratoria minora 7, 20–21 LITTLEWOOD (nr. 901 MOORE) τοῦ φωλεοῦ προελήλυθας. Solo in parte affine, mancando il genitivo di moto da luogo, è il caso di un passo di Plutarco, Amat. 755e, dove ὄφεως προσερπύσαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν della tradizione manoscritta è corretto da A. J. Kronenberg in προερπύσαντος.[6] Quanto a πλαγέντι, la forma, al posto di πληγέντι,[7] sarà da attribuirsi al copista o all'escertore, visto che Psello altrove si attiene, senza eccezioni a quanto ho rilevato, alla norma classica dell'impiego di πλαγ- solo nei composti, e di πληγ- col verbo semplice.[8]

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5 Cfr. già la *Commentatio palaeographica* di F. I. BAST in: Gregorii Corinthii et aliorum grammaticorum Libri de dialectis linguae Graecae, ed. G. H. SCHAEFER. Lipsiae 1811, 789 e 837.

6 La correzione, proposta in *Mnemosyne* 52 (1924) 86, è recepita nell'edizione teubneriana di C. HUBERT (Lipsiae 1938), mentre alla lezione tràdita si attiene R. FLACELIÈRE (Plutarque. Oeuvres morales. Tome X: Dialogue sur l'amour. Paris 1980).

7 Sulla questione ha richiamato la mia attenzione un anonimo referee di questa rivista.

8 Alla norma (cf. *LSJ* s. v. πλήσσω) non si attengono talora autori bizantini come ad es. Niceforo Gregora, Ep. 62,27 LEONE e Procoro Cidone, Transl. Ep. Augustini 138, 13, 16 HUNGER; per l'età classica è d'interesse il caso degli *Ichneutai* di Sofocle (fr. 314,143 RADT), dove il POxy 1174 presenta nel testo π[λ]αγέντες, ma riporta in margine

8. (5D; f. 58v) Nell'accorato lamento per la morte di un monaco, dopo una sconsolata riflessione che ripete l'antico adagio «meglio non esser nati»[9], l'autore s'interroga sul senso della vita: «Che senso aveva nascere per chi in breve non sarebbe stato più e, come affacciatosi passando per la scena della vita, così dissolversi rifacendo all'indietro la stessa strada?»,[10] anche qui riprendendo un motivo tradizionale, quello pagano della 'scena della vita',[11] che nei cristiani s'incrocia e si alterna con l'interpretazione biblica della 'tenda' come abitazione provvisoria dell'anima[12]. Il testo poi così continua secondo l'integrazione editoriale: [Σο]ῦ γὰρ νῦν τὸ τερπνὸν ἡμῖν καὶ θέαμα καὶ διήγημα. Ὁ γλυκὺς ὁ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ δεξάμενος καὶ διασῴσας ἀνόθευτον, οὐ τάφῳ ἔχει τοῦτον καὶ πρὸς χοῦν ὁδεύει λυθήσεσθαι. Nella prima frase disturba tuttavia la seconda persona, integrata, a quanto pare, in riferimento al defunto, che però non risulta altrimenti direttamente apostrofato, né si comprende il riferimento del collegamento esplicativo del γάρ. Ritengo che si tratti piuttosto di un'interrogazione, come la frase precedente, e che sia da scrivere [Πο]ῦ γὰρ νῦν

(ἐ)κπλαγέντες, autorevole variante, della cui attribuzione ad Aristofane di Bisanzio (fr. 392D Slater) tratto in un articolo in corso di pubblicazione in *ZPE* 2010.

9 Theogn. 425 sg. (citato, oltre che da Bacchyl., Epin. 5, 160 e Soph., Oed. Col. 1224, anche dai padri cristiani, come Clem. Al., Strom. III 3, 15, 1 e Theodoret., Graec. aff. V 11), il cui μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον, μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου è riecheggiato con ἄμεινον ἦν μήτε πρὸς αὐγὰς ἡλίου προελθεῖν da Psello, che anzi 'corregge' il seguito teognideo φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι con le parole μήτε πρὸς ζόφον οὕτω φοβερὸν ἀπελαύνεσθαι. Per la ripresa del motivo negli epitafi si veda R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs. Urbana Illinois 1935 (rist. 1962), 207 sg.

10 Τί γὰρ ἔδει γενέσθαι τὸν ὅσον οὔπω μὴ ἐσόμενον καὶ ὥσπερ διὰ σκηνῆς παρακύψαντα (-τος cod.: corr. Canart) τοῦ βίου, οὕτω πάλιν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ καταλύεσθαι;

11 Cfr. la carrellata in ordine cronologico presentata da M. Kokolakis, The Dramatic Simile of Life, Athens 1960, inoltre Id., Φιλολογικὰ μελετήματα εἰς τὴν ἀρχαῖαν ἑλληνικὴν γραμματείαν. Atene 1976, 177–184 e R. Tosi, Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche. Milano 1991, 297 nr. 624.

12 Per il teatro della vita cfr. già Clem. Al., Protr. II 12, 1 οἷον ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τοῦ βίου con l'analisi dell'uso della metafora teatrale proposta da L. Lugaresi, Il teatro di Dio. Brescia 2008, 491 sgg., e le osservazioni di J. Bibilakes, Ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ βίου. Ἡ παραβολὴ τοῦ κοσμοθεάτρου στοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς Πατέρες. *Σύναξη* 62 (1997) 109–120: 110 sg.; cfr. inoltre Greg. Nyss., De virg. p. 266, 10 Cavarnos (vol. VIII 1 dell'edizione Brill; *PG* 46, 336c) e Or. de beatitud. p. 87,24 e 91,11–12 Callahan (vol. VII 2; *PG* 44, 1205B e 1209B; il primo di questi passi è fondato su Luciano, *Menippus* 15–16, come dimostrano precisi richiami verbali segnalatimi da Michele Bandini). Per la 'tenda della vita', lo stesso Gregorio Nisseno, In inscr. Ps. p. 88, 10–15 McDonough (vol. V; *PG* 44, 511C) scrive: Οὐκοῦν εἰ μέλλοιμεν οἰκητήριον Θεοῦ ποιεῖν τὴν ψυχήν, ἐξελθεῖν προσήκει τῆς σαρκώδους σκηνῆς. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἐγκαινισθῆναι τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνακαινίζοντος ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνοικήσεως, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξόδιον τῆς σκηνῆς διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωματικοῦ βίου ἀλλοτριώσεως κατορθωθείη. Cfr. anche G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, *s. v.* σκηνή, e, per alcune segnalazioni bizantine, W. Puchner, Acting in the Byzantine Theatre, in: P. Easterling/E. Hall (eds), Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession, Cambridge 2002, 304–324: 308.

τὸ τερπνὸν ἡμῖν καὶ θέαμα καὶ διήγημα; Riguardo alla 'iunctura' θέαμα καὶ διήγημα, il testo di Psello, Opusc. theol. 62, 106 Gautier (nr. 546 Moore), dove di un amico è detto: κάλλιστον γέγονε τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ θαῦμά τε καὶ διήγημα, potrebbe far dubitare della lezione θέαμα κ. δ., ma tale 'iunctura' è assicurata da Basilio, Hom. de grat. act. 7, *PG* 31, 236, 2, e dalla Passio Artemii 61, 16 e 62, 2 Kotter (*PG* 96, 1309, 5 e 12), benché in tali testi compaia con aggettivazione negativa (ἐλεεινὸν θέαμα καὶ διήγημα in Basilio, θέαμα φρικτὸν καὶ διήγημα ξένον e θέαμα ξένον καὶ διήγημα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀλλότριον φύσεως nella Passio Artemii). La frase successiva poi risulta sconnessa sintatticamente e in particolare mi pare disturbi οὐ τάφῳ ἔχει anche per il suo duro iato; scriverei perciò οὐ (col valore di *nonne*) τάφον,[13] apponendo ancora segno d'interrogazione alla fine della frase dopo λυθήσεσθαι: «Il nostro caro, che ricevette l'immagine divina e la mantenne sempre incontaminata, non ha ora una tomba, qui, e si avvia[14] alla dissoluzione?» Il testo conservatoci nell'escerto si conclude con l'affermazione dell'impossibilità di una consolazione, ma evidentemente ad esso doveva far seguito una seconda parte in cui emergevano le ragioni cristiane della speranza, che risuonano già nel richiamo al κατ' εἰκόνα biblico (Genesi 1, 26, 2; 1, 27, 2)[15] e non potevano certo mancare nell'elogio funebre di un monaco.

12 (9D; f. 59v sg.) Καὶ ἐν Αἰσάρῳ τῷ Κελτικῷ ποταμῷ κυΐσκεταί τις ἰχθὺς κλοπίας ὀνομαζόμενος· ὃν δή φασι πλησιφαοῦς μὲν οὔσης τῆς σελήνης λευκαίνεται καὶ λαμπρύνεται, μελαίνεται κτλ. In questo caso l'anacoluto mi pare difficilmente sostenibile: i tre indicativi andranno probabilmente corretti (secondo il testo di Giovanni Lido, De mens. III 11, p. 52, 4–5 Wünsch) negli infiniti λευκαίνεσθαι καὶ λαμπρύνεσθαι, μελαίνεσθαι, o altrimenti sarà da scrivere ὃς δή, φασί, con il «dicono» incidentale. Nella frase successiva, l'autore paragona le proprie vicende di ascesa e discesa, legate alle sorti del suo protettore, alle citate mutazioni, registrate dalla paradossografia, di una pietra e di un pesce secondo le fasi lunari: Τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον συνυ-

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13 La correzione τάφον mi è stata suggerita da un anonimo referee di questa rivista. Per l'espressione cfr. ad esempio Theoph. Ant., Ad Autol. I 10, 12 Marcovich (Zeus) ἔχει τάφον ἐν Κρήτῃ, Sozomeno, Hist. Eccl. VI 34, 6 ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὸν τάφον ἔχει, e per la mancanza dell'articolo col dimostrativo «used in local sense, *here*», si veda LSJ *s. v.* οὗτος B 3.

14 L'impiego del verbo sembra richiamare Giovanni Crisostomo, Hom. 35 in Ep. I ad Corinth. *PG* 61, 305, 33–34 τὸ νεκρὸν εἶναι, τὸ ἀκίνητον, τὸ πρὸς γῆν ὁδεύειν καὶ φθοράν.

15 Espressioni analoghe di lode per aver mantenuta pura l'anima, creata da Dio a sua immagine, sono usate da Psello in Orat. hag. 1a 64 Fisher (nr. 933 Moore) καὶ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀμείωτον διεφύλαξε, Poem. 55, 16 Westerink (nr. 1107 Moore) κἂν ἀκραιφνῶς φυλάξωσι Θεοῦ τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα e 66, 107 (nr. 1118 Moore) τῆς ψυχῆς φυλάξαντες καλῶς τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα. Cf. anche Or. paneg. 3, 62 Dennis (nr. 949 Moore) τὸ μέτριον τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδίωμα διαφυλάττεις ἀνόθευτον.

ψωθέντες καὶ συναυξηθέντες τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν καὶ τῇ δόξῃ ἐξογκωθέντες καὶ ὑπεραρθέντες τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐν πολλοῖς καταμεγεθίσαντες, νῦν συγκατήχθημεν καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀγόμεθα [καὶ] περιφερόμεθα. Questo il testo presentato dall’editore, che accetta συγκατήχθημεν, sicura correzione di Maltese per συγκατήθημεν del ms., e scrive καταμεγεθίσαντες per καταμεγεθήσαντες del ms. Quest’ultima proposta, trattandosi di un verbo non altrimenti attestato sia nella forma composta con la preposizione che in quella semplice (*μεγεθίζω), è però presentata col beneficio del dubbio. Ritengo che la lezione manoscritta sia piuttosto da correggersi in κατευμεγεθήσαντες, con un facile scambio paleografico fra ευ e α: «Noi che avevamo prevalso sui più in molte situazioni, ora insieme (al nostro signore) siamo stati condotti in basso e siamo in balia dei più». Per il verbo e il suo uso, caro in particolare a Cirillo, si veda G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon *s. v.* κατευμεγεθέω 1, e se ne ricordi la presenza in Psello, Opusc. theol. 97, 65 Gautier (nr. 611 Moore) ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξωμεν κατευμεγεθεῖν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

19 (13 D; f. 60r) Οἱ ζω[γ]ράφοι ἐπειδὰν μέλλωσιν ἐκ πρωτοτύπου γραφῆς ἐξεικονίσαι ὁμοίωμα, ἅπαξ αὐτοῖς ὑποδειχθείη ὁ ἀρχέτυπος πίναξ διὰ τῆς συνεχ[ούσης] βλέψεως, προσαναμάττονται τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν ἐμφέρειαν τοῦ παραδείγματος ἀκριβῶς, εἶτα δὴ νοητὸν ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ [πλά]σαντες. Οὕτω δὴ πρὸς τὸ (senz’altro una mera svista per τὴν) ἀσώματον ἀφορῶντες ἰδέαν, τὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφοῦσι πρὸς τὸ πρωτότυπον. L’editore giustamente osserva in apparato che ἅπαξ è insufficiente a reggere ὑποδειχθείη. Tuttavia, invece di ἄν, che richiederebbe un congiuntivo, è forse opportuno scrivere εἰ ἅπαξ. Mi pare inoltre da togliere la virgola dopo βλέψεως e da apporre invece dopo πίναξ, così come converrà sostituire con una virgola il punto fermo dopo πλάσαντες, in modo che risulti più chiara la coordinazione dei participi e la loro dipendenza dal verbo principale μεταμορφοῦσι: «I pittori, una volta che sia stato mostrato loro il quadro modello,[16] attraverso la continua visione s’imprimono nell’anima con precisione la somiglianza del paradigma; poi, plasmata nell’anima una figura mentale, in questo modo guardando all’idea incorporea trasformano l’immagine (*scil.* che stanno dipingendo) in conformità all’originale». Una descrizione del processo di mimesi pittorica con terminologia in parte analoga è presentata da Psello in Opusc. theol. 104, 26 sgg.

16 L’espressione è più volte impiegata da Psello: Or. hag. 1c, 295 Fisher (nr. 933 Moore) πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁρᾶν ὡς εἰς ἀρχέτυπον πίνακα, 3b, 870 Fisher (nr. 935 Moore) γραφὰς … πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἀκριβῶς ἀπεικόνισαν, Or. min. 31, 255 Littlewood (nr. 925 Moore) ὃ τοῖς γραφεῦσιν ὁ ἀρχέτυπος πίναξ καθέστηκε, Epitaph. enc. in patr. Mich. Cerul. p. 336, 1 Sathas (nr. 978 Moore) ἑαυτὸν διδοὺς τοῖς κρινομένοις ἀρχέτυπον πίνακα, De Heliod. et Ach. Tat. 87 Dyck (nr. 1016 Moore) ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχετύπου πίνακος παρεκβέβληται. Il testo di riferimento è probabilmente costituito da Greg. Naz., Or. 43, 1, 7 Bernardi (*PG* 36, 493 A) καθάπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι (*scil.* προΐστανται) τοὺς ἀρχετύπους πίνακας.

Gautier (nr. 548 Moore) allorché, paragonando il modo di accostarsi a Dio mediante ragione e contemplazione, all'operazione artistica, scrive: Ἔστω γάρ τινα τῶν τὴν γραφικὴν ἐπιστήμην μετιόντων μελετᾶν, ὅπως ἂν τὸ ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι κάλλος τῷ ἐν τῷ μορφουμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ μεταμορφώσειεν ὁμοιώματι. Τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον τῆς γραφικῆς ἐπιστήμης οὗτος παραλαβὼν τῇ ψυχῇ, οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων ἥγηται πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα βλέψειε· τῷ δὲ παραδείγματι ἐνατενίζων, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῷ τῆς γραφικῆς λόγῳ χρήσαιτο, ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαμαρτήσαιτο τοῦ σκοποῦ· λόγῳ δὲ καὶ θεωρίᾳ εἰκονογραφῶν τὸ ὁμοίωμα, τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι κάλλους οὐκ ἀποτεύξεται.

Abstract

New quotations recently published by P. Canart from a Vatican manuscript and identified as texts of Michael Psellos are examined, textual corrections and interpretations are proposed and further parallels presented that confirm the Psellian authorship put forward by the editor.

NIKETAS STETHATOS DER „BEHERZTE“?

MARTIN HINTERBERGER/LEVKOSIA

Niketas, Schüler und Biograph des Symeon Neos Theologos sowie theologischer Schriftsteller († ca. 1090), bezeichnet sich in seinen Werken selbst als Stethatos. Unter dem Namen Niketas Stethatos ist er auch späteren Byzantinern bekannt.[1] In der Forschung wird das Wort Stethatos als schmückender Beiname verstanden und mit „der Beherzte“ oder „der Mutige“ wiedergegeben. Weiters wird die „Verleihung“ dieser Auszeichnung mit einer Episode aus dem Leben des Niketas verbunden. Beides, die Bedeutung des Namens als auch seine ätiologische Erklärung, sollen im Folgenden näher untersucht werden.

In Nachschlagewerken der Byzantinistik, Mediävistik und Theologie liest man, daß sich Niketas die Bezeichnung „der Beherzte“ aufgrund seines mutigen Auftretens gegen die „amourösen Abenteuer“ des Konstantinos IX. erworben habe.[2] Diese Information schöpft die Forschung ausdrücklich oder stillschweigend aus folgender Darstellung, die im Geschichtswerk des Ioannes

[1] Georgios Metochites, Historia dogmatica II 64,3 (ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, Nova Patrum Bibliotheca VIII/2. Rom 1871). Manuel Philes, Gedicht III 219, 52–53 (ed. E. Miller. Paris 1857 [ND Amsterdam 1967], II 232).

[2] In Verbindung mit der Auseinandersetzung mit Konstantinos IX. bringen den Namen: H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII/2,1 = Byzantinisches Handbuch* II/1. München 1959, 535: „… Niketas Stethatos, so benannt wegen seines beherzten Auftretens gegen die amourösen Abenteuer des Kaisers Konstantinos IX.“; ibid. 536: „… die Argumente des «beherzten» Studiten“. Ebenso A. Solignac, Lemma „Nicétas Stéthatos“, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité.* Paris 1982, XI, 224–230, bes. 224: „… N(icétas) aurait mérité le surnom Stéthatos («le courageux», en latin Pectoratus) pour s’être opposé aux relations coupables du basileus Constantin XI Monomaque avec sa maîtresse Skléraina“. D. Nicol, A biographical dictionary of the Byzantine Empire. London 1991, s.v. (ebenso in der griechischen Übersetzung von E. Pierris. Athen 1993, 259). F. Tinnefeld, Lemma „Nicetas Stethatos“, in: Theologische Realenzyklopädie Bd. 14. Berlin/New York 1994, 463–464: „Nicetas, … byzantinischer Priestermönch …, dem mutiges Auftreten vor dem Kaiser den Beinamen Stethátos (der Beherzte, lat. Pectoratus) eintrug …“ Aus Beck übernahm die Information zuletzt auch P. Gemeinhardt, Die Filioque-Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter. Berlin/New York 2002, 379, Anm. 316. – Mit „beherzt“ wird der Beiname weiters wiedergegeben von W. Buchwald/A. Hohlweg/O. Prinz, Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters. München ³1982, 567 (in der griechischen Übersetzung durch A. A. Phurlas. Athen 1993, 364, falsch mit *epistethios* wiedergegeben). P. Plank, Lemma „N(iketas) Stethatos“, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VI 1162.

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Skylitzes überliefert ist und sich in wortwörtlicher Übereinstimmung auch bei Georgios Kedrenos findet:[3]

> „Da die Tochter des Skleros mit dem Kaiser (Konstantinos IX.) ein Verhältnis hatte (und dieser mit ihr im Konkubinat lebte), rührte sich nicht geringer Unmut sowohl von seiten des Volkes und des Senats als auch von seiten der Schwestern und Kaiserinnen. Diesen (den Kaiser) versuchte zwar der sich damals unter den Mönchen Auszeichnende mit dem Beinamen Stethatos daran zu hindern, erreichte aber nichts. Der Kaiser war ihrer Schönheit nämlich gänzlich verfallen. Dieser Stethatos war überaus um die Tugend bemüht und er löste seinen Körper mit Fasten und Entbehrung und jede andere (Art von mönchischer) Tugend auf, so daß er einmal sogar 40 Tage lang ohne Nahrung blieb, ohne irgend etwas während dieser Zeit zu sich zu nehmen."[4]

Der hier ohne Vorname genannte Stethatos kann aufgrund der Hervorhebung seiner mönchischen Tugend und Strenge mit großer Sicherheit mit Niketas Stethatos identifiziert werden.[5] Aus dem griechischen Text geht jedoch in keiner Weise hervor, daß der Name Stethatos mit der erwähnten Äffäre in Zusammenhang steht oder Niketas diesen Beinamen aufgrund dieser Affäre erhalten habe. Das griechische ὁ οὕτω Στηθάτος λεγόμενος heißt „der sogenannte Stethatos" und bezeichnet den Beinamen bzw. Familiennamen; es bedeutet nicht „der deswegen Stethatos genannte".[6]

Der Name Στηθάτος taucht im Titel mehrer Werke des Niketas auf, und zwar immer in der Form Νικήτας ὁ καὶ Στηθάτος.[7] Niketas erwähnt sich selbst an verschiedenen Stellen der Vita des Symeon Neos Theologos namentlich.[8]

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3 Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum, rec. I. Thurn. *CFHB*, 5. Berlin/New York 1973, Konstantinos Monomachos 7 (434, 65–71) = Georgii Cedreni Synopsis Historiarum, rec. I. Bekker. Bonn 1838–1839, II 556. Von Thurn wird die Passage als eine von vier Handschriften überlieferte Interpolation ausgewiesen. Aus Kedrenos zitierte die Stelle A. Michel, Humbert und Kerullarios. Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI. Jahrhunderts. II. Paderborn 1930, 172, Anm. 1, woher sie unter anderen Solignac (wie oben, Anm. 2) bekannt war.

4 Die französische Übersetzung in Jean Skylitzès. Empereurs de Constantinople. Texte traduit par B. Flusin et annoté par J.-C. Cheynet (*Réalités Byzantines* 8). Paris 2003, 361, stimmt mit meiner deutschen Wiedergabe inhaltlich überein.

5 So auch Cheynet (wie oben Fußnote 4) 361, A. 61.

6 Vgl. auch Flusin (wie oben Fußnote 4) 361: „un moine fameux à cette époque, qu'on appelait Stéthatos".

7 Siehe dazu die Titel der verschiedenen Werke in J. Darrouzès, Nicétas Stéthatos. Opuscules et lettres. *Sources chrétiennes*, 81. Paris 1961.

8 S. P. Kutsas, Ἅγιος Συμεών. Ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου. εἰσαγωγή, κείμενο, μετάφραση, σχόλια. Athen 1994.

Hierbei verwendet er einmal lediglich den Vornamen Niketas (150, 40), zweimal bezeichnet er sich als Στηθάτος (150, 7 und 18), einmal als Νικήτας ὁ Στηθάτος (129, 25; Genitiv), ebenfalls zweimal als ὁ Στηθάτος Νικήτας (144,3; 150, 43–44) sowie zweimal als Νικήτας ὁ καὶ Στηθάτος (149,5; 150, 8–9). An einer Stelle enthält die Namensnennung einen Relativsatz (146, 12–13): Νικήταν …, ᾧ ἐπώνυμον ὁ Στηθάτος. Genau dieselbe Formulierung (lediglich unter Umstellung der Wörter) verwendet Niketas drei weitere Male, nämlich bei den Personennamen Christophoros Phagura (100, 2–3; 109, 7–8) und Leon Xylokodon (58, 5–6). Wie Phagura und Xylokodon ist Stethatos der „Beiname" (ἐπώνυμον) oder der Zuname des Niketas, der dem heutigen Familiennamen entspricht.

Aber auch Ioannes Skylitzes führt den Familiennamen nach dem Vornamen unter Hinzufügung des λεγόμενος in ebendiesem Sinne an mehreren Stellen an oder er nennt nur den Familiennamen mit vorgestelltem λεγόμενος, wie eben auch im Falle des Stethatos.[9] Der Zusatz οὕτως findet sich bei Skylitzes ansonsten nur bei Toponymen.[10] Niketas ist nicht der einzige Träger des Namens Stethatos.[11] Aus dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert sind zwei weitere Stethatoi bekannt. Im Jahre 1087 unterzeichnet ein Nikolaos Stethatos als Vestes und kaiserlicher Notarios des Sekreton tu Myrelaiu ein Pittakion der Anna Dalassene.[12]

Niketas Choniates berichtet von dem als Astrologen berühmten Gouverneur von Anchialos Konstantinos Stethatos, der gemeinsam mit Alexios Branas 1187 im Kampf fiel.[13] In der Palaiologenzeit ist der Name nicht mehr belegt.[14]

Stethatos ist also ein Familienname. Was bedeutet das Wort Stethatos aber? Die Interpretation „beherzt" stützt sich in erster Linie auf die vermeintliche

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9 Vorname und Beiname: Γεωργίου τοῦ λεγομένου Δρόσου (Konst. IX 15,3), Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ λ. Βοΐλα (Konst. IX 26,1). Nur Familienname: ὁ λεγόμενος Προβατᾶς (Mich. IV 5,27), τοῦ λ. Σγουρίτζη (Mich. IV 15,3), ὁ λ. Ἐργοδότης (Konst. VIII 3, 8), ὁ λ. Ἄτζμωρος (Konst. VII 13,17 = Mich. IV 2, 27), τοῦ λ. Βατάτζη (Konst. IX 8,175).

10 Χῶρον τόπον οὕτω λεγόμενον (Mich. III 22,31); μονὴν τὴν οὕτω λεγομένην τῶν Δεσποτῶν (Mich. II 3,27).

11 Daß es sich bei Stethatos um einen Familiennamen und nicht um einen schmückenden Beinamen handelt, deutet bereits Claude Cheynet (wie oben Fußnote 5) an, wenn er darauf hinweist, daß weitere Träger dieses Namens im 11. und 12. Jh. bekannt seien. Für die Auffindung der im folgenden genannten Personen war die on-line-Version des *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (http://www.tlg.uci.edu) eine große Hilfe. Meines Wissens ist der Name Stethatos auf Siegeln nicht belegt.

12 E.L. Branuse, Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου. Α′ Αὐτοκρατορικά. Athen 1980, 47, 19.

13 Nicetae Choniatae Historia, rec. I. A. van Dieten. *CFHB*, 11. Berlin/New York 1975, 388, 37–58.

14 Im *PLP* findet sich dazu kein Eintrag.

Verbindung des Namens mit dem mutigen Aufreten seines Trägers. In keinem der bisher zur Verfügung stehenden Lexika zur byzantinischen Sprache scheint das Wort *stethatos* auf.

Das Wort ist offensichtlich eine Zusammensetzung aus *stethos* (Brust) und der (ursprünglich aus dem Lateinischen übernommenen und seit der Spätantike im Griechischen aktiven) Adjektiva bildenden Nachsilbe *–atos.*[15] In der Regel bedeuten die Adjektiva dieser Gruppe „ausgestattet mit X“. Bezieht sich das Adjektiv auf einen Menschen und handelt es sich bei dem, womit er ausgestattet ist, um etwas, das im Grunde jedem Menschen eigen ist, so zielt das Adjektiv in der Regel auf die Auffälligkeit oder besondere Gestalt des in ihm enthaltenen Nomens ab. In unserem Fall wäre die Grundbedeutung von *stethatos* also mit „ großer oder breiter Brust“ wiederzugeben. Ein weiteres auf diese Art gebildetes Adjektiv ist etwa πωγωνάτος „mit dichtem Bart“, das ausschließlich als Beiname Konstans’ II. belegt ist.

Abgesehen von den Belegen, in denen Stethatos als Zuname verwendet wird, findet sich das Wort *stethatos* in nur einem einzigen Text, dafür dort jedoch mehrmals. In der sogenannten Messe des Bartlosen, dem Spanos, wird der verspottete Hauptdarsteller mehrmals als στηθᾶτος εἰς τὸν κῶλον bezeichnet.[16] Im Glossar zu seiner Edition des Textes erklärt H. Eideneier die Bedeutung des Wortes als „mit großer Brust“, hält es jedoch für einen Überlieferungsfehler,[17] da „am Hintern mit großer Brust“ wenig Sinn ergibt. Ur-

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[15] G. N. Chatzidakes, Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά. Athen 1905, I 422, führt das Wort στηθάτος (neben πωγωνάτος u.a.) als Beispiel für die Bildung mit dem ursprünglich lateinischen Suffix -άτος an (alle Beispiele jedoch ohne Stellenbelege). Vgl. auch G. Mpampiniotes, Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας. ^{2}2002 Athen, 311 (Lemma -άτος). Im modernen Neugriechisch ist στηθάτος nicht gebräuchlich (meines Wissens auch nicht als Eigenname). Entsprechend gebildete Adjektiva, die auch heute verwendet werden, wären etwa μεσάτος „mit schmaler Taille“, μουσάτος „mit Vollbart“ oder φρυδάτος „mit großen oder dichten Augenbrauen“; vgl. auch νυχάτος „mit langen oder krummen Nägeln“ (meist von Vögeln) (siehe Mpampiniotes, Λεξικό s.v.).

[16] H. Eideneier, Spanos. Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie. *Supplementa Byzantina*, 5. Berlin/New York 1977, A 168.179.217; B 12. 41. 67. In unmittelbarer Nähe finden sich die auf dieselbe Art gebildeten Adjektiva ἀντζάτος „mit starken Waden“ (A 167.177.216; B 10. 39. 65), βιλλάτος „mit großem Penis“ (A 167.177.216; B 11. 39) und κωλάτος „mit großem Hintern“ (A 167.177.216; B 11. 40); vgl. zu allen auch E. Kriaras, Λεξικό τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας. Thessalonike 1969 ff., wobei Spanos jeweils der einzige Beleg ist. Das Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, erstellt von E. Trapp. I. A–K. Wien 2001, 123 führt einen weiteren Beleg für ἀντζάτος an. Obwohl der ältere Usus, wie er in den meisten Texteditionen zu finden ist, den Zirkumflex setzt, schreiben sowohl Eideneier als auch das Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität konsequent -άτος; ich habe mich mit der Schreibung Στηθάτος dieser Entscheidung angeschlossen. Siehe dazu die Diskussion bei E. Trapp, Das Lexikon zur byzantinischen Literatur, in W. Hörandner/E. Trapp (Hrsg.), Lexicographica Byzantina. *Byzantina Vindobonensia*, 20. Wien 1991, 283–291, hier 288.

[17] Eideneier, Spanos 323.

sprünglich habe im Text στυφάτος oder τσυφάτος gestanden, was „gepreßt" bedeutet und an dieser Stelle wohl etwas mit dem gepreßten Wind zu tun hat, der dem Hintern des Spanos entweicht.

Angesichts dieses einzigen und noch dazu wenig hilfreichen Beleges für das Wort *stethatos* ist seine Bedeutung freilich kaum mit Sicherheit zu erschließen. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß auch das in der Messe des Bartlosen überlieferte στηθάτος an dieser Stelle eine Bedeutung hat, die dem Spanos zu Spott gereichte. Jedoch scheint es naheliegender, daß die Bedeutung, die dem Zunamen des Niketas und der weiteren Träger des Namens zugrundeliegt, sich wie viele andere Zunamen (z.B. Kephalas, Mauropus) auf die äußere Erscheinung bezog und soviel wie „mit breiter Brust" bedeutet. Da *stethos* im byzantinischen Griechischen nur selten den Sitz der Seele und ihrer Kräfte bezeichnet, ist die Bedeutung „beherzt" im Sinne von „mutig" wenig wahrscheinlich.

Für die Verbreitung der Deutung „beherzt" dürfte die lateinische Form *pectoratus* eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle gespielt haben. Humbert von Silva Candida, der Führer der päpstlichen Gesandtschaft nach Konstantinopel im Jahre 1054, verwendete sie in seinen Texten[18] als Wiedergabe des byzantinischen *Stethatos*, wobei er wohl aufgrund des lateinischen Suffixes lediglich den Wortstamm übersetzte und die Endung mehr oder weniger unverändert übernahm und so ein lateinisches *hapax legomenon* bildete, anstatt etwa das (meiner Namensinterpretation entsprechende) gebräuchliche *pectorosus* zu verwenden. Ob Humbert „Stethatos" als Bei- oder als Familiennamen verstand, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Im Lateinischen scheint jedenfalls die Interpretation des *pectoratus* als „beherzt" naheliegender zu sein als diejenige des griechischen *stethatos*.[19] Die lateinische Namensform hatte sich in der Nachfolge Humberts in der Literatur zum Schisma von 1054 bzw. zur Filioque-Kontroverse, aber auch zu Niketas, den man bis zur Edition der Vita des Symeon vor allem als Teilnehmer an den Streitgesprächen von 1054 kannte, eingebürgert und wurde meist unabhängig vom griechischen Wort ins Deutsche übersetzt.

Was Niketas Stethatos betrifft, ist Stethatos also ein Familienname, der wie andere Familiennamen auch ursprünglich auf ein körperliches Merkmal zurückgeht und etwa einem deutschen „Breitbrust" entspricht. Da die Bedeutung jedoch nicht eindeutig festzulegen ist, scheint es angebracht, den Namen nicht zu übersetzen. Jedenfalls hat der Name Stethatos nichts mit dem Eintreten des Niketas für die Wahrung der Sitten zu tun.

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[18] Etwa in der Brevis et succincta commemoratio I (151a, 2–3; ed. C. Will, Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant. Leipzig/Marburg 1861, 150–152).

[19] Für eine Diskussion der Bedeutung des lateinischen *pectoratus* bin ich meinem Kollegen Spyridon Tsounakas zu Dank verpflichtet.

Abstract

According to a well-established opinion, the theological writer Niketas Stethatos († ca 1090) had received his surname "the Brave" due to his courageous criticism of the amorous adventures of Constantine IX. In fact, Stethatos is a family name and means "with a broad chest".

ANASTASIUS OF SINAI: BIBLICAL SCHOLAR

CLEMENT KUEHN / NEW HAVEN

Anastasius of Sinai was a monk and presbyter in the monastery at Mount Sinai during the second half of the seventh century.[1] Although Alexandria is traditionally given as his birthplace, it is more likely that he was born on Cyprus in the town of Amathos. He left before the Arabs invaded that island in 649, and after traveling from Cyprus to Palestine, he eventually entered the monastery perhaps around 660.[2] His written works were widely distributed and reveal many facets of this prolific and versatile author.[3] He was perhaps best known as the creator of the *Hodegos* (*Viae Dux*),[4] a collection of his own assorted writings

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1 Much of the following biographical information was shared with me by MUNITIZ and will be found in greater detail in the introduction to his English translation of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones,* forthcoming. We in turn are indebted to André Binggeli, who conducted a careful study of the life of Anastasius for his dissertation on the *Narrationes,* soon to be published. See A. BINGGELI, Anastase le Sinaïte. Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l' âme. Édition, traduction, commentaire. 2 vols. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis for the Université Paris IV / Sorbonne 2001, 330–362. For published biographical information, see K.-H. UTHEMANN, Anastasius the Sinaite, in A. DI BERARDINO (ed.), Patrology: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus († 750). Cambridge 2006, 313–316; A. KAZHDAN, Anastasios of Sinai, in *ODB* 1, 87–88. Anastasius is venerated in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches; in the latter he is deemed a Father of the Church. See T. SHAHAN, St. Anastasius Sinaita, in C. HERBERMANN et al. (eds.), The Catholic Encyclopedia. Volume 1. New York 1907, 455.

2 *Narrationes* II 28, 2–4 (BINGGELI).

3 For lists of genuine and spurious works and editions, see K.-H. UTHEMANN, Anastasius the Sinaite (as footnote 1 above) 315–316; updated by C. KUEHN, review of BERARDINO (as footnote 1 above), *BZ* 101/2 (2008) 813–815; C. KUEHN / J. BAGGARLY (eds. and trans.), Anastasius of Sinai, Hexaemeron, *OCA*, 278. Rome 2007, lxviii–lxxii; M. RICHARD / J. MUNITIZ, (eds.), Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones. *CCSG* 59. Turnhout 2006, viii–ix; M. GEERARD / J. NORET, Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volume 3, second edition. Turnhout 2003, 7745–7781. For a modern study of the works attributed to Anastasius of Sinai, see S. SAKKOS, Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναϊτῶν. Thessaloniki 1964. J.-P. MIGNE collected most of the works attributed to Anastasius of Sinai in *PG* 89, 35–1288, 1389–1397. See also *PG* 44, 1328–1345, and *PG* 55, 543–555.

4 K.-H. UTHEMANN, Anastasii Sinaitae Viae dux. *CCSG*, 8. Turnhout 1981.

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assembled by him to support the Chalcedonian creed and to oppose various heresies. He was also known through his one hundred and three *Erotapokriseis* (*Quaestiones et Responsiones*),[5] which circulated in various *florilegia* and anthologies. These reveal Anastasius to have been interested not only in theological issues, but also in the daily life and spiritual wellbeing of the surrounding lay community.[6] In fact, the questions have a special tone of urgency and are especially important today because Muslim invaders had only recently occupied the Sinai Peninsula.[7] (The fortified monastery itself, built under the reign of Justinian and originally dedicated to the Theotokos,[8] remained intact and independent throughout the Muslim occupation, but it became increasingly isolated from Constantinople.[9]) The *Hodegos* and *Erotapokriseis* also show that Anastasius was a voracious traveler, including trips to Alexandria and Babylon (Cairo).[10] Several homilies have survived,[11] as well as short anecdotes, his *Narrationes,* about holy people that he had met or heard about. He died after the year 700.[12]

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5 Richard / Munitiz (as footnote 3 above). See also D. Sieswerda, Pseudo-Anastasius en Anastasius Sinaïta: Een vergelijking. De Pseudo-Anastasiaanse *Quaestiones et responsiones* in de ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΣ. Prolegomena, tekst en commentaar. Published Ph. D. thesis for the Universiteit van Amsterdam 2004.

6 Richard/Munitiz (as footnote 3 above), l–lii; J. Haldon, The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief, in A. Cameron / L. Conrad (eds.), The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Volume I: Problems in the Literary Source Material. Princeton 1992, 107–147.

7 For a concise and new perspective on the Muslim invasion of Egypt, see P. Sijpesteijn, The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Beginning of Muslim Rule, in R. Bagnall (ed.), Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700. Cambridge 2007, 437–459.

8 See Procopius, De aedificiis 5.8; Eutychius, Annales 253.

9 T. Wilfong, The Sinai Peninsula, in R. Bagnall (ed.), Egypt from Alexander to the Early Christians: An Archaeological and Historical Guide. Los Angeles 2004, 123–125. N. Tomadakis, Historical Outline, in K. Manafis (ed.), Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine. Athens 1990, 13–14. Cf. P. Grossmann, Architecture, in Manafis (ibid.) 29–30; idem, Early Christian Architecture in Egypt and its Relationship to the Architecture of the Byzantine World, in R. Bagnall (as footnote 7 above) 127. Its central church is still called the Church of the Theotokos, but the monastery is now called St. Catherine's.

10 *Hodegos* (Uthemann) VI, 1, 111–114; X.1, 1, 23; X.1, 2, 36–37; XIV, 1, 37–39; XIV, 2, 65–67; *Quaestiones et Responsiones* (Richard / Munitiz) 28 (§ 16).

11 K.-H. Uthemann, Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus monotheletas. *CCSG*, 12. Turnhout 1985. His other homilies do not yet have a critical edition.

Anastasius was probably also the author of the *Hexaemeron*,[13] an extensive exegesis of the first three chapters of Genesis. Nothing in the surviving text makes it impossible that Anastasius was the author.[14] Rather, in addition to mutual references between this work and others in his recognized canon,[15] there are correspondences in style and in thematic material, such as a defense of the Chalcedonian creed, arguments against heresies, discussions of Christology, and a devotion to the spiritual wellbeing of the Church. The author's affection for Egypt is manifest.[16] One reason for doubts about the *Hexaemeron*'s authenticity is the absence of any manuscript copied before the end of the fifteenth century.[17] Approximately two dozen manuscripts attest to its popularity in the sixteenth century, especially around the Council of Trent (1563). The lack of an earlier manuscript could be the result of censorship. While arguing against Manichaean, Ophite, Monophysite, and Monothelite heresies, Anastasius was not shy about expressing his own opinions on important theological topics. In other works, his idiosyncrasies were later brought into line with orthodox beliefs by adding

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12 *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 69 (§4). The Xth century *Synaxarion of Constantinople* says that Anastasius of Sinai died a very old man (col. 617, lines 26 and following).

13 For the *editio princeps* of the entire Greek text, see KUEHN/BAGGARLY (as footnote 3 above). MIGNE (as footnote 3 above) printed only a Latin translation of the first eleven books and a Greek text and translation of the twelfth book in *PG* 89, 851–1077 A. The adjective *hexaemeron* (ἑξαήμερον) means "of six days" and was used to refer both to the biblical creation account and to commentaries about it. The manuscripts' title refers to his work as: εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγωγὴν τῆς ἑξαημέρου κτίσεως (see *Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi* 139, f. 243^{v}; cf. *PG* 89, 851–852).

14 The mss. ascribe it to Anastasius, presbyter and monk at Mount Sinai and, mistakenly, archbishop of Antioch, which two writers were often associated in the Middle Ages: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀναστασίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας. See K.-H. UTHEMANN, Anastasius I of Antioch, in BERARDINO (as footnote 1 above), 209; G. WEISS, *Studien zum Leben, zu den Schriften und zur Theologie des Patriarchen Anastasius I. von Antiochien* (559–598). Munich 1965, XXVI.

15 For references, see J. BAGGARLY, review of UTHEMANN, Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo (as footnote 11 above), in *OCP* 54 (1988) 253–255.

16 See esp. III.373–458; VII.247–352 (where he refers to another book he has written in praise of Egypt).

17 For a review of the discussions about its authenticity, see KUEHN/BAGGARLY (as footnote 3 above) xiii–xxiii. *Testimonia* appear in the eleventh (Michael Psellus) and twelfth centuries (Michael Glycas).

florilegia (comments on specific topics by Church Fathers).[18] In the *Hexaemeron,* however, Anastasius presented a spiritual Church that, in Book XII, transcended even the orthodox institution and rituals.[19] Perhaps that was going too far. Among the manuscripts of the *Hexaemeron* distributed throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, only one survives complete, *Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi* 139, now at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The other manuscripts are missing the last section or entire last book.

The original *Hexaemeron* was divided into thirteen books numbered one through twelve and containing two sevens. There is a clear thematic division between I–VII (alpha) and VII (beta)–XII.[20] It has not been assigned a secure date in Anastasius's *curriculum vitae,* but it contains references to earlier works, including his sermons on the nature of Christ.[21] Anastasius realized that his style in the *Hexaemeron* was different from his previous works – "poetic," he said – and explained that the occasion demanded this change.[22] By *occasion* he meant his mystical allegory: that the creation account, and especially the Adam and Eve story, foreshadowed and represented the creation of the Church by Christ and its mystical union with him.[23] The exegesis is typological in as much as Anastasius often states that he does not deny the concrete facts of the creation account and that he is not overturning any historical or literal commentary by preceding Church Fathers.[24] He

18 J. Munitiz, Foreword, in Kuehn/Baggarly (as footnote 3 above) ix; Richard/Munitiz (as footnote 3 above) li.

19 See esp. XII.262–493; cf. J. Baggarly, The Conjugates Christ-Church in the *Hexaemeron* of Ps.-Anastasius of Sinai: Textual Foundations and Theological Context. Published extract of S. T. D. thesis for the Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Rome 1974, 73.

20 See Anastasius's own remarks at *Hex.* VII (alpha) *epilogus.* Cf. *PG* 89, 972B; Baggarly, The Conjugates Christ-Church (as footnote 16 above) 7.

21 For discussions of the mutual references and a possible chronology of the major works of Anastasius, see Kuehn/Baggarly (as footnote 3 above) xx–xxii; Uthemann, Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo (as footnote 11 above) cxli–cl.

22 ποιητικῶς καιροῦ καλοῦντος εἰπεῖν (I.26). This entire passage, I.26–40, is imbued with allusions to mystery rituals and mystical literature.

23 See I.64–67, 72–80, 156–160, 319–320, 356–360, 378–381, 426–428, 687–689, 803–809; III.366–372, 459–481; IV.33–36, 208–218, 302–421, 747–759, 931–940; VI.38–88, 92–126; VIIa.98–105, 240–349; VIIb.36–93, 178–200, 287–307, 361–377, 549–566; IX.39–52, 65–85, 149–165; X.96–104, 446–459, 708–723; XI.149–158, 802–811; XII.195–204, etc. Cf. K.-H. Uthemann, Allegory, *ODB* 1, 69.

24 See I.316–317, 329–332, 423–425; II. 213–232; IV.769–780; VIIb.695–735; VIII.9–18; XI.36–40, 117–125, etc. Cf. the definitions of allegory and typology

condemns Origen for seeing exclusively an allegorical meaning, which Anastasius compares to mythic tragedies (εἰς μυθικὰς τραγῳδίας ἀλληγόρησε).[25] Yet Anastasius's technique in the *Hexaemeron* has more in common with the allegorical style of Origen and other Alexandrians[26] than it does with the historical/literal style, often called Antiochene, seen in Chrysostom's homilies on creation and in Basil's own *Hexaemeron.*[27]

The *Hexaemeron* reveals yet another side to the multi-faceted Sinaite: a genuine interest in the text of the Old Testament. When trying to establish the meaning of a significant or difficult passage, Anastasius never questions the accuracy or authority of his Greek translation. He does, however, examine other translations available to him and explores how their variants affect the meaning. It is Anastasius of Sinai as biblical scholar that the following article explores.

I. The *Hexaemeron* and the Septuagint

It would be fruitful to conduct a thorough study of the Greek translations of Genesis used by Anastasius in his *Hexaemeron.*[28] Although such a project is beyond the scope of this article, the recent

in P. Bouteneff, Beginnings: Ancient Christian Readings of the Biblical Creation Narratives. Grand Rapids MI, 2008, 177–182.

25 VIIb.683–694; cf. VIII.12–18.

26 Cf. I.146–154, 316–328; VI.606–611; VIIb.414–425, 469–549, 571–676, 743–747; IX.448–467; XI.234–248, 584–587, etc.

27 VIIb.695–735. For Origen's and Basil's exegeses, see Bouteneff (as footnote 24 above) 94–118, 125–140. For a comparison and contrast of the Alexandrian school of exegesis, often associated with allegory, and the Antiochene school, associated with typology, see M. Simonetti, Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis. Edinburgh 2001 (trans. from the original Italian edition of 1981), 34–85, 110–120. For translated excerpts of early commentaries, see A. Louth (ed.), Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament I, Genesis 1–11. Downers Grove IL, 2001, 1–102. For a review of hexaemeron commentaries in general, see F. Robbins, The Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin commentaries on Genesis. Published Ph.D. thesis for the University of Chicago. Chicago 1912.

28 A study of the biblical texts used by Anastasius is made difficult by the complex history of the Septuagint itself and by the fragmentary nature of the other Greek translations that Anastasius consulted, including those in Origen's *Hexapla.* For an examination of the Greek biblical texts used in one Anastasian passage, *Hex.* XII.360–372, see J. Baggarly, Hexaplaric Readings on Genesis 4:1 in the Ps.-

editio princeps of the complete Greek text of the *Hexaemeron* has opened the door to a few general observations.[29] Anastasius does not specifically name the biblical text that he used as his primary source for Genesis. It is easy for a reader to assume that he used the Septuagint, because his biblical citations closely and consistently correspond to the Septuagint as edited in 1974 by John William Wevers.[30] The Septuagint,

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Anastasian *Hexaemeron, OCP* 36 (1970) 337–347. (Note that the reading for N in line 9 is not οὐδὲ but οὐ, as in codices M, P, and F.) For progress toward a new edition of the *Hexapla* Genesis, see R.B. ter Haar Romeny, Editing the Hexaplaric Fragments of Genesis: New Material, New Choices. Paper delivered at the XIIth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leiden 2004; R.B. ter Haar Romeny/P. J. Gentry, Towards a New Collection of Hexaplaric Material for the Book of Genesis, in B.A. Taylor (ed.), Xth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo 1998, *Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, 51 (2001) 285–299.

29 Kuehn/Baggarly (as footnote 3 above) is, in fact, a preparatory phase toward a comprehensive critical edition. It is the collation of three manuscripts from three of the four main families; a representative of the fourth family, *Codex Scorialensis* 372, was consulted for the biblical passages examined in this article. See note 34 below; cf. Kuehn/Baggarly xi.

30 J. Wevers (ed.), Genesis, vol. I in: Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. Göttingen 1974. See also Idem, Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis. Atlanta 1993; Idem, Text History of the Greek Genesis, *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, 11. Göttingen 1974. Cf. A. Rahlfs/R. Hanhart (eds.), Septuaginta, revised ed. Stuttgart 2006; A. Rahlfs (ed.), Septuaginta, 9th ed., vol. 1. Stuttgart 1935, repr. 1971, 1979; Idem (ed.), Septuaginta, Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate, vol. I: Genesis. Stuttgart 1926; A. Brooke/N. McLean (eds.), Genesis: The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus. Cambridge 1906; R. Holmes/J. Parsons (eds.), Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus. Oxford 1798–1827. The Rahlfs edition of 1935 (referred to as the "Stuttgarter Ausgabe" by Wevers) was considered a "pocket-edition" and relied principally upon a collation of the uncial codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus – but only Alexandrinus for the beginning of Genesis. The Rahlfs/Hanhart revised edition of 2006 retained the quality of a "pocket-edition" but included in the collation of the first three chapters of Genesis the seventh century uncial *Codex Coislinianus* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coisl. 1), hexaplaric fragments, etc.; it also incorporated conjectures by J.E. Grabe. The Rahlfs edition of 1926 (referred to as the "Göttinger Ausgabe" by Wevers) was considerably more exhaustive in its collation. The Wevers edition is the most comprehensive currently available. In his collation for the beginning of Genesis, Wevers examined, among other *Textzeugen,* the *Codex Coislinianus* and three papyrus fragments from the first to the fourth centuries: London, Brit. Mus., P. 2047; Berlin, Staatsbibl., Gr. Fol. 66; and New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., P. Amherst. His collation also included witnesses of Origen's recension (the *O-Rezension*) and *catenae* (the *C′-Gruppe*). His Apparat I also shows variants

begun during the second century B.C.E., was at first a Greek translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch; it eventually covered the entire Hebrew Bible. Traditionally it was considered the work of seventy (or seventy-two) Jewish scholars in Alexandria, thus the name *Septuaginta.* It was used widely by Jews during the Hellenistic period, even in the synagogue, and by both Jews and Christians during the Roman and Byzantine periods. There were, however, other Greek translations in use. Anastasius discusses variants from his biblical text and he specifically names his sources, which include Philo, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen's *Hexapla.*[31] His discussions of these variant readings, noting at times even differing punctuation, reveal the care that Anastasius gave to textual analysis and his respect for the text of Scripture. In his own biblical citations, however, there are variants from the Septuagint that he does not discuss.[32]

The following table compares the biblical citations found in the first two books of the *Hexaemeron* with the Septuagint translation as edited by Wevers.[33] This comparison not only reveals the similarities and differences in the selected books, but also provides a paradigm of the similarities found throughout the Anastasian *Hexaemeron.*

found in the patristic commentaries on Genesis, while his Apparat II shows variants found in other early Greek translations, including those by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

31 See *Hex.* VIIb.249–252, IX.817–823, and X.304–6; variants are quoted but not identified at IX.765–6. The other sources have not survived complete and so cannot be compared adequately to Anastasius's text.

32 For the use of the LXX text by the early Fathers, see N. Fernández Marcos, The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible. Leiden 2000 (English translation), 258–260, 269–271, 274–286, 338–339.

33 With respect to the selection used for this table (Gen 1:1–8), the texts of Wevers, Rahlfs 1926, Rahlfs 1935, and Rahlfs/Hanhart 2006 are identical.

Table I

Hexaemeron I.185–803[34]	Septuagint Genesis 1:1–5[35]
Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.[36]	[i] Ἐν αρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. [ii] ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Γενηθήτω φῶς.[37] καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.[38] καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν.[39] καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους.[40] ἐκάλεσε τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα.[41] καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.[42]	[iii] καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω φῶς. καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. [iv] καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν. καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους. [v] καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.

34 All quotations from the *Hexaemeron* are taken from Kuehn/Baggarly (as footnote 3 above). This edition is a collation of three manuscripts: *Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi* 139 (N), *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 372 (P), and *Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Statalis Bavaricae* 145 (M), all from the first half of the XVIth century. These three manuscripts include the only surviving complete text (N) and represent three distinct familes: I, II, and IV. For this article, a representative of the fourth main family, III, has also been consulted: *Codex Scorialensis* 372 (S), from the middle of the XVIth century. These manuscripts are currently held, respectively, in Oxford, the Vatican, Munich, and Madrid.

35 "(1) In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. (2) Yet the earth was invisible and unformed, and darkness was over the abyss, and a divine wind was being carried along over the water. (3) And God said, 'Let light come into being.' And light came into being. (4) And God saw the light, that it was good. And God separated between the light and between the darkness. (5) And God called the light Day and the darkness he called Night. And it came to be evening, and it came to be morning, day one." A. Pietersma/B. Wright (eds.), A New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS). Oxford 2007.

36 I.185–7. θεοῦ] *add. alterum* θεοῦ *per dittographiam* P. At Gen 1:2, Aquila has: ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν κένωμα καὶ οὐθέν, καὶ σκότος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ὑδάτων; Symmachus has: ἡ δὲ γῆ ἐγένετο ἀργὸν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ὑδάτων; and Theodotion has: ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν θὲν καὶ οὐθέν, καὶ σκότος ἐπὶ προσώπου ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ ὕδατος.

37 I.486–7. Γενηθήτω] γενηθήτο P

38 I.482

39 I.508. καὶ] *om.* N

40 I.757–8. διεχώρισεν] διἐχώρησεν M p.corr. S | ἀνὰ μέσον *bis*] ἀναμέσων P

41 I.796. ἡμέραν] ἡμέρα S

42 I.803

Hexaemeron II.1–118	Septuagint Genesis 1:6–8[43]
Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος.[44]	[vi] Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.
καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα.[45] καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος, οὗ ἦν[46] ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ[47] τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος,[48] καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.[49]	[vii] καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα, καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος.
καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.[50]	[viii] καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα δευτέρα.

The juxtaposition in **Table I** supports the hypothesis that Anastasius was using the Septuagint translation as his primary source for biblical citations of Genesis. The similarities are especially evident in Genesis 1:1–4, but are also seen in the vocabulary, grammar, word order, and phrasing throughout the table. The same close resemblances, in fact, can be seen throughout the *Hexaemeron.* Yet if the Septuagint was his source, Anastasius did not methodically progress from a complete citation of one biblical passage and his commentary, to a complete citation of the next and his commentary: the citations above are gathered from bits and pieces incorporated into a variety of discussions and are sometimes incomplete. For example, after the *Praefatio,* Anastasius begins his exegesis with a complete quotation of Genesis

43 "(6) And God said, 'Let a firmament come into being in the midst of the water, and let it be a separator between water and water.' And it became so. (7) And God made the firmament, and God separated between the water that was under the firmament and between the water that was above the firmament. (8) And God called the firmament Sky. And God saw that it was good. And it came to be evening, and it came to be morning, a second day." (NETS)

44 II.1. Γενηθήτω] γεννηθήτω P. At Gen 1:6, Aquila has: Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὑδάτων· καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον μεταξὺ ὑδάτων εἰς ὕδατα; Symmachus has: Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ ὑδάτων· καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἐν μέσῳ ὕδατος καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ; and Theodotion has: Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ ἔσται διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος εἰς ὕδατα.

45 II.43. στερέωμα] στέρωμα S

46 II.45. διεχώρισεν] διεχώρησεν P S

47 II.117

48 II.117–8

49 II.46

50 II.46–47

1:1–2 (I.185–7). These verses are then discussed from lines 188 to 444. At that point Anastasius concludes that the primitive earth was an image of the early Church: unseen, unseeing, and unfinished. It was not yet ready to be the bride of Christ. Then after beginning his next topic, the evolution and illumination of human nature, he quotes the start of Genesis 1:3:

> Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοσούτοις δεινοῖς ἡ γηγενὴς γῆ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιέκειτο φύσις, ὅτε ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἵνα ἀνέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ καταχθονίου βυθοῦ τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐλευθερωθῇ τῶν συμπνιγόντων αὐτὴν ὑδάτων καὶ γαλήνη γένηται τῶν κατ' αὐτῆς κυμάτων, ὅπως σιγήσωσιν οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνεμοι καὶ ὑποχωρήσῃ τὸ σκότος τῆς ἀγνωσίας καὶ ἀναλάμψῃ τὸ φέγγος τῆς θεογνωσίας, ἐβόησε *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· Γενηθήτω φῶς*,[51] τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστός, *τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν* τὸ φωτίζον *πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.*[52] *Γενηθήτω·* ὑπὸ γέννησιν δηλαδὴ ἐλθέτω, τουτέστι πλασθήτω καὶ σωματωθήτω. (I.445–453)
> The earth-born earth, human nature, lay surrounded by such terrors. Then time's fulfillment arrived: when human nature was to arise from the subterranean depth of pleasures and be freed from the choking waters, and calmness was to come from the waves against it; when the evil winds were to fall silent, the darkness of ignorance was to move on, and the light of divine understanding was to be ignited. *God* cried out *and said: "Let there be light.*" He meant Christ, *the true light*, who illuminates *every person coming into the world. Let there be:* through birth let him come openly. That is, let him be formed and receive a body.

The start of verse 3, as well as verses 1–2, are then discussed until line 482, when the remainder of verse 3 is introduced:[53]

> Τὸ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐν ἀρχαῖς κάτω ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις βεβυθισμένην τὴν γηγενῆ φύσιν ἡμῶν προδιέγραφεν ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένην, ἧς τὸν ἐν ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς διὰ Χριστοῦ φωτισμὸν προδιαγράφων *εἶπεν ὁ Θεός·*

51 Gen 1:3.
52 Jn 1:9; cf. 1 Jn 2:8.
53 Part VIII, section 3, paragraph 2. The division into parts, sections, and paragraphs of the Kuehn/Baggarly edition are not found in the mss. but indicate changes in topics and discussions.

> *Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς,*[54] πρόδρομον καὶ προτυπωτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς Ἰησοῦ. (I.478–483)
> At the start, the earth was submerged down among the subterranean. This was a foreshadowing of our earthborn nature, which was sitting among dark things and in the shadow of death. But the illumination of our nature through Christ in the final ages was predicted when *God said: "Let there be light," and light came into being,* a precursor and prototype of the true light, Jesus.

The remainder of verse 3 is repeated in the middle of a new discussion at line 499:

> Εἶπε γοῦν τό *Καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς*[55] καὶ οὐχὶ τό Ἐποίησε φῶς, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ *ἐγένετο* τὴν ταυτοθέλητον καὶ ἰδίαν καὶ περιχαρῆ συνευδόκησιν τοῦ Λόγου μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ σαρκώσει μάθῃς, … . (I.499–501)
> Therefore he said: *And light came into being,* and not: 'He made light,' so that through the *came into being* you might learn this: the Word gave consent to his Father in his Incarnation with the same will, of his own accord, and with joy.

After two more clauses emphasizing the willingness of the Word and the pleasure of the Father, the discussion is concluded by verse 4: *Καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι καλόν.* This new verse, however, is incomplete. Verse 4 is not quoted completely – *Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν* – until several sentences later and in the middle of a new topic.

A more jarring delay involves Gen 1:7–8. Here the Anastasian citation and discussion of the upper firmament and God's satisfaction in it (*Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν. Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.* II.46–47) come before the citation and discussion of the water below this firmament (*ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος* II.117). The Septuagint, however, describes the separation of the water above and below the heavenly firmament before it mentions the divine satisfaction.

Whether first citing a biblical passage at the beginning of a discussion, midway through it, or at the end, or delaying discussion of a biblical passage until convenient, Anastasius frequently omits words. For example, in his commentary to Gen 1:5 Anastasius writes simply: *‹Καὶ› ἐκάλεσε ‹ὁ Θεὸς› τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσε νύκτα.*

[54] Gen 1:3.
[55] This is a correction of the English translation at Kuehn/Baggarly I.499 (as footnote 3 above) 29.

(I.796) He omits not only the conjunction, but also the divine name. The reasons for the latter omission seem obvious: the name of God is not necessary for his discussion at this point and would also be repetitive, since the subject ὁ Θεός appeared earlier in the Anastasian sentence into which the citation is incorporated.[56] Anastasius likewise omits or changes entire phrases. An example of this can be seen in his treatment of Gen 1:7, the separation of the water mentioned above. At first he writes: *Καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος,* οὗ *ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος* (II.45–46). Here he leaves out entirely the phrases *ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ.* Note also that the Septuagint *ὃ ἦν* is replaced by the Anastasian οὗ *ἦν,* where the genitive case is probably due to attraction to the antecedent ὕδατος (II.116–118).[57] When Anastasius repeats the citation later, part of the omission is restored: *Καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος* τοῦ *ὑποκάτω καὶ τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος.* Note that the relative clause construction *ὃ ἦν* is now replaced by an articulated adjectival phrase: τοῦ *ὑποκάτω …τοῦ στερεώματος.*[58] The second occurrence of the Septuagint phrase *ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος* is not cited by Anastasius.[59]

Anastasius also omits entire clauses and sentences. At the beginning of his discussion about the second day, at the divine command to create a heavenly firmament between the upper and lower waters (II.1–44), Anastasius leaves out the Septuagint *καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος.* (Gen 1:6) The omitted clause is somewhat redundant in consideration of the statement before it: *Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος.* And a similar clause is used later by the Septuagint and Anastasius in the description of the command's accomplishment: *Καὶ*

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56 Ὅμως *διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους* ἀπελάσας ἐξ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, μεσότοιχον ἡμῶν θεὶς τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον λίθον Χριστόν, περὶ οὗ καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων ὅτι *Ἐκάλεσε τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσε νύκτα,* ὅτι φῶς ἐστιν ὃν καὶ ἡμέραν καλῶ, τὸ δ' ἀντικείμενον σκότος νύκτα προσαγορεύω. (I.793–7) ὁ θεός is also omitted from 1:5 by Hippolytus II 228; see Wevers, Genesis (as footnote 30 above) 76 Apparat I.

57 The same variation is found in a minuscule twelfth century Genesis manuscript: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coisl. 3 (= Wevers 82).

58 The same articulated construction is found in three minuscule Genesis manuscripts from the ninth (Wevers 508), twelfth (Wevers 75), and fifteenth centuries (Wevers 53), and in a citation by Chrysostom (IX 647); see Wevers, Genesis (as footnote 30 above) 76 Apparat I. Unlike the precision of Origen and Eusebius, Chrysostom is known for his freedom with biblical citations, which are often reformulated in his own style. See Wevers, Genesis (as footnote 30 above) 29.

59 This omission is not found elsewhere in the manuscripts and papyri examined by Wevers.

διεχώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος. (II.116–7 = Gen 1:7) Yet the omitted clause is part of a divine utterance, and a reader is therefore a little surprised that Anastasius does not quote it.[60] What is also surprising in his commentary on the second day is his omission of an entire biblical sentence (Gen 1:8): *καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα δευτέρα.* This omission is especially noteworthy after his extensive discussion of the parallel phrase on the previous day (I.803–842), which uses the cardinal number (*ἡμέρα μία,* "one day") instead of the ordinal. Now instead of quoting it, Anastasius paraphrases the biblical sentence during a discussion of why it is significant that this day was the second (II.197–212).

It is also noteworthy that during the *Hexaemeron*'s discussion of the second day, one important sentence in the citation is shifted. In the Septuagint translation, (1) God commands that the upper firmament be created and the waters be separated above and below it. This is followed by (2) a statement that indicates the accomplishment of the divine command: *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.* And this is followed by (3) a description of God himself creating the firmament and dividing the water. At the beginning of *Hexaemeron* II, first comes (1) the command, then (3) God makes the division, which is followed by (2) the statement of its accomplishment (II.45–46). One could argue that the sentence, now coming after the divine action rather than after the divine command, has a different meaning. But perhaps this is being overly semantic. More importantly, the absence of *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως* at the end of verse 6 reflects the Hebrew MT text, and its addition at the end of verse 7 corresponds both to the MT text and to Origen's recension of the traditional Septuagint (see the discussion below). In conclusion, despite all the changes and omissions discussed above, it is still probable that Anastasius was using the Septuagint translation as his main source for citations in the *Hexaemeron.*

60 Wevers found the same omission in two minuscule manuscripts: Athens, Nat. Bibl. 44 from the thirteenth century (= Wevers 314), and Rome, Bibl. Vat., Pii II 20 from the fourteenth century (= Wevers 664). Wevers attributes both these omissions to scribal errors of *homoioteleuton,* and the latter may have been corrected in the margin.

II. *Codex Sinaiticus* and the Manuscripts and Papyri at Mount Sinai

The comparison in **Table I** above was made against the Göttingen edition by Wevers, which was an attempt to reconstruct the traditional LXX.[61] If Anastasius used the Septuagint as his main source, what could have been his edition? One would like to imagine that Anastasius consulted the Septuagint in the famous *Codex Sinaiticus,* but at the present time the evidence is strictly circumstantial. The codex was written in majuscule Greek script between 325 and 350 and follows the canon of books established by Eusebius, but its provenance is unknown: Rome, Egypt, and Caesarea are possibilities. It was possibly one of fifty Bibles commissioned from Eusebius of Caesarea by the emperor Constantine after his conversion, or a copy of one. Its Septuagint text was extensively corrected through the years, with emendations dating back to the fourth century. Its entrance into the monastery at Sinai was not recorded, but it was removed from Sinai in the nineteenth century by Konstantin von Tischendorf during three visits there. Tischendorf claimed that he had first found the leaves in a waste area, ready to be burned – a claim that the monastery vigorously denies. He brought portions initially to the library at the University of Leipzig, and later to St. Petersburg. In 1933 the Soviet Union sold 347 leaves of the codex to the British Museum.[62] Then in May 1975, a small room was uncovered at the monastery during wall repairs below St. George's Chapel, in which twelve more complete leaves and fragments were found.[63] There had been initial publications of parts of the *Sinaiticus* already by

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61 Wevers does not have the illusion that he recreated the original Septuagint text, but he was trying to arrive at a near approximation; Genesis (as footnote 30 above) 63. His chief source for the beginning of Genesis was the *Codex Alexandrinus* from the fifth century. *Codex Vaticanus* and *Codex Sinaiticus* are missing the beginning of Genesis.

62 "Leaves and fragments of this manuscript were taken by Constantine Tischendorf on three occasions – in 1844, in 1853 and in 1859 – so that they might be published. The principal surviving portion of the Codex, comprising 347 leaves, was purchased from the Soviet government in 1933 and is now held by the British Library. A further 43 leaves are held at the University Library in Leipzig. Parts of six leaves are held at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. Twelve leaves and forty fragments remain at Saint Catherine's Monastery, recovered by the monks from the northern wall of the monastery in June 1975." See C. Böttrich/W. Frame/P. Nikolopoulos, History, in: R. Milne (Chair), Codex Sinaiticus (www.codex-sinaiticus.net/en/). Last accessed 12 July 2009. Cf. P. Nikolopoulos, The Library, in: Manafis (as footnote 9 above) 349–350.

63 J. Charlesworth, The New Discoveries in St. Catherine's Monastery: A Preliminary Report on the Manuscripts. *Winona Lakes* 1981, 1–13.

Tischendorf,[64] but a comprehensive publication was made difficult by its division between four institutions. A recent collaboration, under the name of the Codex Sinaiticus Project, has begun to make a complete edition available to the public in a digitized format; the first installment appeared in November 2008. Most of the beginning of the Sinai codex is missing; the Codex Sinaiticus Project has published the surviving Genesis fragments beginning with chapter 21.[65] Certainly a comparison of *Codex Sinaiticus* with the citations from other biblical books in the *Hexaemeron* would cast more light on their relationship.

Although he does not name his primary source, Anastasius discusses the Greek translations found in the commentaries by Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Irenaeus, the Greek translations gathered by Origen in the *Hexapla,* and translations by unidentified sources. These references and the numerous patristic quotations and paraphrases found in the *Hexaemeron* and his other surviving works suggest that a variety of biblical and patristic texts were available to him. Does that necessarily mean at Sinai? Panayotis Nicolopoulos says that the presence at Sinai of such prolific authors as Anastasius, John Climacus (sixth or seventh century), and Cosmas Indicopleustes (sixth century) suggests a library.[66] The library of Saint Catherine's now holds about 4500 manuscripts. The 1975 finds at the monastery were especially significant: among the 120 papyrus rolls and 1100 separate manuscripts (one third of which were complete codices) at least six manuscripts date earlier than the eighth century, including the leaves of the *Codex Sinaiticus* and fragments of three other biblical texts.[67] A manuscript of John Climacus dates to the

64 C. Tischendorf, Appendix codicum celeberrimorum Sinaitici Vaticani Alexandrini. Leipzig 1867; Idem, Monumenta sacra inedita, *Nova collection* 2. Leipzig 1857.

65 As of 6 July 2009, the Codex Sinaiticus website features all extant pages of the codex; see Milne (as footnote 62 above), www.codex-sinaiticus.net/en/project/webcontents.aspx. Last accessed 12 July 2009.

66 The Library, in: Manafis (as footnote 9 above) 353.

67 These are MΓ 1 (IV, *Codex Sinaiticus*), MΓ 76 (IV–V, Genesis), MΓ 70 (V–VI, Epistles of Paul), MΓ 87 (VI, Holy Mass), MΓ 77 (VII but see below, Sirach), and MΓ 71 (VII–VIII, John Climacus). See P. Nicolopoulos, A Concise Registration of the New Finds of the Greek Manuscripts of Sinai, in: Archbishop of Sinai Damianos (ed.), The New Finds of Sinai. Athens 1999, 139–265; cf. 281. Complete catalogues of the Greek new finds are still in publication. A catalogue of the Syriac (Aramaic) new finds has just recently been released, including a manuscript dating to the fourth century, but a copy has not yet become available to me. In a personal memorandum (2 January 2009) Fr. Justin (the current librarian) wrote that an edition of Greek MΓ 77 was in preparation, containing "two leaves of the Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach, dating he believes to the fifth

seventh or eighth century. The documentary, biblical, and liturgical Greek papyri go back to the sixth century.[68] But what was the nature of the collection at Sinai between the seventh and eighth centuries, when Anastasius was there? Justinian built the monastery and fortifications between 548 and 565[69] and he most probably donated some books to cover the monks' liturgical and spiritual needs. The monastery was intact and independent during most of Anastasius's tenure, and when he was forced temporarily into exile in the desert, he complained about his lack of books.[70] There was a scriptorium producing illuminated manuscripts by the tenth century, but perhaps monks were already writing and illuminating manuscripts in the eighth century.[71] Therefore judging from the current collection and Anastasius's own remarks and patristic references, one can suppose that several biblical texts and some patristic sources were available to him when he was at the monastery.[72] But

century. These include a textual variant that appears in the writing of Anastasius of Sinai."

68 H. HARRAUER, The Papyrus Collection, in: MANAFIS (as footnote 9 above) 355–6. Cf. J. R. HARRIS, The Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai. London 1890, repr. 1894.

69 For general information on the current manuscript and papyrus collections, see MANAFIS (as footnote 9 above) 13–14, 311–326, 349–363.

70 "In a scholium of a florilegium he laments being there and having to cite *testimonia* from memory, since he had no books available"; UTHEMANN, Anastasius the Sinaite (as footnote 1 above) 315.

71 MANAFIS (as footnote 9 above) 23.

72 The recent survey of the manuscripts being carried out by the Saint Catherine's Monastery Library Conservation Project (*Ligatus*), under the direction of Nicholas PICKWOAD, is restricted to the physical features of the manuscripts and their bindings. For the status of this current survey, see: A. VELIOS / N. PICKWOAD, Current Use and Future Development of the Database of the St. Catherine's Library Conservation Project. *The Paper Conservator* 29 (2005) 39–53; N. PICKWOAD (director), Ligatus: St. Catherine's Project (www.ligatus.org.uk/stcatherines/). Last accessed 26 December 2008. In addition to the survey being conducted by the Library Conservation Project, Father JUSTIN is digitizing the complete archive to make it more readily available to scholars. See S. MUCHNIC, Saving a Treasured Trove, Ever So Slowly, in: *Los Angeles Times* (5 February 2007) E-1; S. GAUCH, At a Mountain Monastery, Old Texts Gain Digital Life, in: *New York Times* (4 March 2004) G-5. See also: M. KAMIL, Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Wiesbaden 1970; B. BAYER, Checklist of the Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. Jerusalem 1968; K. W. CLARK, Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949–50. Washington 1952; V. GARDTHAUSEN, Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum. Oxford 1886. These catalogues are now incomplete. For the new additions to the collection, see: Archbishop of Sinai DAMIANOS, The New Finds

records of Anastasius's travels mean that his biblical research was not necessarily confined to Sinai.

III. Origen's *Hexapla*

There were several versions of the Septuagint commonly available in the seventh century, including the traditional (as reflected in *Codex Sinaiticus* and *Codex Vaticanus*), Origen's recension, and Lucian's recension (which appears to have had no Genesis).[73] Although he does not name it as his primary source, Anastasius says that he consulted the *Hexapla* by Origen. This monumental study of the text of the Bible was divided into six corresponding columns: the Hebrew text, a Greek transliteration, Greek translations by Aquila and Symmachus, the traditional Septuagint systematically revised by Origen,[74] and a Greek

(as footnote 67 above); and CHARLESWORTH (as footnote 63 above). Cf. K. WEITZMANN/G. GALAVARIS, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. Princeton 1990; D. HARLFINGER/D. REINSCH/J. SONDERKAMP, Specimina Sinaitica: die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai: 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Berlin 1983.

73 FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, (as footnote 32 above), 229, 232; J. WEVERS, A Lucianic Recension in Genesis? *Bulletin of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 6 (1973) 22–35. For more information about the Septuagint's recensions and other translations, see RAHLFS/HANHART, Septuaginta (as footnote 30 above) XXXIII–XL (English); J. DINES/M. KNIBB, The Septuagint. London 2004, 81–107; FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS (ibid.) 109–301; B. BOTTE/P.-M. BOGAERT, Septante et versions grecques. *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplement* 12/68 (1993) 536–693; WEVERS, Text History (as footnote 30 above) 50–175, esp. 67–68; IDEM, Genesis (as footnote 30 above) 56–61; RAHLFS, Genesis (1926, as footnote 30 above) 9–15; H. B. SWETE/R. OTTLEY, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, revised ed. Cambridge 1914, 1–194; J. F. FENLON, Hexapla, in: C. HERBERMANN et alii (eds.), The Catholic Encyclopedia. Volume 7. New York 1910, 316–8; A. VANDER HEEREN, Septuagint Version, in: HERBERMANN (ibid.), volume 13. New York 1910, 722–5; F. FIELD, Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt … Fragmenta, tomus I. Oxford 1875, IX–CI, 3–17.

74 Since the *Hexapla* has not survived except in fragmentary copies, there is much debate about the appearance of the fifth column. The common belief is that it contained the traditional LXX with some corrections in the order of passages, and additions and deletions suggested by Origen to bring it closer to the Hebrew text, which occupied the first column. These additions and deletions were indicated by Aristarchian diacritical signs, with additions taken from the Greek translations in the third column (Aquila), fourth column (Symmachus), and

translation by Theodotion.[75] When discussing the sudden appearance in Genesis of the title κύριος ὁ θεός ("Lord God"), Anastasius writes: καθὰ εἰς τὰ ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀνόθευτα καὶ ἀρχαία τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐρευνήσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἀκριβείας εὑρήκαμεν εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ Κλήμεντος καὶ Εἰρηναίου καὶ Φίλωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ τοῦ τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ συστησαμένου στιχθέντα.[76] ("This is how we found it, after we had investigated with considerable care the most accurate and uncorrupted and ancient of the copies: those by Clement, Irenaeus, Philo the philosopher, and the compiler of the annotated *Hexapla.*" VIIb.249–252)[77] Although this could be a reference to a citation found in Origen's exegesis of Genesis (which has not survived complete), Anastasius later mentions the *Hexapla* specifically – or rather, copies thereof:

> Ἀμέλει γοῦν εὕρομεν ἐν τοῖς ἀνοθεύτοις τῶν Ἑξαπλῶν ἀντιγράφων ὅτι μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν· *Καὶ ἐξανέτειλε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρῶσιν*[78] στίξας ὁ συγγραφεὺς τελείαν στιγμήν, ὡς οἷα πληρωθέντος τοῦ περὶ τῶν ξύλων κεφαλαίου, τότε ἀρχὴν στίχου ἐποιήσατο λέγων· *Καὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ*

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primarily the sixth column (Theodotion). See Dines/Knibb (as footnote 73 above) 97–103; Fernández Marcos (as footnote 32 above) 204–222. The *Hexapla* was meant for textual research and reference by scholars and apologists; Origen himself used the traditional LXX in his pastoral work and his early commentaries. See Dines/Knibb 97; Fernández Marcos 209–210. Origen's recension of the traditional LXX was later edited and distributed by Eusebius and Pamphilus, incorporating his suggestions; see Dines/Knibb 93, 96; Fernández Marcos 196, 211.

75 Rahlfs/Hanhart, Septuaginta (as footnote 30 above) xxxvii; Fenlon (as footnote 73 above) 316–7. There is considerable uncertainty and debate among modern scholars about the nature of the Theodotion recension and its appearance (or lack thereof) in the *Hexapla*; see Dines/Knibb (as footnote 73 above) 84–87; Fernández Marcos (as footnote 32 above) 142–154. Wevers treats the Theodotion text as an independent translation – along with the texts by Aquila and Symmachus – and not as a recension of the Septuagint; see Genesis (as footnote 30 above) 33–34, 59–61, 68.

76 J. Keenan pointed out (personal memorandum of 5 January 2009) that the order of the adjectives – ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀνόθευτα καὶ ἀρχαία – might have significance: that is, accuracy was most important and the age of the translation was least important.

77 Anastasius refers to Philo the Philosopher elsewhere: *Hodegos* XIII, 10, 19 and 85; and *Hex.* VIIb.251 and 469. These seem to be references to Philo the Jewish exegete. For Philo's use of the LXX, see Fernández Marcos (as footnote 32 above) 264.

78 Gen 2:9.

> *παραδείσου καὶ τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ,*[79] ὡς ἵνα εἴπῃ μεταβατικῶς καὶ εἰσαγωγικῶς τούτων ἐλθόντων ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. (VIII.72–78)
>
> Indeed, we found the following in the uncorrupted of the *Hexapla* copies. After the statement: *And the Lord God still caused to spring up from the earth every tree, beautiful to look at and good to eat*, the scribe marked a full stop with a period, as if the topic about the trees was complete. Then he began a new sentence: *And the tree of life was in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowing and understanding good and evil.* This was so that he might say it with a transition and an introduction when they entered the garden.

Anastasius rejects Origen's exegetical style, because he viewed everything as symbolic; and he condemns his philosophy of the pre-existence of souls.[80] Yet he offers the highest praise for Origen's labors on behalf of the Church and for his thorough studies of Scripture:

> Θεοδώρητος δὲ ὁ τῶν Κυρ‹ρ›ηστικῶν συκὴν εἶπεν εἶναι τὸ ξύλον τοῦ καρποῦ, οὗ ἔφαγεν ὁ Ἀδάμ·[81] ὡσαύτως καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς· ὡσαύτως καὶ Ὠριγένης ὁ ἄθλιος. Ἄθλιον δ' αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶ, ὅτι πολλοὺς καὶ χρησίμους ἱδρῶτας καταβαλὼν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ πᾶσαν παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν γραφὴν κατὰ λέξιν προσφόρως ἑρμηνεύσας ὕστερον, καθὰ καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παλαιστιναῖος, τῆς ἀληθείας διωλίσθησε. (VIII.12–18)
>
> But Theodoret of Cyrrhus said that the tree of the fruit from which Adam ate was a fig. So also Theodore of Antioch. And so also poor Origen. I call him poor, because his work for the Church was prodigious and useful; and especially helpful were his interpretations, word by word, of the Old and New Testaments. Yet later in his life, just like Eusebius of Palestine, he slipped from the truth.[82]

In 543 a council at Constantinople wrote fifteen anathemas against Origenistic doctrines. Anastasius's own attitude toward Origen in the

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79 Ibid. Wevers inserts a comma and Rahlfs (1926, 1935, 2006) inserts no punctuation between βρῶσιν and καὶ τὸ ξύλον.

80 See especially VIIb.683–704 (symbolism) and XI.929–935 (pre-existence).

81 Cf. Gen 3:6.

82 For more on Origen's work as an exegete of Genesis, see Bouteneff (as footnote 24 above) 89–119.

Hexaemeron is complex and needs further study. Here it can be said that Anastasius did not hesitate to consult his textual analyses.

But did Anastasius use the *Hexapla* recension of the Septuagint as his primary source? With respect to the punctuation discussion above (VIII.72–78), the Anastasian manuscripts are ambiguous. At VIII.1–3, where the biblical verse is first quoted, the *Codex Oxoniensis Collegii Novi* 139 (N) has a full stop between βρῶσιν and καὶ τὸ ξύλον; *Codex Scorialensis* 372 (S) has a full stop and space; *Codex Graecus Bibliothecae Statalis Bavaricae* 145 (M) has no punctuation; and *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 372 (P) is unclear because it uses a supralinear abbreviation βρῶσ(ϊν), but its scribe probably used no punctuation here. These four codices represent the four important families of the manuscript tradition; three of them are the basis of the Kuehn/Baggarly edition (see note 33 above), which uses no punctuation here. One must also keep in mind that scribes in their copies freely changed the punctuation of the originals.

More revealing is the biblical use of κύριος ὁ θεός, mentioned above (VIIb.249–252). Anastasius's examination and discussion of this divine name is extensive because of its theological importance, and he lists every use of the dual name between Genesis 2:8 and 3:23 (VIIb.233–246). He says that his list corresponds to several translations: "those by Clement, Irenaeus, Philo, and the compiler of the annotated *Hexapla*" (VIIb.251–2). Anastasius calls this short list of translations the "most accurate and uncorrupted and ancient of the copies" (καθὰ εἰς τὰ ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀνόθευτα καὶ ἀρχαία τῶν ἀντιγράφων), and he lists eighteen uses of the dual name found in them. The list does not correspond to Wevers' use of the title in seven instances, where there is no κύριος at Gen 2:9, 19 (ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς), 21; 3:13, 22;[83] and there is no κύριος ὁ θεός at Gen 2:19 (καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ) and 3:11. Wevers notes witnesses, however, for all of Anastasius's dual names, except for one: καὶ ἤγαγε κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ (Gen 2:19).[84] Thus in regard to this nomenclature, which Anastasius considers significant, there is not a close correspondence between Anastasius's preferred texts and the traditional Septuagint, as reconstructed by Wevers.

The *Hexapla* was created by Origen probably between 235 and 245 at Caesarea of Palestine, where it was then stored. We know that it was

83 In one of these instances, Gen 3:13, Rahlfs' text (1926, 1935, 2006) corresponds to Anastasius's dual names.

84 There is no witness noted by Wevers for Anastasius's transposition of ἐξέβαλεν (Gen 3:24) for ἐξαπέστειλεν (Gen 3:23).

consulted there by Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and finally Paul of Tella in 616. It seems to have disappeared at the time of the Arab acquisition of Caesarea in 638 – that is, after Anastasius was born but before he began writing the *Hexaemeron*.[85] It was not copied in its entirety, but there is evidence that portions were copied, maintaining all six columns.[86] Anastasius's remark ἐν τοῖς ἀνοθεύτοις τῶν Ἑξαπλῶν ἀντιγράφων (VIII.72) could lead one to believe that he had access to several copies of the Genesis portion, either at Sinai or elsewhere. In fact, this remark might be referring to the Septuagint translation in contrast to the other *Hexapla* translations, those by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Epiphanius used a similar expression when referring to the "seventy" translators of the Septuagint: ἀνοθεύτως ἑρμηνεῦσαι (*De mensuris et ponderibus* 3 = *PG* 43, 241C). Many copies were made of the fifth column alone, the Septuagint translation as revised by Origen,[87] and it is easy to imagine that Anastasius had one as his working copy and primary source for biblical citations. Yet he did consult, at least a few times, the other hexaplaric translations, those by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. These latter were not his primary source for biblical citations, because when discussing variants, Anastasius names these translators specifically. For example, when discussing the symbolism of the serpent as devil, Anastasius says: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σύμμαχος καὶ ὁ Ἀκύλας ἀντὶ τοῦ *φρονιμώτερος*, *πανουργότερος* εἰρήκασιν,[88] ὅπερ κυρίως ἐπὶ τοῦ δολίου καὶ ἀντιδίκου ἡμῶν νοεῖται καὶ λέγεται. ("Indeed Symmachus and Aquila said *craftier* in place of *cleverer*, which is thought and said especially about our treacherous enemy." X.304–6). And later: Ὅθεν ὁ Σύμμαχος εἰς τό *Διανοιχθήσονται*, *συνετισθήσονται* τέθεικεν.[89] Ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τό *Διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν δύο*, *συνετίσθησαν* εἴρηκε,[90] τουτέστιν ἐσοφίσθησαν … ("Therefore Symmachus replaced *they will be opened* with *they will comprehend.* Similarly, instead of *the eyes of the two were opened,* he said: *they comprehended.*

[85] Dines/Knibb (as footnote 73 above) 98; Fernández Marcos (as footnote 32 above) 210–211. Uthemann suggests that, if Anastasius wrote the *Hexaemeron*, the *terminus ante quem* is 701; Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo (as footnote 11 above) cxlix.

[86] Dines/Knibb (as footnote 73 above) 98–99; Fernández Marcos (as above footnote 32) 210–212; Fenlon (as footnote 73 above) 317–8.

[87] Dines/Knibb (as footnote 73 above) 102; Fernández Marcos (as footnote 32 above) 210–211; J. Quasten, Patrology, vol. II: The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus. Utrecht 1953, repr. 2005, 44.

[88] Gen 3:1.

[89] Gen 3:5.

[90] Gen 3:7.

That is: they understood." XI.10–12). And at Book IX.820–1, Anastasius contrasts the punctuation of his source with the punctuation used by Theodotion.

Anastasius refers to the *Hexapla* again in his discussion of Adam and the Tree of Life, and introduces a new problem:

> Ἀείζωος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ βιβρωσκόμενος καὶ μεταληπτικῆς ἀθανάτου οὐ δεῖται ζωῆς. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τελείαν ἀπόδωσιν ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ ῥήματος οἱ ἑρμηνευταὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ συνταξάμενοι, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀρχὴν στίχου ὡς τοῦ κεφαλαίου ὄντος ἀνακολούθου ἀπήρξαντο λέγοντες· *Καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτόν*, τουτέστι τὸν Ἀδάμ, *Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη.*[91] (XII.107–112)
> He who eats is living eternally. He who participates is not lacking immortal life. For this reason, the translators and they who put together the *Hexapla* made a complete ending of the passage here. With the start of the next line, they began a new paragraph. They said: *And the Lord God sent him forth* – that is, Adam – *from the garden of delight to work the earth from which he had been taken.*

Who are οἱ ἑρμηνευταί? Does Anastasius mean Philo, Clement, and other translators of the creation account, whom he mentions throughout the *Hexaemeron?* And who are οἱ τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ συνταξάμενοι? Although the enormous effort of writing the *Hexapla* probably required a group of workers at Caesarea, the finished product was earlier ascribed by Anastasius to one compiler, Origen. Or is Anastasius here creating a hendiadys, a rhetorical device found frequently in the *Hexaemeron?* If true, then perhaps Anastasius is referring to *the translators that comprise the Hexapla:* Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the original translators of the Septuagint. Or is Anastasius also using metonymy, whereby the term *Hexapla* is used only for its Septuagint translation? The phrase would then mean *the translators of the Septuagint.*

I see no reason not to accept Anastasius's own remarks that he carefully examined the other Greek translations of the creation account that were available in the *Hexapla* compilation: those by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Anastasius also says that he consulted the

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91 Gen 3:23. Both WEVERS and RAHLFS (1926, 1935, 2006) mark a full stop after verse 22, but they do not begin a new paragraph with verse 23. For the criteria guiding RAHLFS' punctuation, see RAHLFS, Genesis (1926, as footnote 30 above) 41–43.

Greek translations found in the works of Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, and Philo. At times, however, Anastasius makes note of variants without naming any specific translator or edition. In his discussion of the nature of Adam's ecstasy – where he cites the Septuagint reading of Gen 2:21 – Anastasius says: Ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκστάσεως ὁ μὲν τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν καταφορὰν εἶπεν, ἄλλος κάρον, ἕτερος ὕπνον. ("In place of this *ecstasy*, one of the translators said *a doze*, another *torpor*, and yet another *a sleep.*" IX.765–6) It is Aquila who used καταφορὰν and Symmachus who said κάρον; I cannot identify the third translator.[92] One is tempted to say that he is the other translator found in the *Hexapla:* Theodotion. Yet Anastasius does contrast variants found in the *Hexapla* with those found outside. For example, in his discussion of the symbolism of the rib, Anastasius first cites the Septuagint reading, then continues:

> Μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν· *Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευρὰν*[93] στίξας τελείαν στιγμὴν ὁ μέγας Κλήμης, καὶ τότε ἀρχὴν στίχου ποιήσας, ἐπήγαγε τό· *Ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ εἰς γυναῖκα.*[94] Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι πάνυ θεοσεβῶς ἐπιστῆσαι τῇ λέξει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Θεοδοτίων οὕτω διέστειλε τὸ αὐτὸ ῥῆμα, ἵνα ᾖ τοιοῦτον τὸ λεγόμενον· *Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς* καὶ ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἐφαίδρυνε καὶ ἡγίασε *τὴν πλευρὰν* τῆς σαρκός, *ἣν ἔλαβεν* ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἑαυτῷ *εἰς γυναῖκα*, τουτέστι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν … . (IX.817–823)
>
> After the statement: *And the Lord God built up the rib*, the great Clement inserted a period and made a full stop. Then he began the next sentence: *This he had taken from Adam for a woman.* Indeed, it seems to me that Clement had given much reverent attention to this reading. Theodotion too punctuated the same passage in the same way. Thus it might be read so: *And the Lord God built up* – and adorned, and brightened, and sanctified – *the rib* of the flesh. *This he had taken* from Adam *as a wife* for himself: that is, the Church.

92 Field (as footnote 73 above) 15 footnote 27, quotes a remark by Jerome about the first two variants. Field cites the *Hexaemeron* as his source for the third variant (footnote 28), but leaves the translator unidentified. Cf. Wevers, Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis (as footnote 30 above) 33 footnote 54.

93 Gen 2:22.

94 Ibid.

Whoever this third translator was (ἕτερος ὕπνον),[95] Anastasius finds his choice of words useful (IX.766–775). But when he repeats the quotation, Anastasius goes back to his primary source, which resembles the Septuagint except for a κύριος: *Καὶ ἐπέβαλε* Κύριος *ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Αδὰμ καὶ ὕπνωσε.* (IX.775–6)

We therefore tentatively suggest that in the *Hexaemeron,* Anastasius used predominantly the Septuagint translation for his biblical citations and as the basis for his discussions. Because Anastasius mentions Origen's *Hexapla* and consulted Greek translations found in the *Hexapla*, it is possible that he used Origen's recension of the traditional Septuagint as his primary source. He might have consulted the original *Hexapla* by Origen during his visits to Palestine or a copy or copies of only the Genesis section. If his working text was only an excerpted copy of Origen's recension, as circulated by Eusebius and Pamphilus, he still had available other hexaplaric material and other translations.[96]

IV. The *Hexaemeron* Variants

There are however significant variations between his text and both the traditional Septuagint and Origen's recension. Thus it would be useful to take a closer look at the variants found in the biblical citations of *Hexaemeron* I and II. The following chart compares the *Hexaemeron* variants from the traditional LXX, and the expanded critical apparatus shows their relationship to the recensions and other early translations that survive.

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95 Anonymous Greek translations noted in the *Hexapla* and by the Church Fathers have been designated the *Quinta,* the *Sexta,* etc.; see Dines/Knibb (as footnote 73 above) 90–92; Fernández Marcos (as footnote 32 above) 155–173.

96 One cannot rule out that Anastasius used *catenae* or hexaplaric-type editions, such as the seventh century Coislinianus 1 (see footnote 30 above). While *florilegia* are sets of patristic comments on specific topics, *catenae* are sets of patristic comments on specific biblical verses. The comments sometimes contain variants to the biblical verse. For more on *catenae,* their biblical text, and their format, see C. Curti, Greek Exegetical Catenae, in: Berardino (as footnote 1 above) 605–654; Fernández Marcos (as above footnote 32) 287–301; Wevers, Text History (as footnote 30 above) 82–100.

Table II

	Hexaemeron I–II	LXX Genesis 1[97]
1	ἐκάλεσε	v καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς
2	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Γενηθήτω στερέωμα	vi Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω στερέωμα
3	ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος.	ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἔστω
4		διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ
5		ὕδατος. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.
6	οὗ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ	vii ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ
7		ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος
8	τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος,	τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος.
9	καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	

1 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα] omitted by papyrus 912[1] (III–IV) through homoioteleuton | ὁ θεὸς] omitted by Hippolytus

3–5 καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος] omitted by minuscule manuscripts 314 (XIII) and 664[text] (XIV) through homoioteleuton | καὶ ὕδατος] omitted by *Codex Alexandrinus* but then corrected by the first hand; omitted by the Ethiopic translation (IV–VI)

5 καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως] omitted by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; it is not found in the MT Hebrew text or in the Complutensis (a printed text of 1514, partially dependent on the minuscule manuscripts 19′ [XII] and 108 [XIII] | οὕτως] omitted by Eusebius

6 ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω] οὗ ἦν ὑποκάτω (I.45) found in minuscule manuscript 82 (XII) | the other Anastasian variant τοῦ ὑποκάτω (*Hex.* II.117) is found in three minuscule manuscripts – 53 (1439), 75 (1125), and 508 (*c.* 817) – and in Chrysostom

7 ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος] omission unattested by Wevers

8 ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος] the addition καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως is found in many surviving minusucle manuscripts, including those reflecting Origen's recension. It corresponds to the Hebrew MT text.

Some scholars have argued that the fifth column in the *Hexapla* was a copy of the LXX translation with some changes in the order of phrases and with diacritical marks made by Origen.[98] The additions and subtractions suggested by Origen, and later incorporated by Eusebius and Pamphilus, could have been seen by the reader in the translations in columns three, four, and especially six, often called simply "The Three". The *Hexaemeron*'s similarities to the LXX and its discussion of variants by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion support the hypothesis that Anastasius was using the original *Hexapla,* or a copy of the last four

97 The information on variants is taken from the three detailed studies of the LXX Genesis by John Wevers: Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis, Text History of the Greek Genesis, and Genesis (as footnote 30 above).

98 Dines/Knibb (as footnote 73 above) 100–103; Fernández Marcos (as footnote 32 above) 213–215.

columns, or something similar (as found in the Paris manuscript *Codex Coislinianus* 1). Quite significant is that his addition of *καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως* at the end of verse 7 reflects Origen's recension of the traditional LXX. The chart above, however, shows that the Anastasian variants do not seem to be entirely derived from hexaplaric material. That is, the omissions and changes to the traditional LXX found in his biblical citations are not always found in Origen's recension or in "The Three". In fact, the sources of many Anastasian variants are not well attested by Wevers at all.

V. Conclusions

When studying Anastasius's activities as a biblical scholar, one needs to keep in mind the cautionary note, succinctly stated by Wevers, about patristic use of Scripture:[99]

> "Early writers do not quote texts in the same way as a modern author does. He had no concordances to consult; he normally relied on memory. Furthermore, they were seldom interested in citing exactly, often citing according to the sense rather than to the letter. And even when their citations were reasonably accurate we have no assurance that the late mss. through which these texts have been mediated have accurately produced these citations as originally written by the Fathers. On the contrary it is clear that Biblical citations were often standardized according to the later popular texts."

Anastasius, however, was a serious philologist who carefully studied his primary text and consulted several other Greek translations of the creation account. Why then do so many unattested and unexplained variations from the Septuagint appear in his *Hexaemeron?* Do the variations negate or at least weaken the LXX hypothesis? That is, was Anastasius using a translation different from the LXX as his primary source? Probably not. From what has survived of the Greek translations mentioned by Anastasius or available in the seventh century, the Septuagint appears the closest. There is no consistent match between his variants in the *Hexaemeron* and the variants noted by Wevers in his collation of patristic biblical citations (noted in his Apparat I) and fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and other early trans-

[99] Text History (as footnote 30 above) 186.

lations (noted in his Apparat II). Did Anastasius use a recension that differed considerably from the reconstruction of the traditional Septuagint by Wevers (or by Alfred Rahlfs, whose 1926, 1935, and 2006 editions do not differ from Wevers')? Possibly; but Wevers' and Rahlfs' studies of the Septuagint manuscripts and papyri surviving from the third to the eighth centuries do not suggest a single recension that could have given rise to the Anastasian variants. If Anastasius used Origen's recension, as I suspect he did, I find only one significant variation (*καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως*) between the *O*-recension and Wevers' traditional LXX text with respect to Genesis 1:1–8. A thorough study of all Old Testament citations in the *Hexaemeron* would show whether his primary source was more similar to the traditional LXX or to the *O*-recension.

Aside from the strong possibility that at times he was quoting from memory and at times he was changing the biblical text to suit his own syntax, there is perhaps another reason for the Anastasian variants, one that is closely related to the purpose of the *Hexaemeron.* Anastasius is offering his audience an *anagogical* exegesis, which is stated in the title of the manuscripts: εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγωγὴν τῆς ἑξαημέρου κτίσεως. Although the title was appended or at least amended some time after the death of Anastasius,[100] the content of the *Hexaemeron* confirms that it was meant to "uplift" the reader to a higher level of spirituality.[101] The precise nature of this spiritual development is frequently stated: the true believer must go beyond the literal meaning of the biblical narrative.[102] For example, Anastasius says:

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100 The title refers to the author as monk and presbyter at Mount Sinai and, mistakenly, patriarch at Antioch; see footnotes 13 and 17 above.

101 See, for example, I.729–730: Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς εἰρημένας ἀναγωγικὰς ποιούμενοι θεωρίας οὐ καταλύομεν τὸ γράμμα. ("We, however, while making the anagogical observations that have been discussed above, are not destroying the literal meaning.") And III.11–12: Μεμνησό μου, ὦ ἀκροατά, εἰρηκότος ὡς οὐ καταλύοντες τὸ γράμμα ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγράφους ἀναγωγὰς μετερχόμεθα. ("Remember me, O listener, as one who said that we are not destroying the literal meaning, but are pursuing its unwritten anagogy.") And also VIIb.350–2: Καὶ μήπως ἄρα τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἱστορίαν μηδόλως κατακλείοντες τῆς θείας γραφῆς δυνάμεθα καὶ κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν νοῆσαι ταύτην τὴν κάτωθεν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνερχομένην πηγὴν … ("In no way have we unlocked the literal meaning of this narrative of Divine Scripture. Still, we are able to consider the anagogical significance of this spring, which comes up from below the earth …")

102 See also VIIb.452–458: Οὐκοῦν πνευματικῶς τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ νόησον, ὅτι *Ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστιν* (Rom 7:14), ὡς ὁ Παῦλος βοᾷ, *Τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει* (2 Cor 3:6). Λοιπόν, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ γράμματος, μάθωμεν, ὅπου χρή, καὶ πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνειν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου πνευ-

Εὔλογον καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον καὶ ὠφελείας λογίζομαι τὸ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἑξαημέρου ἡμῶν ἐξηγήσεως ὑπαναμιμνήσκειν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ὡς οὐ καταλύοντες τὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιημάτων ἱστορίαν πνευματικῶς τὰ σωματικὰ κτίσματα ἀλληγοροῦμεν, οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἐξηγήσεις ἀνατρέποντες, ἀλλ' ἀκούοντες τοῦ φωστῆρος τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ λύχνου λαμπροτάτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Παύλου ὅτι σκιὰ ἡ παλαιὰ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀληθείας τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὅτι πάντα διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν συντείνοντα ἐγένετο τά τε ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, τούτου χάριν ἀποδύοντες τὸν στάχυν τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐκτὸς περικαλύμματος, τοῦ Μωσαϊκοῦ πρώτου λόγου φημί, τὸν ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἔνδον τοῦ σίτου κόκκον Χριστὸν ἐπιζητοῦμεν. (IV.4–15)

I consider it reasonable, deserving full acceptance, and a service to remind the listeners throughout our exegesis of the six-day creation that, when we allegorically interpret[103] the physical creations for their spiritual significance,[104] we do not destroy the literal narrative about the works of God. And we are not overturning the exegeses of the Fathers. Rather, we are listening to Paul, the light of the inhabited earth and the most brilliant lamp of the Church, who said that the Old Testament and the Law were a shadow of the true things of the Church of Christ.[105] And all things, both in the heavens and on earth, came into being through Christ and are leading to Christ.[106] Therefore we strip the corn of its husk, which is the literal meaning, covering the outside – I am speaking about the first

ματικῶς ἡμῖν λαλούμενα γράμματα, ἐξ ὧν ὑπάρχει μέγα τε καὶ πρόκριτον καὶ ἀπόκρυφον τὸ περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου μάλιστα μυστήριον. ("Surely then, you must think of the Law of God in a spiritual way. *The Law is spiritual,* exclaimed Paul, *for the letter kills.* And so that the letter might not destroy us, let us learn to discern with our spiritual senses, where it is necessary, the spiritual texts spoken to us spiritually by the Holy Spirit. In these texts, the mystery especially about Paradise is great, exceptional, and concealed.") Anastasius believes that the literal meaning is a veil; see X.446–459, XI.97–112, etc. A focus on the literal meaning leads to heresies and to spiritual death. For the former, see III.66–69, IX.13–16, X.697–707, XI.559–576, etc; for the latter, see VIII.397–402, 458–460; IX.308–315, 513–8; etc.

103 Cf. Gal 4:24.

104 Cf. 1 Cor 2:13–15.

105 Cf. Heb 10:1.

106 Cf. Col 1:15–16.

> meaning of the Mosaic writings – and we seek the kernel of grain that is concealed within: that is, Christ.

Perhaps this stated purpose extends to the biblical citations themselves. Anastasius ostensibly wrote the *Hexaemeron* in response to a letter sent by a disciple, Theophilus, who was asking for guidance in understanding the creation account.[107] Anastasius's reply, however, was intended for a larger audience: the τοὺς ἀκροατάς of the quotation above. The composition of the larger audience is sometimes specified. For instance, early in the *Praefatio*, Anastasius, using a standard mystical motif,[108] exhorts all the uninitiated listeners in his audience to depart.[109] And frequently Anastasius directs a comment to a specific group in his audience, including true believers, Jewish biblical scholars, contemporaries, and future generations.[110] It is conceivable that his disciple and many in his larger audience were familiar with his primary source, the LXX. Perhaps by alternating exact quotations and obvious variations, Anastasius was making a point. The written word was primarily an access, a portal, to the Spirit: to be threshed, winnowed, and sifted, but treated like chaff once the seed was revealed. Bernard McGinn's evaluation of Dionysian mysticism might perhaps be applicable here. "A second basic assumption concerns Dionysius's understanding of reversion (*epistrophē*) or uplifting (*anagōgē*). The motifs of ascent and journey that we have seen used by Greek philosophers and Christian

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[107] See I.9–14 and III.1. Although Anastasius emphasizes that the sender of the letter is his most prized student, the salutation and the name Theophilus are a direct quotation from the Acts of the Apostles: *Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην, ὦ Θεόφιλε, …* . (III.1; Acts 1:1; cf. Lk 1:3) Perhaps it is significant that the author of Luke and of Acts is traditionally thought to have been a physician; cf. Col 4:14; 2 Tim 4:11; Phlm 24. There is evidence in the *Narrationes* (Binggeli, I 3, 19) that Anastasius was trained as a physician or at least worked in the hospital of the monastery (the *xenodocheion* built by Pope Gregory the Great). In the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* (Richard/Munitiz) Anastasius mentions his medical interests: *Qu.* 19 (§9), *Qu.* 79 (§2), *Qu.* 81 (§1).

[108] Cf. Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, De mystica theologia 1, 2 and De ecclesiastica hierarchia 1, 1. The Ps.-Dionysian influence on the *Hexaemeron* is evident: see I.99–127 and VIIb.111–115.

[109] It is intriguing that here Anastasius uses a quotation from the pagan Orphic mysteries: … ἀείδω ξυνετοῖσι, θύρας δ' ὠσὶν ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι. (I.26–27) This line was borrowed (directly or indirectly) from the Orphic verse: ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι; see Fragment 334 (42) in O. Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta. Berlin 1922, repr. 1963, 334.

[110] Regarding his remarks to contemporary and future generations of Christians, see especially I.177–180.

writers were always considered to be primarily metaphors for spiritual processes, but in Dionysius the metaphorical character is heightened beyond what we have seen in Origen and Evagrius … One does not really ascend to God by passing through various levels of reality as much as one appropriates the significance of the levels as a means of attaining inner union with their source, the hidden God."[111] For Anastasius, the greater work was to lead his disciples to the ultimate source: the Spirit hidden within the text.

[111] B. McGinn, The Foundations of Mysticism, vol. 1 in: The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism. New York 1992, 171.

Abstract

Anastasius of Sinai (Anastasius Sinaïta) is best known as a seventh century monk, theologian, and presbyter, whose writings defended the Chalcedonian creed, explored the union of God and humanity, and supported his congregation's faith after the Moslem invasion of Egypt. His *Hexaemeron* reveals yet another facet of his work: that of biblical scholarship. In this extensive commentary on the creation account of Genesis, Anastasius compares and discusses several Greek translations of the biblical text. Thus he becomes for us an important source of information about the Septuagint and other Greek translations of the Bible circulating during the Byzantine Period, especially those incorporated by Origen into the Hexapla. The *Hexaemeron* also raises some possibilities about the early library at Sinai and invites a comparison with the famous Codex Sinaïticus.

BYZANTINE RESPONSES TO THE BATTLEFIELD TACTICS OF THE ARMIES OF THE TURKOMAN PRINCIPALITIES: THE BATTLE OF PELEKANOS (1329)

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The present research examines the Byzantine reactions to the battlefield tactics followed by the armies of the Turkoman principalities during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The study of Byzantine-Turkoman warfare is important, since it was the military strength of the Turkoman emirates which brought about the end of Byzantine rule in Asia Minor and paved the way for the collapse of the Byzantine empire. Furthermore, by examining the military conflict between the Byzantines and the Turkomans a deeper insight is gained into the structure of the Byzantine military forces and the Byzantine attitudes to warfare.The late Byzantine empire was a state under constant threat and military conflict with its neighbours was a permanent state of affairs. Yet the study of thirteenth and fourteenth-century Byzantine military practice is in many respects still an underdeveloped field. This reflects the scarcity of sources. Although matters of war dominate the historical accounts of the period, most late Byzantine authors had no military experience; they did not personally observe the warfare between Byzantium and its enemies. Consequently, their descriptions of battles are frequently vague and summary. They tend to report nothing more than the outcome of a particular battle or campaign. In addition, there are no surviving military manuals from the late Byzantine period which could provide information about the developments in Byzantine methods of fighting. Therefore, the study of Byzantine warfare after 1204 relies mainly on circumstantial details from the sources of the period.

Moreover, battles were only one aspect of the conflict between the Byzantines and the Turkomans. Of equal importance were also the instances of siege warfare and the condition of the Byzantines' static defences. Sieges and the defence of strategic cities formed an important element of Byzantine war planning and strategic thought during the period under discussion. The available source material indicates that the defence of Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor relied substantially on the strength of the fortifications and defence systems of large fortified cities, such as Nicaea and Nikomedeia. More often than not the Turkomans found it impossible to seize them by assault. The only effective way for them to capture Byzantine cities was to starve them into submission by blocking their main routes of communication to prevent them from receiving supplies and reinforcements. For instance, Kantakouzenos states that in 1331 the Ottomans attacked Byzantine possessions around Nikomedeia. The city could not be captured by storm, since it was well

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protected by strong fortifications and natural defences. It would fall only if it could be deprived of resources. The same historian adds that, perceiving this, the Ottomans planned to block the road through which Nikomedeia received its food supplies.[1] It would be superfluous to list the numerous similar examples that can be found in the sources. Most of the imperial campaigns in Asia Minor, some of which will be discussed below, aimed at relieving those Byzantine cities which were threatened by the Turkomans.[2]

The most characteristic example reflecting the difficulties faced by the Byzantine army when confronted by the armies of the Turkoman principalities in this period is the battle of Pelekanos, in the gulf of Nikomedeia. This battle illustrates the problems for the Byzantines in confronting enemies who relied on light cavalry archers. It was fought in 1329 between the Byzantines, under the command of the emperor Andronikos III (1328–1341), and the Ottomans, whose leader was Orhan (1326–1362). A critical analysis of the available Byzantine sources is essential for reconstructing the course of this encounter and Byzantine-Turkoman warfare in general. The battle of Pelekanos, which sought to remove the Turkomans from Mesothynia and relieve Nicaea and other Byzantine possessions from the threat of Ottoman conquest, is described by the Histories of John Kantakouzenos and Nikephoros Gregoras, while a summary of it can be found in a short chronicle, which is dated between 1352 and 1425.[3] During the civil war between Andronikos II (1282–1328) and his grandson Andronikos III, which was fought intermittently from 1321 until

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1 Kantakouzenos, historiarum libri IV, ed. L. Schopen, *CSHB,* 23–25. Bonn 1831–32, I 459.

2 For thirteenth and fourteenth-century Byzantine fortifications in Asia Minor see, C. Foss/D. Winfield, Byzantine Fortifications. An Introduction. Pretoria 1986, 79–167; C. Foss, Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia, *JÖB* 28 (1979) 297–320; idem, The Defences of Asia Minor against the Turks, *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982) 145–205; idem, Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia II: Nicomedia. Ankara 1996; C. Giros, Fortifications médiévales, in: B. Geyer/J. Lefort (eds.), La Bithynie au Moyen age. Paris 2003, 210–224. For the strategic background of the conflict between the Byzantines and the Turkomans in Asia Minor in the late thirteenth century see I. Booth, The Sangarios Frontier: The History and Strategic Role of Paphlagonia. Byzantine Defence in the Thirteenth Century, *BF* 28 (2004) 45–86; idem, Ghazis, Roads and Trade in north-west Anatolia 1179–1291, *BMGS* 31 (2007) 127–145.

3 Gregoras comments that the most important reason that led Andronikos III to campaign was that the Ottomans threatened Nicaea: Gregoras, Byzantina Historia, ed. L. Schopen, *CSHB*, 38–40. Bonn 1829–55, I 433; P. Schreiner, Die Byzantinischen Kleinchronken, *CFHB*, 12. Vienna 1975–79, I 73–74, 78. The battle of Pelekanos is passed over quietly in the Ottoman chronicles. See U. Bosch, Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos. Versuch einer Darstellung der Byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321–1341. Amsterdam 1965, 52; H. Inalcik, The Struggle Between Osman Gazi and the Byzantines for Nicaea, in: H. Inalcik et al. (eds.), Iznik Throughout History. Istanbul 2003, 78.

1328, Kantakouzenos and Gregoras supported opposing camps. This influenced their analysis of the battle of Pelekanos and their approach to the battlefield tactics followed by the Byzantines.

The *History* of the *megas domestikos* and emperor John Kantakouzenos, which was probably compiled in the 1360 s, is rather important for the study of late Byzantine warfare.[4] Kantakouzenos was the only late Byzantine author with significant military experience. He was the supreme commander of the Byzantine army from 1321 until 1341 and played a leading role in all the major imperial expeditions of the period. In 1341, Kantakouzenos proclaimed himself emperor in Didymoteichon. In 1347, after his victory in the civil war which followed the death of Andronikos III, he was enthroned in Constantinople. He abdicated in 1354.

Kantakouzenos provides a detailed account of the battle of Pelekanos, in which he participated in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the Byzantine army after the emperor. Kantakouzenos' thorough discussion of the battle is explained neither by its strategic importance nor by the fact that the opposing armies were led by Andronikos III and Orhan. Rather, the author wishes to portray himself and Andronikos III as competent generals and to criticise the policy of Andronikos II towards the Turks. Kantakouzenos also wants to establish that during the reign of Andronikos III and while he was the commander-in-chief of the Byzantine military forces, the Byzantine army was able to resist the Ottomans, who at the time he compiled his *History* (the 1360 s) seemed invincible. More specifically, emphasizing that one of the most important tasks of Andronikos III after his accession was to thwart the expansion of the Turkomans in Asia Minor, Kantakouzenos writes that the emperor was indignant at seeing the Turkomans continuously campaigning against the Byzantines, while the Byzantines never undertook an expedition against them.[5] To strengthen his argument and his criticism of the policies of Andronikos II, Kantakouzenos includes in his account of the battle of Pelekanos a speech which Orhan is supposed to have delivered before his generals, among whom were Qulaguz and Bahadur, who according to Kantakouzenos were comrades of Orhan's father, Osman.[6] The Ottoman ruler allegedly recommended the Ottomans not to ignore the military experience and daring spirit of the Byzantines. He allegedly added that the Ottomans had never before faced a Byzantine army that fought so gallantly and could be defeated neither through stratagems and surprise, nor in close-

4 On the dating of the *History* of Kantakouzenos see H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner. *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* XII, 5. Munich 1978, I 469.

5 Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) I 341.

6 For Qulaguz and Bahadur see G. Moravscik, Byzantinoturcica. Berlin 1958, II 162, 205.

quarter engagements.[7] Through this speech, put into the mouth of Orhan, Kantakouzenos is criticising Andronikos II for being unable to resist the Turkoman expansion and wishes to present the younger Andronikos as a soldier emperor who, unlike his grandfather, was determined to defend the Byzantine lands and who sees military action as the only way to stop the Turkomans.

Gregoras was neither a soldier nor a participant in the campaign. Nonetheless, his account of the battle of Pelekanos is similar to that of Kantakouzenos. The fact that he was based in Constantinople and on good terms with the *megas domestikos* when this battle was fought make it possible that he drew his information from good sources. It cannot be excluded that Kantakouzenos was one of these. However, being a supporter of Andronikos II during the civil war between the two Andronikoi, Gregoras wishes to demonstrate that Andronikos III was a poor general. Consequently, his interpretation of the factors which led to the Byzantine defeat is quite different from that of Kantakouzenos. Gregoras presents the Byzantine emperor as an inexperienced general who cannot understand the battlefield tactics of the enemy and points out that the Byzantine army was made up of poor quality soldiers.

With regard to the course of the battle of Pelekanos, according to the short chronicle mentioned above, the Byzantine army departed to Mesothynia on 1 June 1329.[8] It arrived in Pelekanos, at the passage where the fortresses of Philokrene, Niketiatou, Dakivytza and Retzio were located.[9] Seeing that the Ottomans had already captured the surrounding hills and were aware of their moves, the Byzantines halted their march and decided to withdraw. Kantakouzenos relates that Orhan deployed his troops on high ground which was difficult to reach and adds that if the Ottomans had had no intention to fight and remained in their positions, the Byzantine army would have returned to Constantinople. He argues that it should not have been seen as an indication of cowardice that the Byzantines withdrew. Indeed, it was the reasonable thing to do, since it was impossible to fight the enemy.[10]

Eventually, the Byzantines ordered their line on flat terrain, which, according to Kantakouzenos, was suitable for heavy cavalry manoeuvres.[11] Orhan ordered his troops on a hill and placed part of his army in ambushes.[12] According to Kantakouzenos, Orhan started the battle by detaching 300 cavalry archers to entice the Byzantines into an undisciplined charge.

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7 Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) I 355–356.

8 Schreiner, Die Byzantinischen Kleinchronken (as footnote 3 above) I 78.

9 For this fortresses see Foss, Nikomedia (as footnote 2 above) 44–58.

10 Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) I 343.

11 Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) I 344.

12 Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) I 344–345.

Andronikos III sent out 300 cavalrymen to drive the Ottomans off. The emperor ordered them to advance cautiously and in close order against the Ottomans. They were also instructed not to pursue the enemy more than necessary because they would get exhausted and as a result they could break order and fall into ambushes.[13] Kantakouzenos relates that when they saw that their shots did not break the discipline and order of the Byzantines, the Ottomans retreated. He adds that the Ottomans carried out many similar attacks but all of them failed. However, the broken ground prevented Andronikos III from sending forward his whole army. It was impossible for the Byzantines to encircle the enemy.[14]

Kantakouzenos and Gregoras differ in the reaction they ascribe to the Ottoman tactics on the part of Andronikos III. Kantakouzenos implies that the Byzantine soldiers who were sent to force back the Ottoman cavalry archers owed their success to the emperor's orders. Gregoras, in contrast, writes that it was a mistake to send troops against the Ottoman cavalry archers, whose feigned retreats aimed to draw the imperial forces over to rough ground where a series of ambuscades had been prepared. Gregoras also relates that Andronikos III saw this method of fighting by the Ottomans as evidence of cowardice and, encouraged by this belief, he sent Byzantine soldiers against them, contrary to the advice of the more experienced commanders around him. As a result, the Byzantines were constantly in a defensive position and exhausted themselves in the summer heat.[15] This account reflects not only Gregoras' negative view of Andronikos III, but also his different approach to the outcome of the battle. As the supreme commander of the Byzantine army and a close associate of the emperor, Kantakouzenos emphasises the success of the Byzantines in being able to force back the Ottoman cavalry archers without losing their order. As a critic of the generalship of Andronikos III, Gregoras sees the decision to send troops against the Ottoman provocation to attack as an aimless illustration of Andronikos' misunderstanding of Ottoman battlefield tactics.

In the next stage of the battle, Orhan ordered a general assault against the Byzantines, but they successfully defended themselves and carried out a counterattack, killing many enemies.[16] However, believing that it was too risky to advance any further, the Byzantines decided to withdraw and prepared to return to Constantinople, unless the Turks decided to fight on open ground.[17] Both Kantakouzenos and Gregoras point out that the lack of discipline and the false rumour that the emperor had been fatally wounded turned the Byzantine

13 Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) I 347.
14 Kantakouzenos, ibid. I 343–348.
15 Gregoras (as note 3 above) I 434.
16 Kantakouzenos (as note 1 above) I 349–350; Gregoras (as note 3 above) I 435.
17 Kantakouzenos, ibid. I 350–352; Gregoras, ibid. I 435.

withdrawal into panicked flight. Eventually, the army was dispersed into the fortresses around Nikomedeia and departed to Constantinople.[18]

It is interesting that in his account of the Byzantine withdrawal Kantakouzenos has included an incident which typifies the inability of the Byzantines to deal effectively with the Turkoman cavalry archers. He relates that a certain Sevastopoulos, who was a Bulgarian submitted to the emperor and had joined the campaign at the head of 300 poorly armed men, used poor quality horses and held the last position in the army, assembled his troops and some infantrymen from the rest of the army and hastily advanced against the Ottomans. Kantakouzenos comments that the troops of Sevastopoulos were defeated because they did exactly what he and Andronikos III had instructed the army not to do during the battle. As he writes, the Turks pretended that they were defeated and feigned retreat. Sevastopoulos' troops 'stupidly', as Kantakouzenos calls it, pursued them. Then suddenly, the Ottomans counterattacked and put them to flight.[19]

The battle of Pelekanos as described by Gregoras and Kantakouzenos shows that the Byzantine military leadership possessed a good knowledge of the fighting methods of the Turkomans. Andronikos III's instructions to his soldiers, as described by Kantakouzenos, and Kantakouzenos' account of the engagement between the troops of Sevastopoulos and the Ottomans prove that the Byzantine generals were aware how much the Turkoman armies relied on the mobility of light cavalry archers, on feigned retreats and ambushes, and on the avoidance of fighting at close quarters against heavily armoured cavalry. It is worth noting that Kantakouzenos' description of the fighting methods of the Turkomans and his suggestions concerning the Byzantine responses are in accordance with the instructions provided by military treatises of earlier epochs, such as the sixth-century *Strategikon*, which is attributed to the emperor Maurice (582–602), and the late ninth or early tenth-century *Tactica*, which are attributed to the emperor Leo VI (886–912). According to the *Strategikon*, warriors such as the Turks and the Avars are well-trained as mounted archers. On campaign they are followed by numerous spare horses and they place a great many troops outside the line of the battle, in order to lay ambushes. Furthermore, the author of the *Strategikon* observes that, since the Avars and the Turks prefer to fight their enemies from a distance and to deploy ambushes and feigned retreats, Byzantine soldiers should never pursue them without taking precautions. He also relates that it is best to fight the Turks in the open field, using dense cavalry formations.[20] As has been shown above, this was the aim of the Byzantines at Pelekanos.

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[18] Kantakouzenos, ibid. I 362–363; Gregoras, ibid. I 436.

[19] Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) I 352–354.

[20] Das Strategikon des Maurikios, ed. G.T. Dennis. *CFHB*, 17. Vienna 1981, XI. 2

The author of the *Tactica* adopts the comments of the *Strategikon* and points out the reliance of the Saracens and the Turks on archery. He adds that the Byzantines should engage them at close quarters without delay. By doing so, the Byzantine soldiers would avoid any damage from the enemy arrows and would take advantage of the enemy's lack of armour. The *Tactica* also comment that, because arrow shots damage the coherence and order of heavy cavalry, the Byzantines should engage mobile cavalry archers only on the plain. It is noteworthy that the author of this treatise comments, 'we know how the Turks fight because we used them against the Bulgarians when they raided Thrace.'[21] Consequently, long before the fourteenth century the Byzantines were aware of the fighting methods of enemies who relied on the mobility of light cavalry archers. Therefore, a comparison of the earlier sources to Kantakouzenos' and Gregoras' accounts of the battle of Pelekanos shows the continuity of the military practice of bringing the enemy to close action as swiftly as possible, if an army of mobile horse-archers was to be attacked, so as to avoid undue casualties and attrition from missile attack.

Furthermore, the available source material suggests that, throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the armies of the Turkoman principalities in Asia Minor followed battlefield tactics which were similar to those followed by the Ottomans in the battle of Pelekanos. Describing one of the campaigns of Michael VIII (1259–1282) in Asia Minor during the last years of his reign, Gregoras relates that, in 1280, when considerable Turkoman military forces assembled in Paphlagonia, the emperor encountered them in the Sangareios river and decided to lead a large army against them. However, the Turkomans inflicted a crushing defeat on the Byzantines because the latter failed to react successfully to the battlefield tactics of their enemy. As Gregoras writes,

> They [the Turks] laid ambushes and waited for the Romans to arrive. They did not fight pitched battles but instead, as was their custom, they attacked in groups one after the other. They pretended to retreat. Then they returned with great speed. They did this repeatedly until they disrupted the order of their enemy and broke their ranks. Then, once their enemies were in disorder and disorganised, they charged and won very easily. They [the Turks] could not attack the Romans, who wore armour and had good weapons. They were fleeing and the Byzantine army was pursuing them unreasonably (it should not have done so) without good order, without suspecting anything and without any fear, despite the prohibitions and orders of the most prudent of the generals. But it seems that this war was the beginning of the

21 The Tactica of Leo VI, ed. G.T. Dennis. *CFHB*, 49. Washington D.C. 2010, XVIII.43–XVIII.72.

> disaster of the Romans, which was the divine punishment for countless sins. And when the Turks crossed Sangareios, they (the Byzantines) crossed it as well, killing those who could not ride fast, until suddenly and unexpectedly they fell in the ambushes laid by the Turks. And while they were gasping for breath, due to the long pursuit and the heat, the Romans had to face fresh and eager enemies. Thus, they were encircled by countless enemy soldiers along the river and all apart from a few were slaughtered, achieving little that is worthy of mentioning and remembering.[22]

The mobility of the Turkoman soldiers and their ability to successfully ambush the imperial armbies is also reflected in the account of George Pachymeres. He reports that in 1301 a large number of Turks in the area between Nikomedeia and Nicaea in Mesothynia took by surprise an army led by the *megas hetaireiarches* Leo Mouzalon. As Pachymeres writes, when the Byzantines reorganised their forces, they pursued the Turkomans, who quickly withdrew to a higher point on a nearby mountain. From there, their archers inflicted heavy casualties on the Byzantine army. Eventually, the Byzantines were encircled and their general narrowly escaped with his life. Pachymeres concludes that this event paved the way for the further advance of the Turkomans, encouraged Osman to carry out more daring raids and motivated more Turkomans to join his forces. Pachymeres holds Leo Mouzalon responsible for the Byzantine defeat, blaming him for either failing to understand the battlefield tactics of the enemy, or for being unable to impose his authority and necessary discipline on his troops.[23] In another similar example, Pachymeres reports that in 1304, the army of the *megas stratopedarches ton tzaggratoron* Sgouros was ambushed and annihilated in the fortress of Katoikia (modern Kara-Cepüş) which is located close to Nicaea.[24] The Ottomans had at night secretly captured the roads leading to the fortress and, taking the Byzantines by surprise, they drove them towards Katoikia. Another Ottoman force in ambush squeezed them from the other side.[25] Therefore, it is safe to conclude that, despite knowing the fighting methods of the Turkomans, the late Byzantines failed repeatedly to deal with them effectively.

The discussion above shows that the Byzantine military leadership was often unable to impose the necessary discipline on its troops and prevent them from falling into the ambushes of the Turkomans. It is significant that, long before the thirteenth century and despite the recommendations of military treatises,

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22 Gregoras (as footnote 3 above) I 139.

23 George Pachymérès. Relations historiques, ed. A. Failler, *CFHB* 24. Paris 1984–2000, IV 365.

24 For the identification of Katoikia, see Inalcik, The Struggle (as footnote 3 above) 74.

25 Pachymeres (as footnote 23 above) IV 455.

the authors who saw as a cardinal sin the undisciplined rush to pursue an enemy fielding light cavalry archers described the general difficulties for Byzantine armies of dealing with opponents who made extensive use of archers. The author of the *Tactica* observes that Byzantine archery had been neglected in the period when the Arab forces recruited their substantial numbers of Turkish cavalry archers for use against the Byzantines. He comments that the decline of archery is one of the main reasons why the Byzantines had made so many mistakes on the battlefield and concludes that all Byzantines up to the age of forty should be forced to learn to wield the bow.[26] Indeed, there are contemporary examples showing the effectiveness of archery against the Byzantines. For instance, in 838, Turkish cavalry archers played a decisive role in the victory of the Arabs over the Byzantines in the battle of Anzen, where they inflicted a heavy defeat on the imperial army led by the emperor Theophilos (829–842).[27] In the eleventh century, the Byzantines failed repeatedly to deal effectively with the cavalry archers of the Seljukid armies. The contribution of archery to the advance of the Seljuks in Asia Minor has already been pointed out and it would be superfluous to repeat here details of the nature of the conflict between the Byzantines and the Seljuks.[28]

It has been argued that one of the main reasons that the Byzantines experienced great difficulties when confronted by effective archery during the middle Byzantine period is that this type of weapon was not native to the empire's lands and Byzantine military and tactical organisation did not enforce regular training and practice of the required skills. From the sixth until the tenth centuries the mounted archers used by the Byzantines were mercenaries and allies. Consequently, the possibilities of this sort of training were limited.[29] With regard to the late Byzantine period, Asia Minor seems to have been a source of competent archers, most probably infantry, who seem to have made up a significant part of the armies of the so-called empire of Nicaea. Their presence is attested in the siege of Constantinople in 1235 by John III Batatzes (1221–1254).[30] Describing the accession to the throne by Theodore II (1254–1258), Akropolites points out that Philadelpheia's residents could bear arms. He adds that they were very competent archers and were in constant warfare with the Turkomans. He also comments that Theodore's army in his second

26 Tactica (as footnote 21 above) VI.5; W. Kaegi, The contribution of Archery to the conquest of Anatolia, *Speculum* 39 (1964) 99–101.

27 Kaegi (as footnote 26 above) 98–100.

28 See Kaegi (as footnote 26 above) 102–108.

29 J. Haldon, Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World 565–1204. London 1999, 215–217.

30 Da Canale Martino, Cronaca Veneta. ed. G. Galvani, *Archivio Storico Italiano* 8 (1845) 364.

campaign against the Bulgarians in 1256 included a great many archers and that the majority of the Byzantine soldiers who fought at the battle of Pelagonia in 1259 were archers.[31] Pachymeres relates that a great part of the forces of Michael VIII in the siege of Galata in 1260 were Nicaean archers, whose successful shots caused many problems to the besieged Latins. Referring to a rebellion against Michael VIII in Zygenoi in Asia Minor in 1262, Pachymeres comments, 'the peasants in this area were competent archers.'[32]

However, there is no indication that the Byzantines employed an effective force of archers, either cavalry or infantry, against the Turkomans throughout the fourteenth century. It seems that during the first decades of the fourteenth century the role of Byzantine archers was reduced to one of garrisoning cities and fortresses. The loss of imperial control over Asia Minor, which was the main source of competent archers who were experienced in daily frontier warfare against the Turkomans, must have been one of the main reasons why their presence is not mentioned by the fourteenth-century sources. However, this does not mean that archers, whether mounted or not, would necessarily have been effective in fighting the Turkomans. The troops of Choirovoskos, who in 1303 created an army and operated in Asia Minor, included many archers, but his operations failed.[33] Yet the Catalan Grand Company, which relied substantially on heavy cavalry and not on archery, achieved significant victories at the expense of the Turkomans.

What the late Byzantine armies relied on was heavy cavalry. Describing a battle against a force of Cuman raiders in 1256 near Didymoteichon, Akropolites writes, 'As is their custom, the Romans are clad in armour which is burdensome, while the Scyths are lightly armed warriors and use bows. Therefore, they struck the Romans with arrows from a distance and wounded their horses and easily made the horsemen foot-soldiers and finally turned them to flight.'[34] The dominant role of heavy cavalry, which more often than not was ineffective against mobile light-cavalry archers, and the reluctance to train and create a force of effective archers, can be explained not only by the Byzantines' unfamiliarity with this weapon, but also by the fact that the use of heavy cavalry was not limited to military purposes. It served also as a means of displaying status. For instance, Kantakouzenos, who was the supreme commander of the Byzantine army for two decades, considers throughout his account only the heavy cavalry *pronoia* holders and the western European heavy cavalrymen soldiers worthy of respect. He does not call infantrymen and

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31 Georgii Acropolitae Opera, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. Leipzig 1903 repr. Stuttgart 1978, I 105, 119, 169.

32 Pachymeres (as footnote 23 above) I 173, III 267.

33 Pachymeres, ibid. IV 485–487.

34 Akropolites (as footnote 31 above) I 126.

archers soldiers.[35] Therefore, the role of heavy cavalry was not limited to the needs of battlefield tactics. It was also a symbol of the exalted status of the members of the aristocracy, which monopolised the military command.

Moreover, stereotyped views about the Turkomans affected the performance of the late Byzantine armies in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It seems that the Byzantine leaders, even if they knew the fighting methods of the Turkomans, very often could not fully understand the strength of their armies and consequently underestimated them. For instance, Pachymeres, who otherwise displays a good knowledge of the military affairs of the Byzantine state and provides a reasoned account of the collapse of the Byzantine defence in Asia Minor, remarks that the Turkomans were fighting like brigands.[36] He also relates that Michael VIII underestimated the strength of their armies and believed that he could recover what had been lost in Paphlagonia whenever he liked.[37] This attitude was one of the reasons that led Michael VIII to transfer significant resources and manpower to the western parts of the empire, in order to organise the defence against a possible attack from western European powers and to conduct military operations against the Epirots and the Latins in the Peloponnese. It seems that Michael VIII was more afraid of the Frankish cavalry of Charles I of Anjou than of the Turkoman cavalry archers. Furthermore, in his work entitled *On the Scyths* Theodore Metochites states that the *Scyths* were living almost like animals, were prone to war and were prone to escape from the battlefield.[38] In other words, the feigned retreats and mobility of the nomads were seen by members of the Byzantine elite as acts of cowardice and brigandage, and not as the sort of military tactics that a well-organised army would follow. This shows that the Byzantine failure to react successfully to the battlefield tactics of the Turkomans could partly be described as a failure of cultural adaptation, reinforced by ethnic stereotypes about 'barbarians.'

Furthermore, the inability of the Byzantine armies to adjust to the demands of the battlefield tactics of the Turkoman warriors, despite the instructions given by the military treatises and despite numerous examples in the previous experience of fighting against enemies of a similar nature is also related to the conservatism of the ruling elite, which monopolised the military command. With some exceptions, lineage rather than skills and performance on the battlefield was the main criterion for appointment to military responsibility. This development caused a sense of conservatism among the late Byzantine leaders, since they did not need to improve their skills or to achieve important

[35] For relevant examples, see Kantakouzenos (as footnote 1 above) II 187, 405–406.

[36] Pachymeres, ibid. I 33.

[37] Pachymeres, ibid. I 293.

[38] Metochites, Miscellanea philosophica et historica, ed. C. Müller. Leipzig 1821 repr. Amsterdam 1966, 728–729.

military successes to be promoted in the military hierarchy. Thus it was more difficult for generals to learn from the experience of the past.

The employment of large groups of highly disciplined foreign mercenaries was the most effective response of the Byzantines to the Turkomans' battlefield tactics. For instance, Akropolites and Gregoras praise the 800 western European heavy cavalry which played a decisive role in the victory of Theodore I Laskaris (1204–1221) over the Seljuks in the battle of Antioch-on-the-Maiander in 1211.[39] In 1304, the Catalan Grand Company achieved significant victories against the Turkomans in Asia Minor. Pachymeres does not doubt the competence of the Catalans and comments that the rumour of a forthcoming Catalan attack was sufficient to make the troops of the emirate of Karaşi lift the siege of Germe and flee without order.[40] Moreover, the mismanagement and mishandling of mercenaries had a negative impact on the effectiveness of the Byzantine armies. Pachymeres opposed the recruitment of the Catalan Company, arguing that the emperor hired them without taking into serious consideration the state's finances which were insufficient to maintain such an expensive group of soldiers. He is critical of the harsh fiscal measures taken by Andronikos II to produce enough cash to maintain the Catalans.[41]

As a supporter of Andronikos II, Gregoras finds the employment of the Catalans a wise decision and recalls that the superiority of their weapons, their discipline and experience resulted in the retreat of the Turkomans in Asia Minor, mainly in the area around Philadelpheia. However, Gregoras comments that because they had been recalled to the west and were not provided with guides the Catalans refused to advance further in the east. Claiming they had not received their payment, they became a burden on the local population and eventually they turned against the Byzantine state.[42]Consequently, despite their different approaches, Pachymeres and Gregoras do not doubt the military competence of the Catalan mercenaries. However, they are critical of the way in which the government managed them and imply that the Byzantine state did not have the resources to maintain such an expensive group of soldiers.

Another characteristic example of mismanaging resources and manpower is provided by Pachymeres' account of the treatment of the Alan mercenaries, who were recruited in 1301. He relates that the emperor employed the Alans because he knew that 'the Alans are a well behaved and obedient nation and also very warlike and bellicose. For this reason he neglected the Romans as

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39 Akropolites (as footnote 31 above) I 16; Gregoras (as footnote 3 above) I 19–20.

40 Pachymeres (as footnote 23 above) IV 467.

41 Pachymeres, ibid. IV 435–437.

42 Gregoras (as footnote 3 above) 221–223; For the conflict between the Byzantine state and the Catalan Grand Company see A. Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronikos II, 1282–1328. Harvard 1972, 158–177; M. Bartusis, The Late Byzantine Army. Philadelpheia 1992, 78–82.

having become effeminate and weakened, both because of the circumstances and because of their malevolent attitudes and disposition.'[43] However, that the emperor's favouring the Alans and providing them with weapons and resources which had previously belonged to native Byzantine soldiers, contributed to the defeat of the Byzantines at the battle of Bapheus (27 July 1302) at the hands of the Ottomans.[44] The Byzantine army which fought this battle was composed of 2,000 Roman and Alan soldiers under the command of the *megas hetaireiarches* Leo Mouzalon. Pachymeres remarks that although the native Byzantine soldiers were expected to fight wholeheartedly for the defence of their homes, they did not do so. They were demoralised and unwilling to fight because of the funds and weapons that had been taken from them to supply the Alan mercenaries. Nonetheless, Pachymeres' account of the battle shows that, following similar tactics to the Ottomans', the Alan cavalry inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. They encircled the Ottomans but suffered heavy casualties themselves.[45] Therefore, Pachymeres attributes the Byzantine defeat to the mismanagement of resources and miscalculations of the government and not to the tactical inferiority of the Byzantine army on the battlefield. It should be added that the Alans who had participated in 1303 in the failed campaign of Michael IX in Asia Minor requested permission to leave the empire, complaining that they were misused on the battlefield.[46]

It is worth noting that the effectiveness of using disciplined western European soldiers, mainly heavy cavalrymen, against the Turks is reflected not only in the successes of the Latins of Theodore I and of the Catalan Grand Company, but also in the achievements of the armies of Amadeo of Savoy and Marshal Boucicaut, who were active in Byzantium in 1366 and 1399 respectively, when the Ottoman army had stopped relying heavily on the accuracy and mobility of cavalry archers. A cousin of John V (1341–1391), Amadeo VI of Savoy, leading around 1,500 soldiers, seized Kallipoli, with the help of the Genoese ruler of Lesbos and returned it to Byzantium. In the summer of 1399 Marshall Boucicaut was sent to Byzantium by the king of France, Charles VI (1380–1422). He arrived in Constantinople leading 400 men-at-arms from noble families, 400 armed attendants and a number of archers. His total force amounted to 1200 soldiers and was augmented along the way. Boucicaut, together with Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425), cleared Constantinople's hinterland when they launched a joint expedition against the fortresses of the Black Sea close to Constantinople, which were held by the

43 Pachymeres (as footnote 23 above) IV 339.

44 For the battle of Bapheus see H. Inalcik, Osman Ghazi's siege of Nicaea and the battle of Bapheus, in: E. Zachariadou (ed.), The Ottoman Emirate. 1300–1389. Rethymnon 1993, 77–99.

45 Pachymeres (as footnote 23 above) IV 367.

46 Pachymeres, ibid. IV 345.

Turks. They also launched an unsuccessful attack on Nikomedeia. Boucicaut, realising the ephemeral character of these successes, advised Manuel II to write to France and ask for aid.[47] The examples of Amadeo of Savoy and Marshall Boucicaut show that the late Byzantine state did not have the resources to maintain experienced and professional foreign soldiers who could be effective against the Turks.

Therefore it was western European mercenaries and allies which provided the Byzantine army with troops of a high level of professionalism and significant battlefield experience. Furthermore, by achieving better co-ordination between cavalry and infantry and maintaining a higher degree of discipline than the late Byzantine armies, troops such as the Catalan Grand Company inflicted significant defeats on the Turkomans. However, the long-term employment and maintenance of large groups of high-quality western European soldiers was generally too expensive for fourteenth-century Byzantium. Temporary recruitment of very competent mercenaries could lead to ephemeral successes but the Byzantine state did not have the resources to turn temporary victories onto permanent gains.

In conclusion, the above discussion of the military engagements between the Byzantines and the armies of the Turkoman chiefdoms during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries shows that the inability of the Byzantines to adjust successfully to the battlefield tactics of the Turkomans resulted from a combination of numerous factors. These related to the military organisation of the Byzantine state, mismanagement of resources and cultural perceptions about nomadic warriors. The discussion shows that although very often the Byzantine military leaders were aware of the fighting methods of the Turkoman soldiers, the Byzantine armies failed to respond to them effectively and repeatedly made the same mistakes. As a result, the Byzantines suffered defeats on the battlefield which facilitated the Turkoman advance in Asia Minor. The available source material suggests that the main aim of the Byzantines was to force the Turkomans to fight at close quarters. However, they consistently failed to do so. In addition, despite past experience the Byzantine armies found it difficult to keep their discipline and not fall into the traps and ambushes of the Turkoman soldiers. It seems that the most effective response found by the Byzantines to the Turkoman methods of fighting was the employment of highly-skilled, experienced and disciplined foreign mercenaries. However, the Byzantine state could not afford their long-term maintenance and employment. Nor did late Byzantium have the resources to turn

[47] See D. Nicol, The Last Centuries of Byzantium. London 1972, 274–277; Bartusis, The Late Byzantine Army (as note 42 above) 104; J. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship. New Brunswick 1969, 62, 163; N. HOUSLEY, One Man and His Wars: The depiction of Warfare by Marshall Boucicaut's Biographer, *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003) 27–40.

temporary military victories into permanent gains. In addition, the mismanagement of resources and mishandling of groups of foreign mercenaries, such as the Catalan Grand Company and the Alans, had a reverse impact on the empire's efforts to resist the advance of the Turkoman principalities in Asia Minor. Similarly, a failure of cultural adaptation and the underestimation of the strength of the Turkoman armies contributed to the inability of the Byzantine army to respond effectively to the battlefield tactics of this enemy.

Abstract

This article examines the Byzantine responses to the battlefield tactics followed by the armies of the Turkoman chiefdoms during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The most characteristic example reflecting the difficulties faced by the Byzantine army when confronted by the Turkomans is the battle of Pelekanos, in the gulf of Nikomedia. It was fought in 1329 between the Byzantines under the command of the emperor Andronikos III (1328–1341), and the Ottomans whose leader was Orhan (1326–1362). The outcome of this battle typifies the inability of the late Byzantine armies to deal effectively with the Turkoman cavalry archers, despite the instructions given by the military treatises which were compiled in the earlier periods of Byzantine history, despite the experience of fighting against enemies of similar nature in the past, and despite the fact that generals such as Kantakouzenos possessed a good knowledge of the fighting methods of the Turkomans. This article argues that the inability of the Byzantines to adjust to the demands of the battlefield tactics of the Turkoman warriors was a combination of many factors. The loss of Asia Minor deprived Byzantium of its main source of competent archers. The Byzantines relied on heavy cavalry which, although it proved ineffective against the Turkomans, was the symbol of exalted status of members of the aristocracy. Moreover, stereotyped views about the Turkomans affected the performance of the Byzantines on the battlefield. It seems that Byzantine generals, even if they knew the fighting methods of the Turkomans, very often could not fully understand the strength of their armies. This article concludes that the failure to react successfully to the battlefield tactics of the Turkomans could be partly described as a failure of cultural adaptation, reinforced by stereotypes about 'barbarians.'

EXOME ראש חדש: THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NEW MOON IN ROMANIOTE SYNAGOGUES

JOHANNES NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS / BERLIN, AND ELISABETH HOLLENDER / BOCHUM

Already in Biblical times the New Moon was of special importance in the Israelite religion, as attested in Num 10:10: "And on your joyous occasions – your fixed festivals and new moon days – you shall sound the trumpets over your burnt offerings and your sacrifices of well-being." In consequence, the beginning of the month became a minor holiday in early Judaism, marked with special prayers during services and the blessing of the New Moon to be recited upon its appearance.

In antiquity the date of the New Moon was said to be fixed by two eyewitnesses who gave testimony to having seen it before a committee of priests at the Temple in Jerusalem and later before the Sanhedrin, which then proclaimed the New Moon and informed the Jewish communities in Israel through a system of beacons and messengers. Although astronomical calculations were probably used to determine the date of the New Moon, its sanctification was supposed to depend on the testimony of the eyewitnesses.[1] Leap-years with an additional month were added when the Sanhedrin acknowledged that the natural cycle did not correspond with the lunar calendar.

In the course of the fourth century CE a fixed calendar based on the conjunction appears to have been adopted in rabbinical circles.[2] According to this system the calendar could be calculated in advance and distributed to the Jewish communities in the Diaspora.[3] During the next centuries the authority to determine the exact date of the New Moon officially rested with the Palestinian rabbinical court. In the early tenth century, Ben Meir reported that once every year the head of the Palestinian academy would announce the dates that had been calculated for the forthcoming year on the Mount of Olives. Though it would appear that the Babylonian academies were – officially or

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1 About the Jewish lunar calendar as originally fixed in accordance with the sighting of the New Moon, see S. Stern, Calendar and Community. A History of the Jewish Calendar Second Century BCE – Tenth Century CE. Oxford 2001, 99–123.

2 Stern, Calendar 140.

3 Stern, Calendar, argues that in earlier centuries communities were responsible for their local calendars, including the fixing of the New Moon. His example from Philo of Alexandria (p. 119) shows that Philo's community did not receive calendar information from the Palestinian rabbinical authorities.

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unofficially – engaged in calendar calculations,[4] this is much less likely for the Jewish communities in the Byzantine Empire. Given the recognition of the Palestinian court's right to announce the calendar as stated in the letter of the Babylonian Exilarch of 835/836,[5] it is probable that at least until the ninth century the Romaniote communities received information on the exact dates of the forthcoming year through messengers from Israel.[6] By then the regulations of the fixed calendar based on the conjunction were known and each community could theoretically have calculated the calendar by itself, reaching the same results; but the privilege of the Palestinian rabbinical court seems to have been respected. This changed in 921 CE when a dispute arose between Ben Meir in Palestine and Saadya b. Joseph in Babylonia regarding the calendar, in particular, the date of Pesah in the year 923. Saadya was victorious and his calendar calculations were used in most communities in the Jewish Diaspora until the late eleventh century.[7] From the tenth century onward there is no evidence of messages from the Palestinian rabbinical court regarding the calendar,[8] but the celebration of the New Moon with special prayers and blessings continued in all Diaspora communities.

The exact rites of announcement of the New Moon and the manner of its celebration differed from one Jewish community to another in the various

4 Stern, Calendar 188–189.

5 Stern, Calendar 180–181, 277–283.

6 Mishna and Tosefta give lists of the hills on which the beacons were said to be lit and describe the procedure: "They used to bring long poles of cedar and reeds and olive wood and flax which they tied to the poles with a string. And someone used to go up to the top of a mountain, and set fire to them, and wave them to and fro and up and down, until one saw the next person doing the same on the top of the second mountain. And so again on the top of the third mountain. Cf. mRH II:3". Both the Palestinian and the Babylonian Talmudim report that the chain of beacons extended as far as Babylonia (yRH 2:2, 58a, bRH 23b), though with different final destinations; comparable lists are found in Christian Byzantine texts (see below). Stern, Calendar 162–163, argues that the system of beacons mentioned in the rabbinical texts did not necessarily correspond with reality (as also in Christian texts, see below), though he gives evidence of chains of beacons from Antiquity in note 28. See also the commentary on the lemma φάρος in the short version of the Greek announcement of the New Moon in this article. The Romaniote communities could never have received messages through a chain of beacons, but they knew of this system from the rabbinical texts – and from their Byzantine textual "reality". Existing evidence is insuffiçent to venture any comment on the reliability of messengers from the Palestinian academies to the Byzantine Empire.

7 Saadya is said to have calculated only 255 cycles, i.e. until 1085 CE. Afterwards it is probable that the calendar tables of Nahshon Gaon (Gaon of the Academy of Sura 874–882 CE) were widely used for local calculations, independent of any authoritative body.

8 Nor is there any textual evidence that the Babylonian academies dispatched messengers regularly.

countries.[9] Romaniote communities – i. e. Greek-speaking Jews of the former Byzantine Empire – used a short Aramaic announcement near the end of the morning service on the Shabbat before the New Moon. This can be translated as follows:

> "Hear, all the people! Pay attention to hear this proclamation of the New Moon, as decreed by our fathers, our masters, the sages, the holy council that used to sit in the land of Israel. We [will] have the New Moon of the month of … on the … day of this week, its calculation and its accounting on … this week. May the King of the World turn it into a good sign for all of Israel."[10]

The Aramaic text refers to the Academy in the Land of Israel as the body that decided on the Jewish calendar ("our fathers, our masters, the sages, the holy community that sat in the land of Israel").[11] This indicates that the formulation was either conceived before the tenth century CE or reflects an idealised reality, not an historical situation at the time when the Aramaic text was

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9 The large Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities made announcement of the exact date of the New Moon in synagogues during the morning service on the Shabbat before the New Moon, called *Shabbat Mevarkhin,* at the conclusion of the reading of the Tora, using a special version of the prayer *Yehi ratson* ("May it be Your will"). The most prevalent current version of this prayer may be translated into English thus: "May it be thy will, Lord our God and God of our fathers, to grant us this new month for happiness and blessedness. O grant us long life, a life of peace and well-being, a life of blessing and sustenance, a life of physical health, a life of piety and dread of sin, a life free from shame and disgrace, a life of wealth and honour, a life marked by our love for Torah and our fear of Heaven, a life in which the wishes of our heart shall be fulfilled for happiness. Amen. / May he who performed miracles for our fathers, and freed them from slavery, speedily redeem us and gather our dispersed people from the four corners of the earth so that all Israel be knit together; and let us say, Amen. / The new month of … will begin on … May it come to us and all Israel for happiness. / May the Holy One, blessed be he, grant that the new month bring to us and to all his people, the house of Israel, happiness and blessedness, joy and gladness, deliverance and comfort, sustenance and livelihood, generous and peaceful living, good reports and pleasant tidings, rains at the right season, perfect health and speedy redemption; and let us say, Amen." Quoted from Ph. Birnbaum (trans.), Daily Prayer Book. Ha-Siddur ha-Shalem. New York 1969, 430. The last sentence of the Ashkenazic version is slightly shorter. It was introduced in this form very late in the development of the Jewish liturgy, according to Elbogen in the eighteenth century, see I. Elbogen, Jewish Liturgy. A comprehensive history (trans. R. Scheindlin). Philadelphia/Jerusalem 1993, 104.

10 A similar version in Hebrew is transmitted in the Roman rite: "Thus our honoured sages decreed that we announce to this holy congregation for old and young to know that we have the New Moon of … on … and …" (cf. Elbogen, Jewish Liturgy 103–104). This is an important point, since it reasserts the old links between Byzantine and Italian Jews.

11 One of the manuscripts discussed here even adds the explicit reference "the great Sanhedrin and the small Sanhedrin" (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms hebr. 616), f. 100r.

composed (see below). Interestingly, Byzantine texts dealing with the chain of beacons display a similar ambiguity with regard to reality (see below). The use of Aramaic allows for a tentative dating no earlier than the eighth century CE. It should be noted that the closest extant parallel, the announcement as practiced in the Roman rite, is composed in Hebrew and makes no mention of the Palestinian rabbinical court. This could be an indication of Babylonian influence which had altered an already existing tradition of announcing the New Moon and would thus confirm the dating of the earliest version of the Aramaic Romaniote text in the ninth to tenth centuries CE (a Byzantine signalling system similar to the rabbinical one was dismantled in the ninth century, see below).

Aramaic was considered the vernacular language of post-Biblical Judaism and was in fact familiar to most medieval Jews as the language of large parts of the Talmud and many medieval texts. The fact that the announcement was made in Aramaic separates it from the rest of the prayer and marks it as communication between man and man, as opposed to prayer directed toward God. This is also reflected in the use of the second person appellative forms in both the Aramaic and Greek versions. The translation into Greek was justified by its earlier translation into Aramaic and by the necessity that everyone in the community of prayer should understand the announcement.

Greek had been the vernacular language of the Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean since Antiquity and had continued to occupy this place in the Romaniote communities.[12] It was used mainly for profane purposes, but some liturgical texts existed in Greek translation.[13] Moreover, a Greek version of the Tora was transmitted in Jewish circles.[14] The transmission of some of these texts goes back to at least the fourteenth century.[15] The scarcity of early

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12 On these communities and their use of Greek, see J. Starr, The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204. Athens 1939; J. Starr, Romania. The Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade. Paris 1949; S. B. Bowman, The Jews of Byzantium (1204–1453), Alabama 1985 (the author does not mention our text in the chapter "Greek language" on p. 164–168, but refers briefly to it on p. 155 in the chapter "Romaniote Poetry and Liturgy" with references to Goldschmidt (as footnote 23 below); N. de Lange, Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah. Tübingen 1996; J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Byzantinische Lebenswelt und rabbinische Hermeneutik. Die byzantinischen Juden in der Kairoer Geniza, *Byzantion* 74 (2004) 51–109; E. Hollender/J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Mahzor Romania and the Judeo-Greek Hymn ἕνας ὁ κύριος. Introduction, critical edition, and commentary. *Revue des Études Juives* (forthcoming), with bibliography.

13 Among them the translations of special Biblical readings. Beyond the scope of the fixed liturgy some Judaeo-Greek poems existed that were recited either at the end of regular prayer services or in para-liturgical events.

14 Edition by M. Hesseling, Le Cinque Livres de la Loi. Leiden/Leipzig 1897, original printed in 1547.

15 See the translation of the book of Jonah in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Opp. Add. oct. 19, as published by M. Hesseling in *BZ* 10 (1901) 208–217.

Hebrew and Jewish manuscripts from the Byzantine Empire and its successor states prevents any conclusive dating for the introduction of these texts into the Romaniote Jewish liturgy, although it has been argued that at least some of them were in use by the thirteenth century.

The text under discussion is extant in four manuscripts; a fifth manuscript was lost during World War II. The following brief descriptions are based on the information in catalogues, examination of the manuscripts in Parma and microfilms of the Paris and the Moscow manuscripts.

1) Parma Palatina Ms 1791, formerly de Rossi 435, Siddur Minhag Southern Italy (Romania), 15th century, 62 × 55 mm, 11 lines per page, Byzantine semi-cursive script, f. 187–245 written in a Sephardic semi-cursive script.[16] (referred to as P1)
2) Parma Palatina Ms 2587, formerly de Rossi 947, Siddur Minhag Romania, 17th century, 220 × 152 mm, 24 lines per page, Byzantine semi-cursive script.[17] (referred to as P2)
3) Breslau Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar Ms 70, Siddur Minhag Romania (lost), 15th–16th centuries, 162 × 133 mm, 21 lines per page.[18] (referred to as B)
4) Moscow Russian State Library, Ms. Guenzburg 746, Siddur Minhag Romania, 15th century, small size (approx. 100 × 80 mm), 11 lines per page, with illuminations and calendrical tables at the end of the manuscript. (referred to as M)
5) Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms ebr. 616, Siddur Minhag Romania, 1529, small size (approx. 120 × 100 mm?), 17 lines per page, Sephardic square script, copied by Joseph b. Hayim de Vitali for

16 Cf. B. Richler (ed.), Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma. Catalogue. Jerusalem 2001, 284, no. 1090.

17 Cf. Richler, Hebrew Manuscripts 284, no. 1091.

18 Although some manuscripts from the collection have resurfaced after the War, this manuscript is still missing. For a description of the context of the manuscript, see D. S. Loewinger/B. D. Weinryb, Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau. Wiesbaden 1965, 127–30, no. 196. The manuscript is undated and has not been studied paleographically. According to a note of sale on fol. 1r, the widow Arinosa bought it in 1616 for six gold coins from her father Eliezer, a native of Vorogonto in Candia (Crete). It is impossible to say how old the manuscript was at the time. The Greek version of the announcement of the New Moon was first published from this manuscript by M. Brann/J. Zoller, Mitteilungen über neugriechische und italienische Texte im Synagogen-Ritual. *MGWJ* 62 (1918) 275–277. Because the manuscript was lost, subsequent studies of the Greek announcement of the New Moon – including ours here – must rely on the text given by Brann, cf. Starr, The Jews (as footnote 12 above) 65, 180, 212 (without citing the text); and Bowman, The Jews (ibid.).

Mordechai haKohen b. Mosko in "(A)karnania."[19] (referred to as Paris 616)

The geographical distribution of the manuscripts shows that the Greek announcement of the New Moon was used in various communities of the former Byzantine Empire. One of the fifteenth century manuscripts (P1) was most probably copied in Southern Italy; the lost Breslau manuscript was sold in Crete in 1616; and the Paris manuscript was copied in "(A)karnania" in the 16th century. While Romaniote communities are attested in Crete and Arta, the use of Greek in 15th century Southern Italy is worthy of note. The manuscript in question was copied by two different hands, one Byzantine, the other Sephardic (Spanish).[20] The prayer rite and selection of liturgical poetry is partly influenced by Southern Italian rites, but mainly by the Romaniote rite. Liturgies tend to be conservative; this is a case where the Jewish communities decided to preserve a tradition that had long ceased to be important in all other aspects of life.

The manuscripts differ in the way the Greek announcement of the New Moon is embedded in the Hebrew and Aramaic texts, though in all the manuscripts the announcement is added at the end of the Tora-service, after a blessing for the Shabbat.

In P1 (15th century) the Greek text is directly embedded in the Hebrew prayer, with no Aramaic text and no general rubric explaining the purpose of the passage. Instead, the Judaeo-Greek version is introduced by the rubric ואימרו בלשון יוון שיברך הל[בנ]ה ("And they say in Greek that he shall bless the New Moon.") The Greek text has an enlarged initial word, marking it as a separate unit. The text is followed by a rubric that indicates that one should

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19 Cf. H. Zotenberg, Catalogues des Manuscrits Hébreux et Samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale. Paris 1866, 78, no. 616. Judging by the name (de Vitali) this manuscript was copied by a Sephardic or Italian scribe who did not know Greek. The text of the Greek announcement is very corrupt and cannot be used for the edition. The principal who ordered the manuscript was a Romaniote Jew who probably expected the Greek text to be included in the manuscript but never read or corrected the corrupt text. – Arta, where the manuscript was copied, is in present-day Epiros and is a centre of Romaniote settlement in Greece (birthplace of R. Dalven). The name of the old city, Ambrakia, whose ruins can still be seen in the lower part of the castle of Arta, was replaced in the Early Middle Ages by the name of the river Arta (the ancient Arachthos, see *RE* s. v. [Hirschfeld]). The archaising name 'Akarnania' is, however, no error, as attested in a πρᾶξις συνοδική (synodal act) from July 1367 (MM I, 494) concerning the translation of the archbishop of Levkas to the metropolitan see of Naupaktos on account of the Latin occupation. Here Arta is called ἐπισκοπὴ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ Ἄρτης "the Episcopal see of Arta which is in Akarnania." Note also the vernacular form of the region in Hebrew with the missing /a/ –.

20 In addition to the catalogue, see G. Tamani, Elenco dei manoscritti ebraici miniati e decorati della 'Palatina' di Parma. *La Bibliofilía* 70 (1968) 39–136.

return the Tora scroll to its ark after this announcement; and the next prayer "And when it gently came to rest" (ובנחה) is the same used today when the Tora is returned to the ark. Next follows a rubric that one should recite a half Qaddish and the first two blessings of the Amida.

In M (15th century), the announcement is inserted in both Aramaic and Greek, without any rubric, after the prayer "And when it gently came to rest," followed by the final sentence in Hebrew which differs from the modern version ("May the Holy One, blessed be He, renew it [the month] for us as a beautiful [i. e. good] sign and as a call for redemption and the ingathering of the exiles, and the removal of the yoke of the nations from us and from our necks, and may He build His city and His Temple fast and in the near future. Amen"). Then follows a rubric of parallel content to the one which is copied after "And when it gently came to rest" in P1. The Greek text begins with a large initial word, marking it as separate unit. An additional decorative drawing that includes the first letter of the first Greek word marks the beginning of the Greek text on the margin of the page, thus highlighting the Greek text as an important element.

According to Paris 616 (copied in 1529), the Tora Scroll is returned to the ark before the announcement of the New Moon, which is introduced by the rubric "Announcement of the Beginning of the Month" (הכרזת ראש חדש). The passage consists of a long Hebrew prayer which differs from the modern text and is made up mainly of Biblical verses.[21] This is followed by the Aramaic text and the Greek text. Unlike P1 and the Guenzburg manuscript, the initial word of the Greek text here is not marked in any special way. Then follows the same Hebrew sentence as in M, and the subsequent rubric indicates that afterwards a half Qaddish and the first blessings of the Amida are to be recited.

The arrangement is similar in P2, where a shorter version of the Hebrew text[22] is introduced by the rubric קדוש החדש (Sanctification of the Month), and followed by the Aramaic text. A rubric after the Aramaic text explains that one doubles this in Greek (וכופלין בלשון יון). The Greek text is marked as separate unit by an initial word in larger script; however, the Hebrew sentence

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21 "The Lord, the God of Israel, in His great compassion and His outstanding and consistent grace He glances on His house and on His home and on His palace (Temple), and He will shake it up from the ashes and will raise it up from its destruction and will build it an everlasting building, a complete building, a constant building, an enhanced building, a decorated building, a building that will not be destroyed and demolished forever, in our days and in the days of all the house of Israel, and they shall say: Amen. As it is written … (Ez 43:2; Is 52:8–9; Is 40:5; Jer 30:18; 1 Kg 8:13; Jer 31:4; Is 65:21; Is 65:22–24; Hos 2:1; Is 27:13; Ob 21; Za 14:9; Is 2:2; Is 2:3)." All Biblical verses quoted here are traditionally interpreted as depictions of the time of divine redemption.

22 Consisting of a shorter version of the introductory sentence and Ez 43:2, Is 52:8, Is 2:2–3 and 1 Kg 8:13.

at the end of the passage is missing. The following rubric prescribes the return of the Tora scroll to the ark and the subsequent recitation of "And when it gently came to rest."[23]

Apparently, though the exact form of the liturgy associated with the announcement of the New Moon had not yet been decided definitively in the Romaniote communities in the fifteenth to sixteenth century, the announcement's place in the liturgy, just before the return of the Tora scroll to the ark, had already been fixed.[24] While the Aramaic text of the announcement proper did not change, the surrounding texts that define the interpretation of the New Moon did change. The topic of well-being that dominates the Sephardic version was substituted in the Romaniote communities in the sixteenth century with the topic of divine redemption at the end of days.[25]

The fact that the Aramaic text did not change significantly suggests that this passage is older than the surrounding liturgy. The extant manuscript evidence from the Romaniote rite is scarce and almost all the manuscripts are comparatively late. Any dating of the Aramaic text would therefore be based not on the manuscript evidence but on the linguistic characteristics of the text; however, the brevity of the text excludes any conclusive dating. Since only the Roman rite contains a comparable version of the announcement of the New Moon, albeit in Hebrew, and all other rites, starting from the earliest evidence, follow a different pattern, it is likely that the Romaniote and Roman traditions are earlier than those of Sepharad and Ashkenaz. No text for the announcement of the New Moon is transmitted in *Siddur Rav Amram Gaon* and *Siddur Rav Saadya Gaon*, which would suggest that the announcement was not yet a common feature in Babylonia and the communities whose liturgies depended on Babylonian traditions in the ninth and tenth century.

Only a minority of the known manuscripts of Mahzor Romania contain the Greek translation of the announcement of the New Moon, and none of the

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23 In the printed versions of this rite, the announcement of the New Moon is very similar to that in Paris 616, cf. D. Goldschmidt, מחזור רומניא ומנהגו, *Sefunot* 8 (1964) 221, who lists the biblical verses after the first Hebrew text as 1 Kg 8:13; Jer 31:18; Is 65:21–24; Hos 2:1; Is 27:13; Za 14:9; Is 2:2–5; Ez 43:2. This chain of verses is followed by the Aramaic text.

24 The presentation of the text in P1, without the Aramaic part or any surrounding prayer is unusual and may be due to the extremely small size of the manuscript. It is likely that this manuscript was intended for the personal use of a member of a congregation, not for the precentor. Otherwise one would have to assume the use of the Greek version alone, without the accompanying prayers, as late as the fifteenth century, which contradicts the testimony of all the other manuscripts.

25 Elbogen explained the insertion of the petition for the rebuilding of the Temple by the fact that the announcement of the New Moon had formerly been made there and, hence, its destruction should be mourned and petition made to God for its restoration, see Elbogen, Jewish Liturgy (as note 9 above) 104, and vide *infra.*

printed editions contain it. In all cases where the Greek translation is present, it relates only to the Aramaic text, not to the surrounding Hebrew and Biblical verses. While the Aramaic original is found in almost the same form in all the manuscripts, this is not at all the case for the Greek translation. In fact, despite the limited manuscript evidence, we can distinguish two clearly different Greek translations of the Aramaic, a short (henceforward called S) and a long one (L). The long version renders the original quite faithfully while the short one summarises only the last part and has a completely different beginning (ἀπο-κάλυψε…) which has no counterpart in the original and may have functioned as a *shibboleth* for keeping the two versions apart.

It is uncertain which version of the Greek translation is the older one, since one of the oldest manuscripts, M (15th century), contains the shorter version (S). Linguistically, S and L show no distinctive chronological features. However, the use of the word φάρος "lighthouse" in S could suggest a relative chronology for the content of this version (see below).

In order to note even minor variants, each of the texts is copied here exactly as transmitted in the manuscript, even if there are hardly any differences toward the end where the Greek and Hebrew are intermingled in a fascinating manner (ἡμέρα פלוני….). As for S, although the commentary is based on one manuscript only (M), since Paris 616 (copied in Akarnania) is so corrupt that it cannot be used for the *constitutio textus*, the text of this manuscript is reproduced as well, in as much as it provides important evidence for the geographical distribution and the continued use of the Greek version of the announcement of the New Moon until the seventeenth century.

The codicological evidence for L shows that, in general, P1 presents a linguistically older version (indicated e.g. by πᾶσα λαός instead of ὅλος) than the two other manuscripts (P2 and B). Apparently P2 and B present the linguistical development towards Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG)[26], while P1 presents the most archaic variant of L.

26 The origin and development of this common vernacular Greek is one of the most debated topics of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies – see recently C. Cupane, Wie volkstümlich ist die byzantinische Volksliteratur? *BZ* 96 (2003) 577–599; the author leaves precisely this question unanswered.

Text: the long version

Version P1:

ואימרו בלשון יוון שיברך הל[בנ]ה
טין פונין פשא לאוש {א} אקוטיני קאתוש אורישן אי אפדיש אימון אירנטיש אימון טו חבורא
טואיו אפו {אפוקוש'} אפוקובישן אישטין ירושלים
איכומי ראש חדש פלו' טין אימירא טין פלני טופשיפוש טו ראש חדש אפו טין אימירא טין
פלני או הקב"ה נמשטוקמי אימש // לסימן טוב //

Τὴν φωνὴν πᾶσα λαὸς ἀκούτενε, καθὼς ὥρισαν οἱ ἀφέντες ἡμῶν οἱ γέροντες ἡμῶν τοῦ חבורא τοῦ ἁγίου, ὅπου ἀποκούμβησεν εἰς τὴν ירושלים:
ἔχομε ראש חדש פלוני, τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν פלוני, τὸ ψῆφος τοῦ ראש חדש ἀπὸ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν פלוני, ὁ הקדוש ברוך הוא νά μας τὸ κάμει ἡμᾶς *siman tov*

And they shall say in the Greek language that he shall bless the New Moon:
"All the people shall listen to the voice, as our fathers, our elders of the holy community which has assembled in Jerusalem, decided: We have such-and-such a New Moon, on such-and-such a day, the calculation of the New Moon from such-and-such a day. The Holy One, blessed be He, shall make it a good sign for us."

Version P2:

הַקּוֹל כֹּל עַמָּא הַבוּ דְעַתְכוֹן לְמִשְׁמַע קִדּוּשׁ יַרְחָא הַדֵּין כְּמָה דִגְזָרוּ אֲבָהָתָנָא מָרָנָא וְרַבָּנָן חֲבוּרָא
קַדִּישָׁא דְהַווֹ יָתְבִי בְאַרְנָא [!] דְיִשְׂרָאֵל אִית לָן רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ פְּלוֹנִי בְּכַךְ וְכַךְ בְּשַׁבָּת חֶשְׁבּוֹנֵיהַ
וּמְנְיָינֵיהַ מִכַּךְ בְּשַׁבָּת רַחֲמָנָא יְעַבְדִינֵיה לְסִימָנָא טַבָא לַנָא וּלְכֹל עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן.
וכופלין בלשון יון
טִין פוֹנִי אוֹלוֹשׁ אֹלַאוֹשׁ אַשְקוּשׁוּמֵי קַתוֹשׁ אוֹרִישַׁן {איקירידיא} אִיקִירִידֵיאֵמוֹן אִירֵבִיאִימוֹן
טוֹ חֲבוּרָה טוֹ אַיִיוֹ אוֹפּוּ {אפו} אַפּוֹקוּבִישַׁן אִישְׁטִיי טוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵיכוֹמֵי רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ פְּלוֹנִי {טיניטופ}
טִינִיטוֹפִיאַה מִירֵא אוֹתֵיאוֹשׁ נַמַשֵׁטוֹקַמִי סִימָן טוֹב

Τὴν φωνὴν ὅλος ὁ λαὸς ἂς ἀκούσουμε, καὶ καθὼς ὥρισαν οἱ κύρηδε<?> ἡμῶν οἱ ῥεββὶ ἡμῶν τοῦ חבורה τοῦ ἁγίου ὅπου ἀποκούμβησαν εἰς τὴ γῆ τοῦ ישראל: ἔχομε ראש חדש פלוני εἴτ' ὅποια μέρα, ὁ θεὸς νά μας τὸ κάμει *siman tov.*

"Hear, all the people! Pay attention to hear this sanctification of the New Moon, as decreed by our fathers, our masters and our rabbis, the holy council that used to sit in the land of Israel. We [will] have the New Moon of the month of … on the … day of this week, its calculation and its accounting from … this week. May the merciful one turn it into a good sign for us and for all of his people Israel, let us say: Amen.
And they repeat it in the Greek language:
All the people let us listen to the voice, and as our fathers, our rabbis of the holy community which assembled in the land of Israel, decided: We have such-and-such a New Moon on such-and-such a day. God shall make it a good sign unto us."

Version B:[27]

הקול כל עמא הבו דעתכון למשמע קידוש ירחא הדין כמה דגזרו אבהתנא מרנן ורבנן חבורא קדישא דהוו יתבין בארעא ישראל דאית לן ר"ח פלו' בכך וכך בשבת חשבוניה ונהייניה (!) סימנא טבא עלנא מיום פלו' וכופלו בלשון יון
טִין פוֹנִין אוֹלוֹשׁ אוֹלֵאוֹשׁ אַשֲׁקוּשׁוֹמֵי קַתוֹשׁ אוֹרִשַׁן אִיקִירִיאִימוֹן אִירִבִידִי אִימוֹן חֲבוֹרָא טוֹאַיוֹ אַפּוֹאֵיק וּבִישַׁן אַשְׁטִי יְרוּשָׁלָם אֵכוֹמֵי ר"ח בְּיוֹם פלו' טוֹפְּשׁ יפוֹשׁ טוּ ר"ח מִיוֹם פלו' אוֹהַבָּ"הְ נַמַשְׁטוֹקַמִי סִמַן טוֹב

Τὴν φωνὴν ὅλος ὁ λαὸς ἂς ἀκούσωμε, καθὼς ὥρισαν οἱ κύριοι[28] ἡμῶν οἱ ῥεβ-βίδοι[29] ἡμῶν <τοῦ>[30] **חבורא** τοῦ ἁγίου <ὅπου>[31] ἀποεκούμβησαν[32] εἰς[33] τὴ **ירושלם** : ἔχομε **ראש חדש ביום פלוני** τὸ ψῆφος[34] τοῦ **ראש חדש מיום פלוני** , ὁ **הברוך הוא** νά μας τὸ κάμει **סימן טוב**.

> "Hear, all the people! Pay attention to hear this sanctification of the New Moon as decreed by our fathers, our masters and our rabbis, the holy council that used to sit in the land of Israel. We [will] have the New Moon of the month of … on the … day of this week; may its calculation and its accounting be a good sign unto us from the day …
> And they repeat in the Greek language:
> All the people let us listen to the voice, as our fathers, our rabbis of the holy community which assembled in Jerusalem, decided: We have a New Moon, on such-and-such a day, the calculation of the New Moon from such-and-such a day. God shall make it a good sign unto us."

Philological Commentary

General Remarks

Version L is of a distinctly different linguistic character. All three of our manuscripts display so many traits typical of high-style Byzantine language, emulating Ancient Greek, that one cannot call this a vernacular version.

[27] Since the Ms. could not be consulted, there is uncertainty as to some of the readings, particularly of the vowels.

[28] Written *kiri;* the glide-vowel was apparently not expressed in writing.

[29] Written *rividi*; since the first vowel would have been completely irregular in Greek, *hirek* was changed to *sere.* Another possible explanation would be a northern representation of unstressed /e/ by /i/. But since the manuscript is lost, this is only speculation.

[30] Clearly an omission.

[31] Omission due to haplography of the same sequence of Hebrew characters.

[32] In B written without nasal; this and the /o/ in the root is typical for some – mostly northern – dialects of MG.

[33] In B written with patah; clearly a confusion with *sere.*

[34] In B written with /u/; on this confusion, quite typical of the manuscripts in question, see below.

Rather, we are confronted here with a text in Classical Greek displaying some elements of the spoken language, which makes it extremely difficult to determine when and where this version was written.

Interestingly, the manuscript with the most archaic language, Parma 1791, is the only one where one can with certainty detect at least one element of the Modern Greek dialects (see below).

The transliteration appears to follow the standard practice of transcribing Byzantine Greek in Hebrew characters. This transliteration is completely phonetic, so there are no elements of Classical (or SMG!) orthography; the scribes sometimes show the tendency to write groups of words together when they are pronounced as one phonetic unit (e.g. ἂς ἀκούσουμε "Let's hear" which is pronounced together but written separately in SMG). The transcription is generally correct. The vowels (*niqqud)* represent the actual pronunciation of Greek. It is clear that with the exception of the scribe of the Akarnania manuscript (Paris 616), who clearly was not Romaniote and whose Greek text is deplorable, the scribes of the other manuscripts were Romaniote Jews who knew quite well the language they were rendering in Hebrew characters. It should be noted that there are other examples of this Hebrew-Greek orthography. It is found in related texts such as the Pentateuch of 1547, the texts published by DE LANGE in 1996, and the hymn on *Shavuot* to be published by us (see footnote 12 above). This points to a long and continuous tradition of writing Greek in Hebrew characters.

We next offer a word-by-word commentary treating philological, linguistical and historical questions raised by the text, in order to determine its place within the context of the development of Modern Greek and its dialects and Greek-Hebrew-Aramaic multilingualism.

Word-by-Word Commentary

Τὴν (P1, P2, B): The form with final /n/ is technically correct for Ancient Greek, though the ending of the accusative was often confused as early as Roman times.[35] The usage in Modern Greek is complex and cannot be discussed in detail here.

Roughly speaking, Modern Greek dialects present -/n/ in some positions even when there was none in Ancient Greek (common in Cypriot and Pontic).[36] But no Modern Greek dialect preserves this sound before a spirant such as /f/-. The form of the article here belongs to the Ancient Greek

[35] See F. TH. GIGNAC: A grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, 2 vol. Milano 1980, 45 f. with bibliography.

[36] See the remarks on *siman/σῆμαν* towards the end of this commentary.

“Hochsprache,” be it an ancient remnant of Judaeo-Hellenistic times or an attempt of the Romaniotes to write Classical Greek; in every aspect, it contradicts MG phonetics. For an example of the use of -/n/ where it is not found in Ancient Greek but only in Byzantine (Christian) usage (in keeping with the rules of MG phonetics, viz. not before a spirant), see De Lange, Greek Jewish Texts (as footnote 12 above) 194. For examples of -/n/ where there is no parallel in Ancient or SMG see below.

φωνήν : Found in P1 and B, where P2 has φωνή. The latter writing is clearly a modernisation, but it is unclear whether the difference reflects a real sound change or the modernisation of orthography. The rendering of Hebrew קול by the Greek φωνή is normal, beginning with the Septuagint.[37]

πᾶσα (P1)/ὅλος (P2, B): The latter is SMG, while the former, in its generalised female form, is today archaic and dialectical, though it was still common in the medieval vernacular.[38] Also astonishing is the use of πᾶσ(α) without the definitive article, for which Kühner/Gerth[39] cite only poetic (Soph. Ai. 480) and Herodotean examples. Perhaps this is an archaism, or the syntactical influence of the Aramaic original כל עמא; however, both P2 and B do use the definitive article masc. here. This is a good instance of the Protean character of this Greek-Jewish “dialect.”

ἄς ἀκούσουμε (P2, B): This is a very free, but creative rendering of the wording of the Aramaic original (see above for text and translation). As it stands, this is one of the not too many SMG-expressions of our text. As is well known, ἄς < ἄφες (cf. Matth.27:49) is a *shibboleth* for the vernacular even in Καθαρεύουσα.[40] It first appears in a Byzantine text in vernacular style.[41] The rendering of the

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37 See E. Hatch/H. A. Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint, reprint 1998 (henceforward: HR), s. v. φωνή, no. 10.

38 N. Andriotis, Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten. Vienna 1974, Nr. 4751, *inter alia:* Southern Italy, Euboea (Karystos), Karpathos, Crete, Peloponnesus and subdialects of Pontic (Oinoi, Tripolis). In all the aforementioned instances it is used in the female form for all three genders. See also J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Koine und Diglossie. Wiesbaden 1994, 388 and note 128.

39 R. Kühner/B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre, vol. I, 631 ff. : „Da ὅλος mit Artikel steht, fällt Par. 6 a) aus“, and note 8 on p. 633.

40 Already K. Krumbacher, Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache, Munich 1902, p. 14 speaks about „untrügliche Kennzeichen“; see also note 10 for the correct etymology and reference to the gospel of Matthew.

41 See E. Trapp, Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, Vienna 2001, I 212 and, previously, S. B. Psaltes, Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken, ²Göttingen 1974, 137 (no

thematic vowel in the text in both manuscripts is significant for the grammatical and orthographical problems of this type of Greek. Whereas B has -ω- , P2 has -ου-: the latter would be closer to SMG, the former to Classical Greek. But the instability of orthography, especially in the rendering of the vowels (see below ἡμῶν) should warn us; the question cannot be decided here definitively.

ἀκούτενε (P1, doubtful reading): Seen from a Greek standpoint, this is a completely different translation from then original, which is closer to the Aramaic wording דעתכון. This variant is surely the older one, implying a different standpoint. In this text the precentor is speaking to the public, instead of the praying community speaking in the 1. Pers. Plur. The addition of -/n/ to verbal forms is also found in the Judaeo-Greek of the Geniza: ΤΟΔΗΑΤΑΣ-ΣΕΣΤΕΝ for τὸ διατάσσασθαι in the peculiar majuscule alphabet of the medieval Romaniotes.[42] The addition of -/n/ to the 2. pers. plur. is now found in Modern Greek dialects, esp. in Pontic, though the rules given by Oikonomidis[43] and Papadopoulos are somewhat different.[44] Apart from the uncertain reading, however, one should hesitate to attribute this text to a "Pontic" area on account of the irregularity of final -/n/ (see above) and our insufficient knowledge of medieval Greek dialects. The reading is nevertheless of importance and deserves attention in future studies of this phenomenon.

καθώς (P1, P2, B) does not occcur (by accident?) as a rendering of כמה in the LXX : HR gives כמה/ὡς in 196b, while καθώς renders כ, כאשר in 704c f. and 180b. I found no instance of the equivalent καθώς/כמה in the verses listed by HR in Aquila, Symmachos or Theodotion. The Greek word (attested first in Herodotos, see LSJ; condemned by Atticists) has to-day a slight smack of Καθαρεύουσα, even if Kriaras (Z 216) s. v. gives exx. from Byzantine vernacular literature (Digenis, Assizes of Cyprus, Chronicle of Morea). In the Pentateuch of 1547 it appears in Gen 7:9 (there in the variant χαθώς translating Hebrew כאשר).[45] Targum Onkelos renders the Hebrew into Aramaic as כמא, which might suggest that the rendering καθώς/כמה is typical for Greek-Aramaic

commentary or treatment of the word on p. 27); Kriaras Γ 244 f.: after the eighth century.

42 See Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Byzantinische Lebenswelt (as footnote 12 above) 63.

43 D.I. Oikonomidou, Γραμματικὴ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου τοῦ Πόντου, Athens 1958, 117 ff. (rules differing slightly from our example) and 264 ff. (further examples). On p. 117, O. writes: παρὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ καθόλου ἑλληνικὴν συνήθειαν. I doubt this.

44 See A. A. Papadopoulos, Ἱστορικὴ γραμματικὴ τῆς Ποντικῆς διαλέκτου. Athens 1955, 72 ff. with many examples for the second pers. plural in -τεν, and for exx. in -τινε (with the typical development of unstressed /e/ to /i/: κοψήτινε, φανερωσήτινε).

45 The other reference given by Kriaras and Hesseling does not exist.

translations in a Jewish context. De Lange (op. cit. p. 76) gives an example for ὡσάν (written with /e/) for כ in the Kohelet-Version from the Geniza (vs. 2, 13) which is much older than our short text.

ὥρισαν (P1, P2, B) rendering Aramaic גזר is an excellent illustration of the terminology the rabbis used when expressing their concepts in Greek: ὅρος means (among other things) "rule, canon" (LSJ, s. v. III), the denominative verb ὁρίζω (ib., s.v., III) "to ordain, determine, lay down", is used frequently when the subject is God, the law or a ruler. This use was inherited by Greek Christianity (see Lampe s.v. ὅρος, Nr. 5: "decision, decree, order") and Hellenistic Judaism (see H/R). It is a *terminus technicus* for imperial decrees, including those concerning religion (e.g. in Eusebios, Vita Const. 4.42.2 and Hist. eccl. 5.21.3), *and* for the decisions proclaimed by Church councils, see Lampe ibid. C 5 b i, ii and iii and c. The same holds true for the verb: Lampe s.v. ὁρίζω Nr. 2. A classic case of an imperial decree on a religious topic and transmitted in the acts of a Church council as ἀντίγραφον θείου νόμου ("rescript of divine law") is *ACO* 1,1,3 (68, l. 25 Schwartz: Concilium Ephesenum of 431, in the name of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, which is also transmitted in a Latin epitome in the Codex Theodosianus, ed. Krueger/Mommsen, XVI, 5, 66) banning the Nestorians from Roman soil; ὁρίζομεν corresponds with *statuimus* in 2,6.[46]

This use continued in Byzantine official usage for imperial charters. See F. Dölger/J. Karayannopulos, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. Munich 1968, 75 on the use of ὁρίζομεν in Byzantine decrees and edicts. The classical term for imperial decisions in later times is ὁρισμός,[47] see *ibidem passim.*[48]

The Hebrew expression corresponding to the Greek substantive is גזירה, Aramaic גזר (the determined form also occurs as גזירא). In post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic it is used for royal or divine decrees (the Niphal of the Hebrew verb גזר seems to have a similar meaning in some late Biblical texts, cf. Job 22:28 or Ekha 3:64). In Hebrew the connotation of the noun when used with regard to a divine decree is usually that of punishment of Israel, and when used with regard to a royal decree, religious persecution or prohibition of religious acts. In Targum Onkelos, the Aramaic גזירא translates the Hebrew noun חוק in cases where royal or divine law is mentioned, or refers to divine decrees uttered by "the mouth of God",[49] cf. Gen 47:26 ("Josef's decree"); Ex

[46] The complete Latin version in *ACO* 1,3,1 is a retranslation from the Greek; but Rusticus rightly renders ὁρίζω by *decernimus.*

[47] Again, Hellenistic Judaism anticipates Byzantine usage: see Dan "LXX" 6:11 and 13.

[48] The verb persists in medieval and Modern Greek, see below for Kriaras. Cf. also the use of ορίστε in SMG, corresponding to Turkish *buy(u)run* and Persian *befarmayid.*

[49] As a rule Targum Onkelos refrains from anthropomorphic expressions for God and introduces abstract concepts instead.

5:14 (“royal decree”); Ex 12:43 (“laws of Pesah”); Num 9:12 (“laws of Pesah”); Num 9:14 (“laws of Pesah”); Num 14:41 (“divine decree”); Num 19:2 (“law of the Tora”); Num 22:18 (“divine decree”); Num 24:13 (“divine decree”); Num 27:11 (“divine law)”; Num 31:21 (“law of the Tora”); Num 35:29 (“divine law”).

Our assumption that ὁρίζω/גזר and ὅρος/גזירא were well-established equivalents in the world of Greek-Aramaic bilingualism which coincided roughly with that of Jews and Greeks in the Byzantine empire[50] is confirmed by comparison with the Modern Greek rendering of the Hebrew in the Bible of 1547.[51] In most cases, the Aramaic verb גזר refers to circumcision or to the conclusion of a covenant, which is of no interest to us here. But in the few instances where גזר means “to put as a rule, to announce as a law” (e.g. Ex 15:25), the Judaeo-Greek version renders this verb with the composite expression βάζω (SMG: to put) and τύπος. This latter Greek substantive has both imperial and ecclesiastical overtones, and is the usual rendering of the Aramaic גזירא. But in those instances where the established meaning of the word is “divine decree” – *not* “divine law”! – (Num 14:41; 22:18; 24:13) the Greek ὁρισμός is used. Thus, spontaneous, non-permanent divine decrees and Byzantine legislation are expressed in the same words, and it is this association which the rabbis wanted to give to their “ruling” in the announcement of the New Moon.

οἱ ἀφέντες – οἱ γέροντες (P1) vs. οἱ κύρηδε<ς> – οἱ ῥεββί (P2)/ οἱ κύριοι – οἱ ῥεββίδοι (B): While all the three Greek renderings reduce the terms used for of the authorities enumerated from three to two, there is a distinctive difference between P1 and P2/B. P1 does not transmit any Aramaic text and it is therefore impossible to determine the exact concepts rendered by the Greek text. It is likely that the translator – whenever this specific translation into Greek may have occurred – wished to convey the concept of “our masters and our [fore-]fathers”, since the “elders” or “fathers” were an important authority. From a Greek standpoint, P1 clearly presents the older text (as in the case of πᾶσα vs. ὅλος). In P1 we find οἱ ἀφέντες for “our fathers, our masters.” According to Kriaras (Γ′ 334 f., no. 7, s.v. αὐθέντης: πατέρας. K. gives evidence for the use of the younger κύρης and of the older word ἀφέντης in the same verse, and cites also derivatives such as αὐθεντίτσης, ib. p. 338) the word is still in use to-day in

50 It is quite probable that Christian speakers of Aramaic used the same verb and substantives for the same concepts, see Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum p. 112b, Nr. 6 for the verb and for the nouns *gzirta* and *gzara*; see also Payne/Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, vol. 1, p. 701a.

51 Among the desiderata of Judaeo-Greek studies is the comparative study of the choices made by the translators of the Bible with earlier translations available to them including Targum Onkelos and the LXX.

Crete with the sense of "father" and occurs in classical Cretan literature ("Abraham's sacrifice"[52]). In SMG this sense is unknown; ἀφέντης means "lord" and has a Byzantine flavour, more in use being ἀφεντικό "boss." The word is attested in Judaeo-Greek, a dirge edited by Papageorgios: there it serves as an epithet for Moses emphasizing his rule over Israel, thus following the Byzantine meaning of αὐθέντης.[53]

That ὁρίζω was the privilege of an αὐθέντης/ἀφέντης is expressed in verse 307 of the Byzantine verse-romance "Imperios and Margarona" cited by Kriaras ΙΔ′, s. v. ὁρίζω: Αυθέντη μου πανένδοξε και ρήγα και τοπάρχα είτι ορίσεις εις εμέν ας γίνει θέλημά σου: "My lord and king and commander, if you order anything of me, your will shall be done."

Interestingly, for the Aramaic רבנן "our rabbis," P1 also uses the purely Greek γέροντες, which usually renders the Hebrew זקן (see HR 240 a). The other possible rendering for "rabbis," πρεσβύτεροι (see HR, 1201 c seq. Nr. 3), would surely have had too many Christian overtones. The plural here is also not SMG (which would be γέροι), but see Kriaras Δ′ 264, s. v. γέροντας; it occurs also in the Bible of 1547 in Gen 18:11. The meaning given by Kriaras (*ibid.*, under 2), "head," is very close to our text.

The two other manuscripts represent a later development of the language. From the time of the LXX the "normal" rendering of the Aramaic מר is κύριος.[54] But κύρης with the meaning of "father" is found in SMG, mostly in proverbs, and is also common in the medieval vernacular.[55] Thus, it also occurs in the Judaeo-Greek hymn for *Shavuot* to be published by the authors of this article in *Revue des Études Juives* (as footnote 12 above).[56] Strangely however, the two manuscripts construct the plural with -/d/-,[57] though not in the same words: P2 has κύρηδε, probably a slip of the pen for κύρηδες (but see below) and ῥεββί, whereas B has a more "regular" plural for the first, and an enlarged plural for the second word, ῥεββίδοι. In SMG we find the enlarged plural

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52 Cited as vs. 843 by Kriaras; but in the edition used by me (E. Tsantsanoglou, Athens 1985, NEB) it is vs. 840. No mention in Trapp (as footnote 41 above).

53 M. S. Papageorgios, Ἑλληνο-ἑβραϊκαὶ ἐλεγεῖαι. *Ἐπητερὶς Παρνασσός* 5 (1901) 70. In the Bible of 1547 it is used to translate אדני in Gen. 18:3. The ancient Aramaic translations interpreted this as a substitute for the divine name, although it may be read as a plural as well.

54 HR 296; see also Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum 401b, no. 6 (numbering wrong) and 1 Co 16:22 .

55 Kriaras Θ′ 47, no. 3 (where there is also a reference to the plural in -/d/- , see below).

56 Hollender/Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Mahzor Romania (as footnote 12 above).

57 On the well-known phenomenon of the formative -/d/- in MG and the rules of its appearance (in SMG only when the last syllable is accented, though in the older language we find many exceptions), see G. Hatzidakis, Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά, B′. Athens 1907, 18 ff. and Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Koine und Diglossie (as footnote 38 above) 63 ff. and 208 f. (with bibliography).

κύρηδες only in the older sense of "father," and the shorter plural, in B, in the sense of "gentlemen."

The plural written κύρηδε can hardly be correct. Either an -/s/ is missing here or, since the plural ῥεββίδοι in B corresponds exactly, this is a parallel formation of the plural in some MG dialects, e. g. in Livissi.[58] The enlargement by -/d/ in "rabbi" is old, as attested already in the *narratio de rebus Persicis* (5th–6th centuries), see LAMPE s. v. ῥαββίς. The strange mutation /e/ in this word cannot be explained; SMG and Byzantine Greek normally have -/a/-.[59]

ἡμῶν (P1, P2, B): this is the form in Ancient Greek; SMG is μας.[60] This is one of the many archaic forms in our text, since the MG forms occur already in the medieval vernacular (see KRIARAS Ε′ 297 f. s. v. ἐγώ and below in this commentary).

τοῦ חבורא τοῦ ἁγίου (P1, P2, B): The Aramaic knows both the fem. substantive חבורה, det. חבורתא (see SOKOLOFF) and a rare masc. substantive חבור, det. חבורא (see JASTROW 416), which is attested only in Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan in Ex 12:46, concerning the community meal of the first Pesah before the Exodus from Egypt.[61] The Romaniote prayerbooks all transmit the form חבורא (masc.). The Aramaic text clearly quotes the Targum of Ex.12:46 and assigns importance to the community that takes part in a ritual. Consequently the word is treated in Greek as a masc. /ntr. That this reflects the use of the Aramaic original, not Greek usage, is shown by the fact that SMG (slang) χάβρα ("group of people", with a negative connotation and northern vocalism), a loanword from Hebrew, is feminine.

The vowel of the article in our manuscripts oscillates between /o/ and /u/ (the omission of the article in M is surely due to the scribe; P1 has no vowel signs). The form with /o/ reflects the more Classical dative. But since the

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58 N. ANDRIOTES, Τὸ ἰδίωμα τοῦ Λιβισσιοῦ τῆς Λυκίας. Athens 1961, 61 f. Here /e/ would be written for /i/. – STARR, The Jews (as footnote 12 above) 180 gives an almost correct explanation for this plural form in our text, though he had only the text given by Brann and was probably unaware of the forms in Modern Greek dialects. This again shows how far-sighted he was and how well he knew Greek.

59 The only instance of /e/ in this word is thus the well-known abjuration formula from the beginning of the eleventh century cited in STARR, The Jews (as footnote 12 above) 175 (the accents as reproduced by STARR are not very convincing). No mention in TRAPP (as footnote 41 above).

60 The variant /e/ in P2 is probably a misspelling, cf. the interchange between /u/ and /o/ in our mss. (see below). It is not necessary to posit any "Pontic" influence for /e/ instead of SMG /i/.

61 The form is also attested in the Zohar, but since this text presents a peculiar form of Aramaic, it cannot be used as a parallel. All later attestations are quotations or derivatives from the Targum.

Aramaic original clearly requires the genitive, this would appear to be purely a phonetic or scribal phenomenon. The rendering of קדישא by ἅγιος is old (HR, p. 12 ff.).

ὅπου (P1, P2, B) as relative pronoun is not SMG (που < ὅπου), but is typical of Byzantine vernacular literature (Kriaras ΙΔʹ 16 ff., *passim*) and still extant in some MG dialects. It is however quite old and is first attested in Late Antique Christian literature, see Psaltes (as footnote 41 above) 197 § 314, and Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Koine und Diglossie (as footnote 38 above) 388 and note 13 f.

ἀποκούμβησεν (P1), ἀποκούμβησαν (P2), ἀποεκούμβησαν (B): The /e/ in B is probably an awkward tentative attempt to reintroduce the Ancient Greek augment and would thus be another example for the rabbis trying to write in the "Hochsprache." The verb no longer appears in SMG (ἀποκούμπι in Babiniotis is the only related item, classified as υποχωρητικός). It is a typical, if rare, word of the medieval vernacular, see Kriaras, Βʹ 308, Nr. 2 (written ἀπακουμπῶ). At first sight, the most striking feature of our text is the rendering of the Aramaic root יתב "to sit" by a Greek verb which means "to find shelter", see Kriaras op. cit.: βρίσκω καταφύγιο, προστασία.

To explain this, one must examine more closely the development of the meaning and usage of the verb.[62] It is of Latin origin (*accumbere*, whence the simplex ἀκουμβῶ, ἀκουμβίζω), with the added Greek prepositions ἀπο- and ἀνα-; the use of the augment in B is a sign that the preposition was still perceived as such later. The expanded forms do not add any significant meaning to the root.

The word is already attested in Patristic literature (Lampe 64a, who has also ἀκ(κ)ούβιτον: "dining room"); cf. Trapp, Lexikon (as footnote 41 above) ἀκουμβίζω (vol. 1, p. 46): "sich zu Tisch legen, sich (an)lehnen, sich stützen, anlehnen, angrenzen," and ἀκουμβῶ „sich hinlegen". It is quite common in medieval vernacular literature: Kriaras Αʹ 168 ff. and 170 f.

The adverb ἀκουμπιστά (written without the nasal like in B, a typical feature of MG phonetics, see our note on the text) occurs in Judaeo-Greek, as in a Passover Haggada from the Geniza (see below), cf. De Lange, Greek Jewish Texts (as footnote 12 above) 30.

The expanded form ἀνα- occurs in the Bible of 1547: Gen. 18:4 (καὶ ἀνακουμπήσετε κατωθιὸ τὸ δένδρο; see also ibid. vs. 5) and Ex. 29:15 for which

[62] The development of the verb was traced by M. Triantaphyllides in his dissertation written under the supervision of K. Krumbacher: Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur, Straßburg 1909 (reprint in the first volume of his Ἅπαντα, Thessaloniki 1963; see the index and esp. 395, 395 and 414 where the use of the various prepositions is also discussed). T. rightly states: "ursprünglich nur vom Liegen bei der Mahlzeit gebraucht, zu Tische sich auf dem Sopha hinlegen."

Hesseling gives "appuyer, s'appuyer, se reposer" (see also Kriaras, B′ 87, s.v. ἀνακουμπίζω: the use of the verb with this preposition is peculiar to Judaeo-Greek).

The change between the singular and plural is probably due to a *constructio ad sensum* in P2 and B.

The use of the Greek verb may be occasioned by the presence in this sentence of the noun חבור, which is connected with the first Pesah in Egypt (see above). According to the oldest rules for the Pesah meal (Mishna Pesahin X), one is required to take this meal in a reclining position, presumably on low couches around a table according to Greek custom (see above for the expression of the PH published by De Lange). Medieval Jewish interpretations of this position presented it as one whereby the diners leaned on an armrest or some kind of cushion on a chair. Throughout the centuries the reclining position was understood as that of a free and honoured person (in medieval Ashkenaz it was argued that all women recline at the Pesah table in as much as they were all honoured members of the community). Thus this verb is appropriate for the חבורא קדישא, the "holy community" charged with deciding on the calendar, which the Aramaic text of Paris 616 explicitly calls the "great Sanhedrin", emphasizing its honoured position.

εἰς τὴ γῆ τοῦ ישראל (P2) / εἰς τὴν ירושלים (P1, B) : As usual in Judaeo-Greek texts, Hebrew/Aramaic words are written in Hebrew, with the notable exception of ῥεββί. While P2 faithfully translates the Aramaic text and places the sages in the land of Israel, P1 and B – the older manuscripts – change the location to Jerusalem. This is a blatant deviation from the Aramaic *Vorlage.* Most probably the Greek text was meant to recreate the situation during the existence of the Temple when the priests in Jerusalem determined the exact date of the New Moon. In this case the Greek translation creates the impression that nothing had changed: Greek Jewish communities would have depended on the calculation of the date of the New Moon even before the destruction of the Temple, since they could not have been informed of a decision taken in Jerusalem, either through beacons or messengers.[63] Thus the Greek translation asserts the continuity of the Greek Jewish communities in the Byzantine Empire as descendants of the Jewish Diaspora since the time of the Second Temple rather than any continuity of the situation in Jerusalem, since they could not deny the destruction of the Temple.

63 It is improbable that the authors of the Greek versions knew Ben Meir's claim that the head of the Palestinian rabbinical court announced the dates of the forthcoming year at the end of the festival of tabernacles on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. There is no evidence for Greek translations of the Aramaic announcement of the New Moon in the period when the Romaniote communities received instructions for the calendar from the Palestinian rabbinical court.

ראש חדש: Here begins the part of our text which displays a particularly mixed language, in contrast to the earlier part. But even in this highly formulaic passage in the Aramaic version, the Greek versions differ widely. Whereas P1 and P2 employ Hebrew words only for ראש חדש and פלוני, B seems to retranslate the Greek phrase at the end of the sentence into Hebrew (מיום), ignoring the Aramaic text, and P2 omits the second half of the sentence.

τὴν ἡμέρα τὴν פלוני (P1): The retention of the initial /i/- in the word for "day" is not an archaism, since it follows the phonetic rules of SMG whereby /i/- is retained after the -/n/ of the forgoing article (thus μέρα in P2 is not an innovation). Note that B here contains only Hebrew words, whereas P2 is completely written in Greek. εἴτ'ὅποια as an indefinite pronoun is surely an *addendum lexicis.*[64] Thus, each manuscript has its own version of the phrase.

τὸ ψῆφος (P1, B): translation of the Hebrew חשבון, as in the LXX, see HR 1485c, Nr. 2. Note that P2 does not follow the wording, while P1 and B render the possessive pronoun of the Hebrew with the mixed Hebrew-Greek phrase τοῦ ראש חדש. B has /u/ as the vowel of the article, another example of the frequent oscillation between /o/ and /u/ in our text (see above and footnote 32).

ἀπὸ τὴν ἡμέρα τὴν פלוני (P1): Again, each manuscript is different. Only P1 gives a Greek rendering of the Hebrew, whereas P2 has a lacuna (?), and B uses Hebrew words (מיום פלוני) but presents a sentence completely different from the Hebrew original and which appears rather to be a translation of the text of P1.

ὁ הברוך הוא (P1, B): Note that P1 and B display mixed Greek-Hebrew wording, while P2 gives a purely Greek translation. Interestingly, the epithet of God is in Hebrew but is written with the Greek article, resulting in double determination.

μας (P1, P2, B): Surprisingly, all the manuscripts display here the SMG form in contrast to previous usage (see discussion of the form ἡμῶν above).

κάμει (P1, P2, B): This form with -/m/- is somewhat archaic in SMG but still in use in dialects and in older prose from the 20th century (Myrivilis etc.).

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64 The Classical εἴτε is found in medieval vernacular literature, see KRIARAS Ε′ 341. In P2 this particle functions analogically with κἄν, from which the indefinite pronoun κάποιος developed in SMG (see KRIARAS Ζ′ 326 f.), where καν … (καν)… is equivalent to είτε … είτε. That εἴτε could have a similar function in medieval Greek can be seen from such words as εἴτι in KRIARAS, op. cit., s. v. and εἴτιδηποτοῦν and εἴτιουν in TRAPP, I 454.

siman tov (P1, P2, B): This Hebrew phrase is interesting because the first word oscillates between Hebrew and Greek, while *tov* is beyond any doubt Hebrew. That the Hebrew word for "sign" is of Greek origin, was known already to KRAUSS[65] who, however, had σημεῖον in mind. It is unclear why the /i/ was lost, since -/in/ marked the usual development of the diminutive in the Hellenistic period. But in view of the instability of final -/n/ in later Greek and its preservation in some dialects (Pontic, Cypriote, see above), it is more likely that this word goes back to Greek σῆμαν, a late variant of σῆμα. Thus, the author(s) of the phrase were playing with their own bilingual identity, Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic. Note that P1 has inserted the non-enclitic ἡμᾶς before the phrase, thus emphasizing this pronoun "us."[66]

Text: the short version

Version M:

הקול כל עמא הבו דעתכון למשמע קל קידוש בירחא הדין כמה דגזרו מרנן ורבנן חבור׳
קדישא דהוו יתבין בארעא דישראל. אית לאן ראש חדש פלו׳ בכך וכך בשבת חשבוני
ומנייניה בכך בשב׳ מלכא דעלמא יעבידיניה לכל עמא ישראל לסימנא טבא.
אפוקלפשי אותיאוש טו ישראל קטפוקלפשי טון חכמים סטון פרון איכומי ראש חדש פלוני
אימרן פלוני ופלוני פשיפוש פלוני
הקב״ה יחדש לנו לסימן יפה ולקריאת דרור ולקיבוץ גליות ויסיר על הגוים מעלינו ומעל
צוארינו ויבנה עירו והיכלו בימינו בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן

Ἀποκάλυψε ὁ θεὸς τῷ ישראל καὶ τὸ ʼποκάλυψε τῶν חכמים στὸν φάρον: ἔχομε ראש חדש פלוני, ἡμέραν פלוני ופלוני, ψῆφος פלוני.

> "Hear, all the people! Pay attention to hear this sound (?) of sanctification of the New Moon, as decreed by our masters and rabbis, the holy council that used to sit in the land of Israel. We [will] have the New Moon of the month of … on the … day of this week, its calculation and its accounting on … this week. May the King of the World turn it into a good sign for all of Israel.
> God revealed to Israel, and he revealed it to the rabbis at the lighthouse: We have such-and such a New Moon, on such-and-such a day, and such-and-such a calculation. May the Holy One, blessed be He, renew it as a good sign for us and as a call for redemption and the ingathering of the exiles, and may He remove the yoke of the nations from us and from our necks, and may He build His city and His Temple fast and in the near future. Amen."

65 S. KRAUSS, Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch und Targum, Teil II. Berlin 1899, 386 ff.

66 A reading with /e/- would also be possible, making the text closer to SMG.

Version Paris 616:[67]

הָקוֹל כל עַמָּא הַבוּ דַאַדְכֹּון לְמִשְׁמָע קָל קִידּוּשׁ יַרְחָא הַדֵּין כְּמָה דִּגְזָרוּ מָרַנָן וְרַבָּנַן
חֲבוּרָא קַדִּישָׁה הַבוּ דְּיַתְבִין בְּאַרְעָא דְיִשְׂרָאֵל סֶנְהֶדְרִין גְּדוֹלָה וְסֶנְהֶדְרִין קְטַנָּה אִית לַן
רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ פ״לוני יום פ״לוני בְּשַׁבַּת חֶשְׁבּוֹנֵיה וּמִנְיָינֵיה יוֹם פ״לוני בְּשַׁבַּת.
מַלְכָּא דְעַלְמָא לְסִימָנָא טָבָא.
אַפּוֹקָלֶפְּשֵׂי אוֹשׁ טוֹסִיטוֹ טוֹק וְוֹו חֲכָמִים קְטוֹן פָּדוֹן אִכְמוּ אֵיכוֹמֵי רֹאשׁ חֹדֶשׁ פלוני.
הקב״ה יְחַדְּשֵׁהוּ לָנוּ לְסִימָן יָפֶה וְלִקְרִיאַת דְּרוֹר וּלְקִבּוּץ גָּלִיּוֹת וְיָסִיר עוֹל הָגּוֹיִם מֵעַל
צַוָּארֵינוּ וְיִבְנֶה עִירוֹ וְהֵיכָלוֹ בַּעֲגָלָא וּבִזְמַן קָרִיב וְאִמְרוּ אָמֵן.

[A transcription of the Greek text is impossible, since it is badly corrupted.]

"Hear, all the people! lift [unintelligible] to hear this sound (?) of sanctification of the New Moon as decreed by our rabbis and masters, the holy council, lift[68] that sit in the land of Israel, the great Sanhedrin and the small Sanhedrin. We [will] have the New Moon of the month of … on the … day of this week, its calculation and its accounting on … day this week. The King of the World […] a good sign for all of Israel.
[…] revealed […] sages […]: We have such-and-such a New Moon.
May the Holy One, blessed be He renew it as a good sign for us and as a call for redemption and the ingathering of the exiles, and may He remove the yoke of the nations from our necks, and may He build His city and His Temple fast and in the near future. And say: Amen."

Commentary on the short version according to M

The short version (S) is written in an archaic form of Modern Greek, the vernacular language in Late Byzantium.[69] There are no recognisable traits of any Modern Greek dialects, though our text is admittedly too brief to draw any conclusions.

ἀποκάλυψε: translation of the Hebrew גלה already in the LXX, see HR 131c(1). There is no equivalent of this phrase in the Aramaic original. The author of the Greek translation probably sought to avoid any explicit reference to the Academy of the Land of Israel since it was no longer responsible for the fixing

[67] In this manuscript the Greek text is corrupt beyond recognition and will not be used in the discussion of the text. However, the few recognisable words such as ἀποκάλυψε "revealed" and the last words, show that it belongs to the shorter version.

[68] Apparently an error for הוו. The scribe probably wrote from a text which was read to him.

[69] As stated above, the origin and development of this Byzantine common vernacular Greek is one of the most debated topics in the field of Byzantine/Modern Greek studies; see recently Cupane (as footnote 26 above).

of the calendar in his day. The choice of the verb also stresses the religious importance of the calendar.

τῷ – τοῦ: since there is no *niqqud* one could write either the dative or the genitive form. The former would be more Classical, but see also above on the interchange between /o/ and /u/.

’ποκάλυψε: an elliptic form. Though the elision here would have been normal in Ancient Greek, it contradicts all rules in SMG, see G. Chatzidakis, Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik. Leipzig 1892, 310 ff. Kriaras Γ′ 36 gives no attestation for the loss of initial /a/- in this verb.

τῶν חכמים: again a passage in mixed language. Note that this text uses the older, more Romaniote term for "rabbi" in stark contrast to the longer variant. SMG has χαχάμης for "rabbi" in a slightly pejorative sense (from Turkish *haham*). The use of the genitive plural here is archaic in SMG but would be quite normal in the medieval vernacular. It is also possible that the translator chose the Hebrew form on purpose, emphasizing that it is not authority – however transmitted – that enables the sages to receive the divine revelation of the calendar, but learning.

φάρος: This is the most astonishing phrase of the short version of our text, for which there is no parallel whatsoever in the long one. It is improbable that this refers to a "lighthouse", but rather to a Φάρος well known to the public. The question is: to which?

Originally, Φάρος was the name of an island on the coast of Egypt, see Od. 4, 355. As is well known, the Ptolemies erected there the famous lighthouse (see DNP VII s.v. „Leuchtturm"). The development from a *nomen proprium* to a designation for "lighthouse", φάρος, began in imperial times: AP 9, 671; 11, 117 (Straton, 2. c. C.E.); Alkiphron (2.4.) has σκοπιαὶ Φάριαι: there was no strict distinction between watch-tower and lighthouse. From Greek the word became the common designation in the Romance languages; cf. also the name of the Dalmatian island of Hvar.

But the Φάρος of Alexandria had also a Jewish connection. According to Philo (Vit. Mos. II 41), the Jews of Alexandria celebrated there every year the translation of the Tora, "where the light of the translation first arose" (ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐξέλαμψε).[70]

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[70] On this celebration and on the whole topic see recently H.-J. Gehrke, Das sozial- und religionsgeschichtliche Umfeld der Septuaginta, in S. Kreuzer/J. P. Lesch (eds.), Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta, Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel, II. Stuttgart 2004, 44–60.

There were, of course, many lighthouses in the Byzantine Empire, several of them in Constantinople itself.[71]

But there was *one* φάρος in Constantinople which was so important that it could be designated as ὁ Φάρος: the one in the Great Palace, at the Boukoleon, the port of the emperors (ὁ κατὰ τὸν Φάρον λιμήν). This lighthouse was built on a terrace (ἡλιακόν) which figured in imperial ceremonial acts and was closely connected with important buildings such as the Νέα Church and the "Church of Our Lady at the Φάρος": ἡ Θεοτόκος τοῦ Φάρου, which disappears from the sources after 1204.[72]

The lighthouse was the endpoint of a chain of watch-towers stretching from Loulon in Inner Asia Minor to the Great Palace, constructed to warn the emperors of Arab raids on the frontier with the Caliphate (see e. g. Theophanes Continuatus 197).[73] It was surely visible from many points of the city, including the Late Byzantine Jewish quarter of Vlanga close to the Kontoskalion harbour.[74] The parallels with the Ptolemies and the opening of Aischylos's Agamemnon (20 ff.; 28 ff.) are evident. According to the sources, this warning system was dismantled by the emperor Michael III; it thus ceased to exist after the ninth century. Since our Byzantine sources all go back only to the tenth century or later, the parallel between the Jewish and the Christian sources is clear. None of them describes the contemporary reality.[75]

If J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis is correct in assuming[76] that the Byzantine Jews used the civilization around them to illustrate their Biblical and rabbinical

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71 See R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique, [2]Paris 1964, 409; See also, e.g., 288 ff. on the *Porta del Pharo.*

72 See R. Guilland, Études de topographie de Constantinople Byzantine. Berlin 1969, index of vol. 2, *passim*, esp. 277–283 and 305 f, and map at the end of vol. 2. Guilland also discusses other lighthouses in Constantinople, e.g. 281.– On the church see R. Janin, La géographie écclesiastique de l'empire Byzantin I 3, [2]Paris 1969, no. 121, 232 f.

73 See Guilland (as above) 278 and J. Koder, Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner, Graz/Wien/Köln 1984, 84 ff. (with map and reference). The most important publication on the subject appears to be V. Aschoff, Über den byzantinischen Feuertelegraphen und Leon den Mathematiker. *Deutsches Museum, Abhandlungen und Berichte* 48 (1980), Heft 1. A. discusses the other Byzantine sources, the latest being Skylitzes, and gives tentative maps and a useful examination of technical details of the system. He denies the alleged contribution of Leo the Mathematician.

74 See D. Jacoby, Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople, in idem, Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine, London 1975, 167–227, esp. 191 ff. Aschoff (as before) 9 plausibly suggests that the various systems of warning by fire on hilltops as reflected in the sources may have also included a local system in Constantinople. We find no good argument against possible Jewish participation in such a local system of defence.

75 See also Aschoff 8.

76 Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Byzantinische Lebenswelt (as footnote 12 above) 59 and ad finem.

writings, this chain of signal-fires ending at the Great Palace might explain the appearance of a lighthouse in our text:

In the times of the Temple and for a short period afterwards, the priests and later the Palestinian rabbinic court are reported by Mishna, Tosefta and both Talmudim to have proclaimed the New Moon by means of a chain of beacons which signalled the sanctification of the New Moon to the Jewish communities inside Israel and in the surrounding Diaspora (see footnote 6 above). Of course, the communities of the Diaspora further away from Israel, including the Romaniote communities, could not have been notified through beacons. But the Greek text would appear to assume that the sages who received the revelation of the calendar were at the "head" of a chain of beacons used to signal not Arab raids but the New Moon. The text would thus fit into an historical situation typical of the Jewish communities of the Byzantine Empire who attempted to recreate the distant past on the topography of Byzantine Constantinople, probably to stress the continuity of the Romaniote communities.

ἔχομε: Here begins the part of the short version which corresponds at least partially with the longer version, even if it is difficult to reconstruct an "Urtext." Again, it is by far shorter than the divergent rendering of the Aramaic sentence in the long version and omits – as does P2 – the second half which refers to the calculation.

ἡμέραν: This form with the final -/n/ and the initial /i/- after a vowel follows the usage of Ancient Greek (see above p. 119).

ψῆφος: see above p. 119.

Conclusion

The announcement of the New Moon according to the Romaniote rite is unique both in its Aramaic and its Greek constituents. The use of a vernacular language for a proclamation which addresses the praying community emphasizes the difference between the announcement and the surrounding prayers. Precise dating of the Aramaic constituent on the basis of textual witnesses, linguistic evidence, or the contents of the announcement is not possible, but the text cannot have been composed before the eighth century. Nor can the fact that it is written in Aramaic be used as an argument for an

early inclusion into the liturgy, as has been shown for other Aramaic texts such as the Qaddish.[77]

However, the contents of the Aramaic version give some insights into the self-conception of the sages who decided about the wording of this announcement and its inclusion in the liturgy. Not only is the calendar one of the determining elements of the Jewish identity and, therefore, the correct dating of the New Moon and its announcements important enough to be inserted into the prayer service, but the Aramaic texts attempt to date this habit back to the early times of the Jewish liturgy and regulation of calendar calculations. According to the uniformly transmitted text of the announcement either the edict to announce the date of the New Moon during the morning service on Shabbat or the date itself of the New Moon – both readings of the Aramaic text are possible – originate with the sages of the "Land of Israel" (see above).

The Romaniote Jews thus proclaim each month that the authority they follow is not that of the rabbinic academies of Babylonia, but a חבורא קדישא, a "holy community" which resided in Israel. There is no reason to doubt that the Romaniote communities were aware of the fact that by the tenth century at the latest the authority to decide on the calendar had passed to the academies of Babylonia. By proclaiming the authority of the "holy community" in Israel, the Romaniote Jews very subtly base themselves on traditions that they claim to have received during earlier times, when authority still resided in Israel.[78] By using the Aramaic text – whenever it was introduced – the Romaniote Jews create a sense of continuity reaching back to the Diaspora communities of Late Antiquity.

The long Greek version stresses this continuity even more by placing the "holy community" which decreed the announcement of the New Moon in Jerusalem (P1, B), where no relevant authority resided after the destruction of the Second Temple.[79] It is possible that the short version, which substitutes "rabbis" for the "holy community" and thereby appears to refer to mainstream rabbinic authorities – most probably based in Babylonia – also alludes to this ancient history through a reference to the "Pharos", which could refer to the head of the chain of beacons used to signal the New Moon in Israel.

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77 Cf. A. Lehnardt, Qaddish. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Rezeption eines rabbinischen Gebetes, Tübingen 2002.

78 R. Dalven in her book on the Ioanniote community (The Jews of Ioannina, Philadelphia 1990) mentions the myth of the origin of the Romaniote Jews in the time of the Second Temple, viz. the community of Nikopolis founded after the battle of Actium (31 BCE).

79 In using the term "Sanhedrin" the version in Paris 616 emphasizes the early date of this tradition. However, although rabbinical literature asserts the reestablishment of the Sanhedrin after the destruction of the Second Temple, it is unlikely that it was fully active in Late Antiquity, and it most defininitely ceased to exist after the abolishment of the office of *nasi* by Theodosius II in 429 CE.

As with the Aramaic version, is impossible to date the Greek versions of our text on internal evidence.

Given the Byzantine diglossia or even triglossia ("Hochsprache"/Common spoken medieval Greek/dialects), the use of an ancient form (e.g. πᾶς) can always be a survival or archaism, as in the case of the deliberate use of old forms to place certain passages in the Ancient Greek tradition.

While this situation has been well investigated in the Christian context, the sociolinguistic repartition of historical and stylistic usages among Greek-speaking Jews remains an enigma to the present day, on account of the scarcity of texts and the present state of research. However, from the texts published by De Lange, it has become clear that the Romaniotes had access to Ancient Greek, the language of Byzantine higher education.

From examination of the manuscripts we observe a 'modernisation' of the Judaeo-Greek announcement in the course of time (see the differences between P1 and P2 above). This explains, at least to a certain degree, the coexistence of forms such as μας and ἡμᾶς within the same manuscript (P1). On the other hand, it is also possible that such forms are conscious archaisms in order to give the text a more ancient appearance. There are no *a priori* means of deciding this definitively.

One can, of course, compare our text with other medieval Greek texts written in the vernacular; this is what our commentary tries to do. But it is extremely difficult to determine a date from the items in question. One example: ἄς appears in Christian texts from the beginning of the Middle Byzantine period (see above). This would provide a probable dating *post quem* of this particle in texts P2 and B. But the particle may well have existed earlier in spoken Greek and been written down first by the Jews, since they were not as closely attached to the values of Ancient Greek as their Christian contemporaries.

In view of this situation, it is at present impossible to date the Judaeo-Greek version on the basis of the Greek alone. Generally speaking however, the character of the language in our text resembles very closely the spoken medieval vernacular as it appears in Christian and Jewish texts (mostly from the Geniza in Cairo).

If one looks at the language(s) as *constituens textus*, it becomes clear that the rather archaic character of the Greek, together with the use of Aramaic, is a symbolic act of the Romaniotes to push their claim to diaspora ancestry back to Late Antiquity or even the Second Temple period (see above). In other words, this archaising is deliberate. As their Christian compatriots did and still do today, the Romaniote Jews considered Ancient Greek a symbol of continuity.

Abstract

This article consists of three sections: the first sketches the development of calculating the timing of the New Moon from biblical times onward with special emphasis on the Byzantine/Romaniote communities; the second contains the critical edition of the announcement of the New Moon from four late medieval manuscripts, where the Judaeo-Greek text complements the Aramaic version of this announcement that was recited in Romaniote synagogues; and the third presents a philological commentary on the Judaeo-Greek version/versions of this announcement. Its main goal is to place the language of the announcement, that is unique for its use of the vernacular, in the context of Byzantine vernacular literature, which has primarily been preserved in poetry. While substantial differences exist between the two versions identified by the authors, the Aramaic and the Greek texts both strive to create the impression of great antiquity through the use of images associated with the Temple and by linguistic means. Dating these texts earlier than the eighth century is unlikely, though, and the Greek text does not permit a *terminus ante quem.* Considering its thematic content and the use of archaic language(s) as *constituens textus*, which can run counter to a certain modernization, we may understand this decision as symbolic act by the Romaniotes to push their claim of diaspora ancestry reaching back to Late Antiquity or possibly the Second Temple Period. Another significant strand that can be discerned in the Greek version is the strong Byzantine background being evoked for its intended audience. Through their deliberate effort to archaise their origins, the Romaniote Jews, like their Christian neighbors, display Ancient Greek as a symbol of their identity.

BYZANTINE LEAD SEALS AND OTHER MINOR OBJECTS FROM MYSTRAS: NEW HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE REGION OF BYZANTINE LAKEDAIMON

CHRISTOS STAVRAKOS / IOANNINA

With Plates 1–2

Until now, systematic archaeological excavations have not yielded any significant number of lead seals in almost any particular region of Greece. One notable exception is Corinth, where the American School of Classical Studies conducted excavations. The Byzantine lead seals along with other minor objects from Corinth were published in the 1950s in a publication which exhibits a number of weaknesses.[1] Also, the Numismatic Museum of Athens possesses a large collection of Byzantine seals which were published by K. Konstantopoulos in the early 20th century.[2] This publication is no longer reliable and requires updating, because, as a result of the excellent restoration carried out by the Numismatic Museum of Athens,[3] many of the older readings and dates must be re-examined. Thanks to the significant progress which has been made in the field of Byzantine sigillography, we are now in possession of a large amount of material for comparison. The lead seals in the collection of the Numismatic Museum of Athens with family names were published a few years ago.[4]

The Byzantine lead seals found in the area of Lakedaimon, which are housed in the Numismatic Museum of Athens, have been presented by A. Abramea, M. Galane-Krikou and I. Touratsoglou[5] at the 1st International Congress of Byzantine Sigillography in 1988. Corrections to the readings, identification of sigillographical types and verification of dates have been suggested recently by Ch. Stavrakos.[6] My attention to the lead seals of the

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1 G.R. Davidson, Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. XII: The Minor Objects. Princeton, N. J. 1952.

2 K. M. Konstantopoulos, Βυζαντιακὰ μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου. Athens 1917 (henceforth: Konstantopoulos, Athens).

3 M. Oekonomides – M. Lykiardopoulou, The Conservation of the Byzantine Lead Seals in the Numismatic Museum of Athens, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 (1990) 1–6.

4 Ch. Stavrakos, Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennanmen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen. (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 4). Wiesbaden 2000 (henceforth: Stavrakos, Bleisiegel).

5 A. Abramea/M. Galane-Krikou/I. Touratsoglou, Μολυβδόβουλλα με γνωστή προέλευση από τις συλλογές του Νομισματικού Μουσείου Αθηνών, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 (1990) 251–257.

6 Ch. Stavrakos, Δύο αδημοσίευτα μολυβδόβουλλα από τη Σπάρτη. Παρατηρήσεις σχετικές με τη διακίνηση των βυζαντινών σφραγίδων στη μεσαιωνική Λακεδαίμονα (8ος–12ος αιώνας). In: Zwischen Provinz, Polis und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen

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Numismatic Museum of Athens from Lakedaimon is due to the publication of two Byzantine seals, which were found in archaeological excavations in the city of Sparta, by the 5th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. E. Kislinger, in a recent article, made some interesting suggestions regarding the bishops of Lakedaimon.[7] Kalliope Diamanti, director of the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Sparta, gave the Byzantine lead seals from the archaeological collection of Mystras to me for publication.[8] These lead seals are stored today in the depots of the Museum of Mystras.

Of the lead seals found in contemporary excavations we know their exact location, as well as the layer in which they were found. Unfortunately, it was impossible for me to find illuminating information in the ledger of the depots in Mystras for the older findings. The only facts recorded there is that a lead seal is Byzantine, while neither the location nor date of the find are mentioned, nor the archaeologist who discovered it. If the archaeologist were known to me (even if this was decades ago), or the date when the seals were found, I would be able, based on the excavation records of the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, to ascertain where the seals were discovered. At any rate, if we take into consideration the areas for which the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities was responsible, I believe that the lead seals of unknown origin in fact originate from the southern Peloponnese (today the districts of Laconia and Messenia) and from a small area of the central Peloponnese (the district of Arcadia). All of the lead seals presented here have been restored and conserved with great success by the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.[9] As a proof, I am providing photos of some of these, documenting their appearance before and after the restoration.

1. Μιχαὴλ Βαρὺς (Michael Barys)

This lead seal is preserved in very good condition, 20 mm in diameter, with find number 1621, and of unknown origin. In the register of Mystras there is a correct reading of the inscription. It is unpublished, and there are no other

Geschichte und Kultur (Hrsg. L. HOFFMANN/A. MONCHIZADEH). Wiesbaden 2005, 349–370 (henceforth: STAVRAKOS, Μολυβδόβουλλα από τη Σπάρτη).

7 E. KISLINGER, Nikolaos episkopos Lakedaimonias. Chronologische Präzisierungen zur Bischofsliste im Bodleianus Holkham gr. 6. *JÖB* 57 (2007) 27–33 (henceforth: KISLINGER, Nikolaos).

8 I wish to convey my particular thanks to the archaeologists Dr. Kalliope Diamanti, Evi Katsara, Dr. Maria Agrevi and Angeliki Mexia of the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at Sparta.

9 The lead seals were restored by Nicolas Yiannes at Mystras. An excellent example of restoration is lead seal no. 3, with photos before and after the restoration.

known parallel pieces. I believe that it can be dated in the period between the late eleventh century (8th or 9th decade) and the early twelfth century.

1 Obverse Reverse

+	+		
ΓΡΑΦᾺC	Γραφὰς	MI	Μι-
CΦΡΑΓΊ̣	σφραγί-	XAΉΛ	χαὴλ
ΣѠ	ζω	TOVRA	τοῦ Βα-
		.ÉOC	[ρ]έος

I mention the existence of accents in the second and third line of the obverse and in the second and fourth line of the reverse as a palaeographical peculiarity of the inscription on this seal. In fact, the accent in the second line of the obverse above the Alpha is grammatically correct, being a grave and not an acute. This detail allows us to determine the educational level of the person who ordered the seal as well as of the creator of the boulloterion.[10]

This is a metrical inscription which forms a regular dodecasyllabic verse with a *caesura* after the fifth syllable and a paroxytonic end:

+ Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Βαρέως

Many seals exist which bear the name of Michael Barys. Some of these clearly belong to the same person. Here it is important for me to mention an unpublished lead seal type, of approximately the same period as ours, whose metrical inscription has not been fully read. There are two parallel lead seals of this type from the Zacos collection[11] and from Dumbarton Oaks[12] with inscriptions on both sides of the seal. The researchers who mentioned the piece from the Zacos collection in the publication of the seals of the Seyrig collection read the inscription as follows:

Ἐπισφραγίζω καὶ σφραγίζω τοὺς λόγους
…ΕΛΟΥ.. (ασυγκέλλου?) Μιχαὴλ Βαρὺ<ς> γράφει

In fact, they even suggested that this particular seal is connected to Μιχαὴλ Βαρύς, *μητροπολίτης Τραϊανουπόλεως καὶ πρόεδρος τῶν πρωτοσυγκέλλων.*[13]

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10 Regarding this matter see: O. Karagiorgou, Περί αλφαβητισμού, αιρέσεων, εικονογραφίας και πολιτικών φιλοδοξιών στα μολυβδόβουλλα του Νικηφόρου Βοτανειάτη (περίπου 1001/2–1081), *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 18 (2008) 77–122 (henceforth: Karagiorgou).

11 J-C. Cheynet/C. Morrisson/W. Seibt, Sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig. Paris 1991, 81 (henceforth: Seyrig).

12 D.O. 58.106.4279.

13 V. Laurent, Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin. Tome V 3: L'Église. Paris1972, 1767; See also: J. Nesbitt/N. Oikonomides, Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art. Washington D. C. 1991 I, 61, 2 (henceforth: DOSeals I, II etc.); Stavrakos, Bleisiegel 34.

Jean-Claude Cheynet[14] sent me a photograph of this particular unpublished lead seal from the Zacos collection:

2 Obverse Reverse

Obverse		Reverse	
.	+		
Ẹ̣ΠΙϹΦΡ̣.	Ἐπισφρ[α]-	....	[θύτ(ης) τ]-
ΓΙΖѠΚ..	γίζω κ[αὶ]	Ȣ̣ΕΛȢ̣	οῦ Ἕλου[ς]
Ϲ̣ΦΡΑΓΙΖѠ	σφραγίζω	Μ^Χ ΙΡΑΡV.	Μιχ(αὴλ) Βαρὺ[ς]
ΤȢϹΛΟΓ	τοὺς λόγ-	ΓΡΑΦɋ	γράφει
ȢϹ	ους		

A careful examination of the specimen from Dumbarton Oaks led me to this reading which corresponds to the traces of the letters that have been preserved on the reverse. The legend of the lead seal yields us two regular paroxytonic dodecasyllabic verses, each with a *caesura* after the fifth syllable:

Ἐπισφραγίζω καὶ σφραγίζω τοὺς λόγους
θύτης τοῦ Ἕλους Μιχαὴλ Βαρὺς γράφει

This refers to a bishop of Helos, a suffragan of Patras, which appears in the tenth century.[15] Its exact location is unknown, perhaps it is the small town of Skala (ca. 40 km south of Sparta) on the Eurotas river (in the plain of Helos) or somewhere at a nearby location.[16]

From the field of Sigillography we are informed about Θεόδωρος *ἐπίσκοπος Ἕλους καὶ σύγκελλος*[17] (obverse: perhaps a bust of St. John the Baptist) whose seal is dated to the second half of the eleventh century. Another seal (obverse: bust of Virgin Orans) with a metrical inscription from the same period belongs to a bishop of Helos but remains anonymous (inscription: *Θύτην Ἕλως φύλαττε σὸν λάτριν, Κόρη*).[18]

I believe that the Michael Barys of our seal with the metrical inscription and the bishop of Helos of the Zacos' collection (both seals with metrical inscription) are identical. It is possible that this seal of a hitherto unknown type which is now stored in Mystras was used for the personal correspondence of the bishop of Helos, while the other one was used for his official correspondence.

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14 I wish to greatfully thank Prof. Dr. Jean-Claude Cheynet for the photo of the lead seal from the Zacos' collection.

15 J. Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Paris 1981, no. 9, l. 414.

16 J. M. Wagstaff, The Development of Rural Settlements. A Study of the Helos Plain Southern Greece. Avebury 1982, 54–59.

17 V. Laurent, Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin. Tome V 1: L'Église. Paris 1963, 658; DOSeals II 26.1.

18 DOSeals II 26.2.

There is a significant number of seals which name a certain Michael Barys with various/diverse titles and functions from the period between the mid-eleventh and the early twelfth century. It is certain that these seals refer to more than one person. A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt attempted to classify and identify some of them, which date from the second half of the eleventh century.[19]

In this study, A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt associates another seal type[20] which dates from the last third of the eleventh century (obverse: Mother of God in type *Hagiosoritissa*) and it bears a metrical inscription with the following seal types:[21]

i) Michael Barys *μάγιστρος, μέγας χαρτουλάριος, κριτὴς τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου καὶ τῶν Βουκελλαρίων*,[22]
ii) Michael Barys *πρόεδρος, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ κοιαίστωρ*[23] and
iii) Michael Barys *κουροπαλάτης*.[24]

The metrical inscription of this seal type (*Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Βαρέως*), though, is identical with that of the lead seal from Mystras. It is mainly for this reason that I consider it most probable that this seal type is not connected with those suggested by A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt but with the lead seal of Michael Barys *ἐπίσκοπος Ἕλους*[25] and ours.

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19 A.-K. Wassiliou, Prosopographische Konsequenzen aus der möglichst genauen Datierung byzantinischer Bleisiegel. In: Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposion vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien. Im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger (Wien, 4.–7. Dezemeber 2002) (Hrsg. W. Hörandner/J. Koder /M. A. Stassinopoulou). Vienna 2004, 482–486 (henceforth: Wassiliou, Konsequenzen).

20 D.O . 58.106.3106 (neg. no. 60.10.12–3106); Berlin Münzkabinett (without any number in the photographical archive of byzantine lead seals at the Austrian Academy of Sciences).

21 Wassiliou, Konsequenzen 486.

22 V. Pennas, Byzantine lead Seals from Chios and Lesbos, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 (1990) 168–169.

23 V. Laurent, Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin. II. L'administration centrale. Paris 1981, 1113.

24 N. P. Lichačev, Istoričeskoe značenie italo-grečeskoj ikonopisi, Izobraženja Bogomateri v proizvedenijach italo-grečeskoj ikonopisev i ich vlijanie na kompozicii někotorych proslavlennych russkich ikon. St. Petersburg 1911. Appendices 33, no. 8 (pl. VIII); Konstantopoulos, Athens 384; V. Penna, Εικονογραφικά βυζαντινών μολυβδοβούλλων: ο αυτοκράτορας, η εκκλησία, η αριστοκρατία. *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς καὶ Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 20 (1998) 272; Stavrakos, Bleisiegel 35.

25 Seyrig (as above footnote 11) 81.

2. Ἰωάννης, βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ τουρμάρχης Σπαρτάρων (John, imperial protospatharios and tourmarches of Spartarōn)

This lead seal is in very good condition and was found by the archaeologist Maria Florou at the excavations on 03/10/2006 in the city of Sparta at the property of Evangelos Philippopoulos (city block 127, square E4) and at a depth of 2,16 to 2,09 meters.[26] It is 20 mm in diameter and dates back to the mid-to-late tenth century. Until now it has remained unpublished, and I am not aware of other pieces from the same boulloterion.

3 Obverse

Patriarchal cross probably on steps with fleurons arising from the base up to the first arm. As the bottom portion of the seal is destroyed, we cannot be certain how many steps support the cross. The circular inscription between two borders of dots reads as follow

...Ṛ OHΘEITѠCѠΔOV..
[+ Κ(ύρι)ε] βοήθει τῷ σῷ δού[λῳ]

3 Reverse

+IѠA	+ Ἰωά-
NN..ẠCΠ̣	νν[η̣ β(ασιλικῷ)] (πρωτο)σπ-
AΘ,SṬOV	αθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) του-
PMAPXỊC	ρμάρχις
CΠAPTA	Σπαρτά-
·P̣ỌN·	·ρον·

Three parallel pieces from Dumbarton Oaks, which were published by J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides[27] and which date back to the tenth and eleventh century, are quite possibly related to our lead seal. On the obverse there is the image of a mounted warrior riding on his horse in a relaxed manner. On the reverse the publishers read *Γεώργιος σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος καὶ τουρμάρχης Σπαρτάρου*. The last line of the reverse is tarnished on all three pieces, and for this reason the reading POV of the last syllable is uncertain. It could be an N instead of a V, which would lead us to read it *Σπαρτάρον*. The reading *Σπαρτάρου* troubled the publishers and, even though they were skeptical about the Albanian etymological origin of the term, they identified it with the village of *Σπαρτάρι* or *Σπαράτρη*. It is located approximately 24 km to the north of the

[26] I would like to thank the archaeologist of the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities Evi Katsara for her kind contribution of lead seals no. 2 and no. 3.

[27] DOSeals II 7. 1.

town of Igoumenitsa (Epirus) and 10 km from the port of *Σαγιάδα*.[28] My direct survey at *Σπαρτάρι* (today *Τρικόρυφο)* showed a village built 400 m above sea level which has many homes that were built during the Turkish rule, and not earlier. The older name of the village is well known and local folklore suggests that the name *Σπαρτάρι* harkens back to the *σπαθιά* (swords) with which battles were carried out. We cannot, however, accept this etymology. According to J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, ancient and medieval fortifications exist in the area. For this reason, they claim that a *tourma* was created there among the Christian population, in order to establish a strongpoint commanding the lower valley of Thyamis (Kalamas) river and the route from the Ionian Sea to the interior (and to Ioannina).[29]

From the region of the Ionian Islands we know a small island named *Σπάρτη*[30] in the gulf of Vlychos across from the *Νυδρίον* (Lefkas), and we also know a place called τοῦ *Σπαρτέως*[31] at the south end of Cephallenia (Κεφαλλονιά).

Nesbitt's and Oikonomides' claim seemed to be plausible until now, but our lead seal from Mystras overturns the facts. I think it is not by mere chance that it was found in Sparta and names a *τουρμάρχης Σπαρτάρων*. In the case of our piece, the last line is preserved in better condition than the three specimens from Dumbarton Oaks. The last line, besides PON, could also be ωN. The word *Σπαρτάρων* (singular maybe *Σπαρτάρ-ης* or *-ος*) is not found in Byzantine sources.[32] The fact that this particular lead seal was found in Sparta and the similarity of the city's name with the root of the word *Σπαρτάρων* could be the solution to the problem. I consider it plausible that this is an older expression (Greek *Σπαρτιατῶν,* Latin *Spartanorum* or *Spartanum*) which describes the inhabitants of Byzantine Lakedaimon (the location of ancient Sparta). Perhaps this particular name was, in fact, chosen for the *tourma*, in order to establish a connection between the capabilities of the garrison commanded by the *tourmarches*[33] and the ancient Spartans, who were renowned for their fighting prowess. It is also possible that this *tourma* was located in the area of

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28 P. Soustal/J. Koder, Nikopolis und Kephallēnia (*Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 3). Vienna 1981, 253 (henceforth: Nikopolis und Kephallenia): During the thirteenth and fouteenth century it was under Venetian rule. Later on, it was ruled by the Despotate of Epirus and after that, in the fifteenth century, by the Turks. There were salt pans near this area.

29 DOSeals II , 19.

30 Nikopolis und Kephallenia 44; 216.

31 Nikopolis und Kephallenia 263.

32 I wish to thank Prof. Dr. Erich Trapp (Vienna) and Doz. Dr. Andreas Rhoby (Vienna) for the help and information that they offered me from the electronic archive of the Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität.

33 See N. Oikonomidès, Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles. Paris 1972, 341; H.-J. Kühn, Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata. Vienna 1991, 262; 274.

Lakedaimon. What is interesting in this case is that historical sources do not mention the existence of any such military force in Lakedaimon.

3. Πέτρος Σερβλίας, βεστάρχης καὶ κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος (Petros Serblias, vestarches and judge of the Velum of Peloponnese and Hellas)

This lead seal (21 mm in diameter) was found during an excavation by the archaeologist Maria Florou, in the same location as the previous one, at the property of Evangelos Philippopoulos (city block 127, square Δ3) on 10/11/2006 at a depth of approximately 2,06 m to 1,95 m. It has not been published to date and there are no parallel specimens. It dates back to the mid-to-late eleventh century.

4 Obverse Reverse

+Κ̣Ε̣Ρ̣.	+Κ(ύρι)ε β[ο]-	Κ̣Ρ̣...	κρ[ιτ(ῇ) τ(οῦ)]
ΗΘΕ̣ΙΤ.	ἤθει τ[ῷ]	.ΗΛΠΕΛΛ.	[β]ήλ(ου) Πελλ[ο]-
CѠΔΟVΛ̣.	σῷ δούλ[ῳ]	...ΝΗCȣSΕ.	[πον]νήσου καὶ Ἑ[λ]-
ΠΕΤΡѠ..	Πέτρῳ [βε]-	.ΑΔΟCΤѠ	[λ]άδος τῷ
CΤΑΡ̣Χ̣	στάρχ(ῃ)	.Ε̣Ρ̣Ρ̣ΛΙΑ̣	[Σ]ερβλίᾳ

I mention the two ΛΛ on the reverse which are obviously connected and appear to look like an M as a palaeographic peculiarity of the legend of the reverse.

Two similar specimens from Dumbarton Oaks, which date from approximately the same period (inscription on both sides of the seal) belonged to a certain Πέτρος Σερβλίας *μάγιστρος, βέστης, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος.*[34] Another Petros Serblias *μάγιστρος, βέστης, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου*[35] is known from two parallel lead seals (inscription followed by decoration on both sides) dated from the end of the eleventh century. These two types are connected and they both show different phases in the career of Πέτρος Σερβλίας. Also, the lead seal found in Sparta belongs to the same person. Knowing this, we can add a hitherto unknown element to the career of Πέτρος Σερβλίας, which is as follows:

a) *βεστάρχης, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος,*
b) *μάγιστρος, βέστης, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλάδος,*
c) *μάγιστρος, βέστης, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου.*

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[34] DOSeals II 8. 26.
[35] DOSeals III 39. 16.

It is also obvious that Πέτρος Σερβλίας, in the second of the known stages of his career, corrected a spelling error in the word *Πελοποννήσου* on the boulloterion (evident in the lead seal from Sparta with the two ΛΛ), which shows us that either he or his workers or even the designer of the boulloterion had improved upon their education.[36]

I would also like to mention an unpublished seal (obverse: bust of Saint Ioannes Chrysostomos) which belonged to a certain Πέτρος Σερβλίας and dates from the late eleventh century to the early twelfth century with the metrical inscription:

+ Ἡ σφραγὶς Πέτρου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Σερβλία.[37]

This seal is quite possibly not related to the previous Πέτρος Σερβλίας.

4. Metallic plates

I am referring to four metallic discs (5 a, 5 b, 5 c, 5 d) which were found at the archaeological site of the castle of Mystras. 5 d, according to the entries in the ledger of the Mystras depot, was found at an excavation in July of 2007 in the vicinity of the Upper Gate of Mystras. For 5 a, b, and c, all of which are from the vicinity of Mystras, all that is known is the year they were found: 1978. All of them have a diameter of ca. 25 mm.

Obverse

Two busts turned sideways, facing each other. They do not have a halo and their clothing is not shown. There is an inscription written around the rim of discs 5a and 5b, while on the others it has been destroyed.

We often come across this particular iconographic motif on lead seals starting from the second half of the sixth century.[38] The figures depicted in these cases are the Apostles Peter and Paul bearded, facing each other. Also of note is the fact that in most cases the Apostles do not have halos, but rather a cross is seen in the field between them. The figures of the emperors on the lead seals of the second third of the sixth century are depicted with a halo.[39]

Reverse

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36 For a similar case of major proportions see: Karagiorgou.

37 Collection Hecht in New York (a photograph is kept at the photographical archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna).

38 See G. Zacos/A. Veglery, Byzantine Lead Seals. I. Basel 1972, 1261–1267; 1269–1270; W. Seibt/M. L. Zarnitz, Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung. Vienna 1997, 4.2.4 (henceforth: Seibt/Zarnitz); J. Nesbitt, The Orphanotrophos: Some Observations on the History of the Office in Light of Seals, *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 8 (2003) 52, Fig. 1.

39 Seibt/Zarnitz, 162.

The reverse is concave and shows no traces of decorative work.

Seventeen pieces similar to ours are kept in the Numismatic Museum of Athens.[40] Ten of them are made of copper, one of lead, and the rest of metal alloys.[41] According to the description for the years 1904–1905 ΛE, the lead specimen, along with other coins, was given to the Museum by professor H. Bulle. They originated from the German archaeological excavations in Orchomenos (Boiotia).

On the obverse, they depict two male forms similar to those on the specimens from Mystras. According to the descriptions in the electronic archive of the Museum these two forms are most likely Ethiopians and I agree with this suggestion. They are dated to the 18th or 19th century, and are most probably caps for bottles of theriaca (or Venice triacle), a well-known antiseptic medicine from the apothecary of Due Mori in Venice.[42]

The inscription of the lead specimen of the Athens Numismatic Museum (5 e) reads as follows:

THERIACA FINA ALL DUE MORI VEN(ETIA)

I think that these items from Mystras are bottle caps of theriaca like those in the Numismatic Museum of Athens.

An another piece (5 f)[43] similar to them, recently given to me, was found during the archaeological excavations on the castle of Naupaktos, near the church of Prophet Elias. Now it is kept in the Archaeological Collection of the 22th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (Naupaktos).

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40 I wish to thank Ioanna Koltsida-Makri (Ministry of Culture of Greece) and Yorka Nikolaou (Numismatic Museum of Athens) for the important informations about the bottle caps from the Numismatic Museum of Athens.

41 Personally written observation by K. Konstantopoulos in the designational catalogue of the Numismatic Museum of Athens, in the year 1904–1905.

42 V. Laurent, Capsules métalliques de thériaque vénitienne a la testa d'oro, *Bulletin de la Section Historique* 28 (1947) 1–13; T. Gerasimov, Capsules en plomb de flacons a thériaque vénitienne. *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Archéologie* 26 (1963) 277–280, fig. 4 (in bulgarian with a french résumé).

43 I convey my thanks to Athina Zogaki, archaeologist of the 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Ioannina, for the information and the photograph of the bottle cap from Naupaktos.

Cultural Context and Concluding Remarks

Lead seals no. 2 and 3 were found at the property of Evangelos Philippopoulos in Sparta during excavations in 2006. I consider it necessary to mention the place where the seals were found, so we can better understand their historical value.[44]

Apart from the two seals found at the property of Philippopoulos, which lies at city block number 127 of the city of Sparta, an olive press of the middle Byzantine period was also brought to light.[45] This olive press was discovered during excavations by the archaeologist Evi Katsara and has been unearthed almost completely intact (photographs 6a and 6b). It is also obvious from the excavation data that this olive press was in use from the tenth to the twelfth century. Taking into consideration the fact that the excavation has not been completed yet and that the study of the site is still under way, the dating of this monument and its use must remain a plausible hypothesis, open to a possible re-consideration. However, the discovery of lead seals no. 2 and 3 of the present study, which certainly date from the mid-tenth to the late eleventh century prove that the olive press was indeed in use during this period, and I believe that they were associated with it.

A stone olive-press was discovered a short distance from the olive press, which dates back to the middle Byzantine Period. The rest of the edifice, however, has not been preserved.[46]

A public bath and a church from the middle Byzantine period have been discovered some dozen meters south and southeast of the olive press, in the same city block. It is also worth mentioning that the building materials from the olive presses and the bases of the press in particular have been re-used as building material in other buildings of medieval Sparta and the surrounding

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44 J.-C. Cheynet/C. Morrisson, Lieux de trouvaille et circulation des sceaux. In: J.-Cl. Cheynet, La société byzantine. L'apport des sceaux I. Paris 2008, 85–112 (*Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 [1990] 105–136).

45 Ai. Bakourou/E. Katsara, 5η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων. *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 53 (1998, Β΄1, Χρονικὰ) 221; J. A. Pikoulas, Δρόμοι του λαδιού στην Ανατολική και νότια Πελοπόννησο κατά την Αρχαιότητα. Athens 2006, 22; Ai. Bakourou, Τοπογραφικές παρατηρήσεις για τη μεσοβυζαντινή Λακεδαιμονία. *Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Η Σπάρτη και η Λακωνία από τα προϊστορικά μέχρι τα νεώτερα χρόνια, Σπάρτη 17–20 Μαρτίου 2005.* In: *Sparta and Laconia from Prehistory to Pre-Modern (eds. W. G. Cavannagh/C. Gallou/ M. Georgiadis).* London 2009, 307– 309 (henceforth: Bakourou, Παρατηρήσεις); See also: A. Mexia, Ελαιοκομία στη βυζαντινή Λακεδαίμονα. Πηγές και αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια. *Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαὶ* 18 (2006) 209 (henceforth: Mexia, Ελαιοκομία).

46 A. Moutzale, 5η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων. *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 34 (1979, Β΄1, Χρονικὰ) 157–159; Mexia, Ελαιοκομία 210.

area.[47] This proves not only the existence of a large number of olive presses in the area but also the considerable olive cultivation in Lakedaimon.

The church belongs to the architectural type of the cross in square. It dates to the middle Byzantine period, and archaeological surveys show that it was in use during the later Komnenian period.[48] Ai. Bakourou in her recent essay about the topography of Lakedaimon in the middle-Byzantine period dates it to the eleventh century.[49]

The bath is almost completely intact and of particular significance, because there is no mention of it in sources that relate to medieval Lakedaimon. It is built upon an extensive later Roman building complex which dates back to the third and fourth century A. D., and yet it is completely independent from it. Its three basic areas have been identified: the *χλιαρὸν* or *αποδυτήριον,* the *θερμὸν* or *ζεστόν,* and the *κολυμβήθρα,* as well as the two aquifers. The monument, according to Ch. Bouras, was public and not part of a monastery, and is dated by its architectural elements into the period of 1100–1260 A. D.[50] It is of interest that the bath did not exhibit later phases, and after its abandonment (date unknown), it was plundered.[51]

Near these monuments, in fact east of city block 127, at city block 126, a burial triconchos church of the middle Byzantine period has been discovered. In its interior, underneath the floor of the nave proper and the narthex, ten box-shaped tombs were uncovered. This monument dates back to the second half of the tenth century and was in use after it had been damaged in the early twelfth century up to the mid-thirteenth century. At that point in time significant burial activity seems to have taken place both inside the monument and outside of it.[52]

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47 Mexia, Ελαιοκομία 210, footnote 16.

48 Ai. Bakourou, 5η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων. *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 46 (1991, Β΄1, Χρονικὰ) 116–117. Recently, D. Athanasoules and M. Kappas claimed that the church is a variation of the inscribed cross-shaped with the western leg contracted. (D. Athanasoules/M. Kappas, Ο σταυροειδής εγγεγραμμένος με συνεπτυγμένο δυτικό σκέλος. Τυπολογικές διευκρινήσεις. *25ο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 2005*, Περιλήψεις εισηγήσεων και ανακοινώσεων, 13–14); Bakourou, Παρατηρήσεις 307.

49 Bakourou, Παρατηρήσεις 307.

50 Ch. Bouras, Ἕνα βυζαντινὸ λουτρὸ στὴ Λακεδαιμονία. *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς* 21 (1982) 99–112 (hencefoth: Bouras, Λουτρό); Bakourou, Παρατηρήσεις 307; cf.: Ai. Demakopoulou, Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Λακωνίας-Ἀρκαδίας, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 20 (1965, Β΄, Χρονικὰ) 173–174; Ai. Demakopoulou, Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Λακωνίας-Ἀρκαδίας, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 21 (1966, Β΄, Χρονικὰ) 155–159 (henceforth: Demakopoulou, Ἀρχαιότητες 1966).

51 Bouras, Λουτρό 106; Bakourou, Παρατηρήσεις 307; cf.: Demakopoulou, Ἀρχαιότητες 1966, plate 148ε.

52 See Bakourou, Παρατηρήσεις 303–306.

The building remains that have been excavated in the vicinity of city blocks 126 and 127 of the city of Sparta, where the two lead seals were found, constitute a body of monuments and are part of one of the outer neighborhoods of the Byzantine city, where, on the ruins of the Roman age, a suburb was created which provided for the economical, religious and social demands of the citizens. In other words, this is an area where archaeological excavations have revealed public buildings in the neighborhoods with remains of domestic buildings and industrial units.[53]

It is important to mention here that the 5th Ephorate of Prehistorical and Classical Antiquities at Sparta discovered another lead seal in Platanista street, very close to the property of Philippopoulos where lead seals no. 2 and 3 of this study where found. It is a lead seal of Aristenos (without a first name) that dates back between the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century.[54] The fact that this seal was a surface find allows us to hypothesize that it originated from the same city block where lead seals no. 2 and 3 where found.

Of particular note is the fact that the recent sigillographical findings from Sparta,[55] all of which date from the mid-tenth century to the twelfth century, are from a period during which the city was flourishing economically.

From the tenth century onwards, according to the Vita of Hosios Nikon *Metanoeite*, Sparta was the home of silk production, and there were merchants from Venice[56] based in the city, even though during this period Venice was a commercial power of modest proportions. This upgrading of Sparta became more pronounced during the eleventh century.[57] Already from the late tenth century, when the events written in the Vita of Hosios Nikon *Metanoeite* took place, Sparta began to develop as a peripheral center and, later on, developped as an ecclesiastical center too.[58] From the eleventh century onwards, Sparta was a production center.[59] The production of pottery and glazed pottery is significant, and it is quite possible that they were not only meant for local use,

53 Bakourou, Παρατηρήσεις 309–310.

54 Stavrakos, Μολυβδόβουλλα από τη Σπάρτη, 350–351.

55 Stavrakos, Μολυβδόβουλλα από τη Σπάρτη, 350–351.

56 O. Lampsides, Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ὅσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε (κείμενα-σχόλια). Athens 1982, 146, 24ff; 234, 27ff (henceforth: Lampsides, Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε); A. Laiou, Οι ανταλλαγές και το εμπόριο από τον 7ο έως το 12ο αιώνα. In: Οικονομική Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου από τον 7ο έως το 15ο αιώνα (ed. A. Laiou et al.). Athens 2006, III 513 (henceforth: Laiou, Ανταλλαγές).

57 Ch. Bouras, City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture, *JÖB* 31/2 (1981) 621–622; E. Kislinger, Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monembasia und das sizilianische Demenna. Eine historisch-topographische Studie. Wien 2001, 89–90.

58 Kislinger, Nikolaos 27 and especially note 4 (with earlier relevant bibliography).

59 A. Laiou, Μεταξύ παραγωγής και κατανάλωσης: Είχαν οικονομία οι βυζαντινές πόλεις; *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 81 (2006) 98–99.

but were also exported, which was the case in Athens during the twelfth and early thirteenth century as well.[60]

Besides this, I must also mention that olive oil was one of the principal products in Laconia before the Frankish conquest. The transportation of oil by Venetian merchants is recorded in Venetian documents which document the monetary and commercial exchange in Lakedaimon. From the same documents we deduce that there was a Venetian quarter in Sparta. In another document, a cargo of olive oil is mentioned which was in the possession of a Venetian merchant but was confiscated by the Byzantines.[61]

The Vita of Hosios Nikon Metanoeite[62] tells us of an olive press in one of the miracles of the Saint.

From the 9th century (and also during the tenth and eleventh century) coin transactions are documented in Lakedaimon.[63] This shows on the one side the rise of the urban population, but not, on the other side, necessarily the monetization of the exchanges of the farm products.[64] What is certain is that, during the tenth century, Sparta, like Thessalonica, was a city with a permanent market.[65] As to the olive oil in Lakedaimon and the commercial activities pertaining to it, I wish to add that the increase of its production in the area did not necessarily mean that self-sufficiency was obtained. Quite possibly, it shows that a significant portion of the rural surplus was brought to the market.

Under these circumstances, I believe that lead seals no. 2 and 3 which were found during the excavation at the Byzantine olive press are related to the distribution of the product. Both belong to military officers, and I consider it possible that they have something to do with orders of olive oil, perhaps for the troops.

In the Typicon of Kosmosoteira, a monastery founded by Isaakios Komnenos, an order is given to the abbot to buy each year's olive oil not from the retailers (*πραγματευταί*), but from the wholesalers who arrived at the

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60 A. Laiou/C. Morrisson, The byzantine Economy. Cambridge 2007, 118–119. It is known that during that period there existed well-organized workshops in Corinth.

61 M. Kordoses, Τὸ ἐμπόριο στὴ βυζαντινὴ Λακωνία (Θ΄ αἰ.–1204). In: *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Α' Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Λακωνικῶν Μελετῶν.* Athens 1983, 109–110; see also: M. Gerolymatou, Αγορές, έμποροι και εμπόριο στο Βυζάντιο (9ος–12ος αι.). Athens 2008, 167–168.

62 Lampsides, Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε 136, 1.

63 N. Oikonomides, Σε ποιο βαθμό ήταν εκχρηματισμένη η βυζαντινή οικονομία; In: *Ροδωνιά. Τιμή στο Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα.* Rethymnon 1994, II, 365–367.

64 Laiou, Ανταλλαγές, 522.

65 Lampsides, Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε 190, 18–19; A. Lampropoulou, Οι πανηγύρεις στην Πελοπόννησο κατά τη μεσαιωνική εποχή. *Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου „Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο", Αθήνα 15–17 Σεπτεμβρίου 1988.* Athens 1988, 294–295; Laiou, Ανταλλαγές 517.

harbor of Ainos,[66] in order to find it at a better price. It seems plausible to me that the officers, whose lead seals were found at the olive press, sought to order the olive oil directly from the source, where the price must have been cheaper.

Abstract

This article presents the unpublished Byzantine lead seals from the archaeological collection of Mystras which now are stored in the depots of the Museum of Mystras.

The first seal names a Michael Barys (late eleventh to early twelfth century). Probably he was bishop of Helos, known from another seal with metrical inscription which has not been fully read until now. – The second is a seal of an imperial *protospatharios* and *tourmarches Spartaron* Ioannes (mid-to-late tenth century). This military unit is attested by this seal and other three parallel pieces from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks. The name *Spartaron* and the fact that this seal was found in Sparta can be taken as evidence for the existence of a military unit which recalls the capabilities and fighting prowess of the Ancient Spartans. – The third lead seal mentions a *vestarches and judge of the Velum, of Peloponnesos and Hellas* (mid-to-late eleventh century) Petros Serblias. It describes an unknown stadium of the career of Petros Serblias, a person already known from other sources.

At the end four metallic plates are presented, found near to the Upper Gate of the castle of Mystras, which are caps for bottles of *theriaca*, a well known antiseptic medicine from the apothecary of Due Mori in Venice (18th–19th century).

Two of the seals were found in a recently unearthed Byzantine olive-press in a quarter of Byzantine Sparta where the city was expanded in the time between the tenth and twelfth century.

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[66] L. Petit, Typicon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos. *Isvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* 13 (1908) 63.

SIRMIAN MARTYRS IN EXILE
PANNONIAN CASE-STUDIES AND A RE-EVALUATION OF THE ST. DEMETRIUS PROBLEM

PETER TÓTH / BUDAPEST

The study of the cult of the fourth century martyr, St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, has been a focal point of hagiographical research since the 18th century. It was always the most eminent experts of history and hagiography who dealt with questions of his identity and of the history of his cult, which has had a distinguished role in orthodox Christian religious and cultural tradition, on the one hand, and is closely connected with such historical events like the invasion of the Avars and the Slavs into the Balkans, on the other. Problems of Demetrius' cult have been investigated by scholars in academic fields ranging from art history and archaeology to history and philology. The biggest challenge, however, was assigned to scholars of hagiography who were continually expected to provide solution to the puzzling problem of the origin of St. Demetrius and his cult.

Therefore, in the course of the last two centuries there have been a lot of different hypotheses put forward to provide suitable solution for this problem: ideas and assumptions based on various art-historical, archaeological and literary observations, or sometimes only on national ideologies or even fantasy. However, there were no attempts made to put the whole problem into the wider context of the Illyrian hagiographic tradition and to make a detailed comparison between the history of St Demetrius' cult and the afterlife of other Pannonian and Illyrian martyrs. In the following, then, after a critical analysis of the St Demetrius problem and its proposed solutions, a number of comparative case-studies will be carried out to map the history of other late antique Illyrian martyrs. These presumably will help us to have a better view of the whole problem of the martyrs' migration and to provide a fresh solution for the origin and development of St Demetrius' cult.

'Sirmium or Thessalonica?'

If one would like to condense into one single phrase the whole complexity of the problems concerning the cult of St Demetrius, it would be a "tale of two cities", Sirmium and Thessalonica, competing for the birthplace of the greatmartyr Demetrius.

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Originally the situation was quite simple. According to the the earliest version of the martyr's passion,[1] the so-called *Passio prima* after Demetrius' death his body was just rapidly buried "with a moud of earth" at the very place he was killed.[2] Afterwards, there was a "small structure"[3] erected to house the relics. Later, however, because of the "powerful healings and graces that have occurred in this place",[4] Leontios the prefect of Illyricum, founded a "gloriously adorned church" in Thessalonica in his honour. To this information the second recension of the account, the so-called *Passio altera* considered generally as a later version of the saint's history,[5] adds that Leontios was afflicted with a mortal illness and he built the church after having been healed by the martyr's intercession, but as a kind of souvenir he brought a little piece of the relics with him to his seat in Sirmium. There he again founded a church in the honour of Demetrius, where he deposited the relics he was given in Thessalonica.[6] The series of events, then, is completely clear. Thessalonica, the hometown and burial place of the martyr was the first to have a church dedicated to Demetrius, and then came Sirmium with its smaller and – apparently secondary – church and allegiance to St. Demetrius.

The problem became more complicated after the publication of two important early hagiographical sources in 1894, that of the so-called *Syriac Breviary* and the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum.* Curiously, these ancient martyrologies, deriving from a Greek Vorlage probably from the second half of

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1 The classification of the legends was done by the 18th century Bollandist De Bije, who distinguished three recensions of the passions (see *ASS* Oct. IV. (1780), 50–52) and his conclusions are ever since accepted. According to his view, the first and presumably earliest version is the so-called Passio prima *BHG* 496 which was edited by H. Delehaye in his Les légendes grecques des saints militaires. Paris 1909, 259–263. There exists a ninth-century Latin translation of it by Anastasius Bibliothecarius: *BHL* 2122. Interestingly this translation was the only source of what was known in the West concerning the martyr and numerous later legends of Demetrius derive of it: e.g. *BHL* 2126 and the legend in the fourteenth-century collection of Petrus de Natalibus (ix, 110), the accounts of the martyrologies, and also the story recorded by the twelfth-century Vincentius Bellovacensis in his *Speculum historiale* (xii, 149) along with the abbreviated story in the collection of Pierre Calo (cf. A. Poncelet, Le légendier de Pierre Calo. *AB* 29 (1910), 5–16; 97 and 101). The second recension is the so-called *Passio altera* (*BHG* 497 edited in the Acta Sanctorum Octobris IV, Bruxelles, 1780, 90–95), while the third is a later recast by Simeon Metaphrastes (†1000), *BHG* 498 and edited in *ASS* Oct. IV (1780), 96–104.).

2 Delehaye, Les légendes (as footnote 1 above), 262: τῆς γῆς ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν ἔκρυψαν.

3 Delehaye, ibid. 262: οἰκίαν ἐπὶ μικροῦ πάνυ τοῦ σχήματος

4 H. Delehaye, ibid.: Ἐκ τῶν… ἐν τῷ τόπῳ γενομένων δυνάμεων ἰάσεων τε

5 See e.g. H. Delehaye, Les légendes (as footnote 1 above), 262, 103–109; P. Lemerle, Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de Saint Démétrius, II, Commentaire. Paris 1981, 198–203; J. C. Skedros, Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector 4th-7th Centuries. Harrisburg 1999, 60–70.

6 *ASS* Oct. IV (1780) 94E–95A.

the fourth century,[7] do not contain any information concerning St. Demetrius of Thessalonica. Instead, they mention only a certain St. Demetrius of Sirmium,[8] who according to the Hieronymian Martyrology was deacon of the Sirmian church.[9]

As the martyrdom of St. Demetrius is to be dated around 304[10] and as almost all significant Thessalonican martyrs from around the time of Demetrius are present in the martyrologies, one would expect his name to be present in the martyrologies as well.[11] Based on this lack, therefore, some researchers have concluded that the Sirmian and the Thessalonican martyrs are somehow related.

Solutions and Hypotheses

It was Ernst Lucius who – in light of the martyrologies – first brought attention to the problem of the two St Demetrius martyrs and their possible connection, but he still treated them as two separate martyrs.[12] Not much later the famous Jesuit scholar, Hippolyte Delehaye in his book on military saints wrote that in his view, the two martyrs Demetrius are the same. "For" – he concludes in another work – "the inside location of the Thessalonican basilica in the city, the late origins of his cult and the information found in the martyrologies suggest that the saint's tomb was originally in Sirmium, and the relic was translated to Thessalonica".[13] "Besides," – he adds – "there is a kind of abnormal aspect in

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7 On the date and importance of these martyrologies, see R. Aigrain, L'hagiographie: Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire. Bruxelles 2000, 32–50 and recently K. Schäferdiek, Bemerkungen zum "Martyrologium Syriacum", *AnBoll* 123 (2005) 5–22.

8 Breviarium Syriacum, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris,* II/1, Bruxelles 1894, LV. and Martyrologium Hieronymianum, ibid. 41.

9 *In Syrmia Demetrii diaconi.*

10 The date in the first line of the Greek Passions, which states that the execution of Demetrius took place "when Maximianus Herculius conquered the Goths and the Sarmatians" (*ASS* Oct. IV, 1780, 90E: Μαξιμιανὸς, ὁ καὶ Ἑρκούλιος, ὑποτάξας Γόθθους, καὶ Σαυρωμάτας), undoubtedly refers to the military successes of Maximianus in the Balkans in 303 and 304. Compare: Lactantius, *De mort.* 13.2 (ed. Creed, Oxford Christian Latin Texts. Oxford 1984, 20.).

11 Such as the Thessalonican martyrs Agape, Chionia, and Irene (April 2.) or Fronto (March 14.) and other saints whose inclusion was already highlighted by D. Woods, Thessalonica's Patron: Saint Demetrius or Emeterius?, *Harvard Theological Review* 93 (2000) 221–234, here 222–223.

12 E. Lucius, Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche. Tübingen 1904. 227 footnote 3.

13 H. Delehaye, Les origines du culte des martyrs. Bruxelles 1912, 263–264: «L'emplacement de la basilique de Thessalonique en peine ville, les origines tardives du culte à cet

the martyr's posthumous glory".[14] According to Delehaye's hypothesis, then, the events as related in the *Passio altera* and *tertia* happened precisely the opposite way around, for the Thessalonican relics were not taken from there to Sirmium by Leontios, but the relics of the deacon St Demetrius who suffered martyrdom in Sirmium were transported to Thessalonica, and the Thessalonican tradition was only established later .

Interestingly, historical and archeological research later seemed to support Delehaye's hypothesis about the martyr's Sirmian origin with a number of further evidences. Jacques Zeiller in his work on Christianity of the southern Danube provinces, for example, accepting Delehaye's view explains the transfer of the cult with the invasion of the Huns. The Huns, in fact, were arriving in large numbers in the Balkans at the beginning of the 5th century, and they conquered and destroyed Sirmium, the capital of the province of Illyricum in 441 as well. At the time of the siege of Sirmium, however, the Roman administration (namely the prefect and his office) fled to Thessalonica. According to Zeiller, then, the fleeing prefect may have taken the relics of St Demetrius to Thessalonica, and the Thessalonican tradition might have been established along with the foundation of the basilica, at the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th centuries.[15]

In 1926 András Alföldi, who attempted to identify the prefect Leontios mentioned in the passions, came to the conclusion that he was identical to a prefect of Constantinople of the same name.[16] This Leontios before having been promoted to the position in Constantinople, probably became prefect of Illyricum around 434, and, as Alföldi argues, he must have had to flee the barbarian invasions threatening Sirmium in 441.[17] The English archeologist Michael Vickers, unaware of Alföldi's study, arrived at the same conclusion, trying to identify the prefect mentioned by the passions as the aforementioned Leontios. According to his hypothesis, the passions were still fully aware of the prefect's name; however, in order to emphasize the glory of Thessalonica, they reversed the events. Leontios, therefore, probably did not take relics from Thessalonica to Sirmium, but rather carried them from Sirmium to Thessa-

endroit, l'indice fourni par le martyrologe porteraient à croire que le tombeau de saint se trouvait plutôt à Sirmium et la relique enseglentée à Thessalonique.»

14 Delehaye, Les légendes (as footnote 1 above) 107: "je ne sais que quel aspect anormal à la gloire posthume de St Démétrius".

15 J. Zeiller, Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire Romain. Paris 1918, 82–83.

16 On the person of the prefect see below p. 164–166.

17 A. Alföldi, Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien. II. Berlin/Leipzig 1926, 96 footnote 1: "daß … Leontius die Reliquien des Demetrius *aus* Sirmium *nach* Thessalonica bringt und nicht umgekehrt."

lonica whilst fleeing the Huns, and thus established the martyr's cult in Thessalonica.[18]

The archaeological excavations in the St Demetrius basilica at the beginning of the 20th century produced similarly interesting results. For in 1917 the basilica was badly damaged in a fire, which nevertheless opened up a number of previously inaccessible areas to archaeological exploration. An unusual cross-shaped pit was uncovered in the course of these excavations, in which a vessel containing a kind of brownish-coloured powder was found.[19] The first explanations naturally considered the unearthed area to be the martyr's tomb. Soon, however, André Grabar, on the basis of some Greek and Balkan parallels, regarded the cross-shaped pit as the *enkainion* of the basilica.[20] Regularly the *enkainion* had to contain relics, preferably those of the patron saint of the church. The vessel, therefore, should also contain some relics of St Demetrius, but it seems improbable that the brown powder represents the mortal remains of the martyr. According to some, it is more likely to be the remains of the bloody clothing of St Demetrius,[21] whereas others believe the vessel contains "blood-soaked" earth, soil discoloured by the blood of the martyr, the so-called *lythron,* a popular type of relic in the 6th century.[22] What seems most certain, however, is that the martyr's mortal remains could not have been present in Thessalonica by the time of the foundation of the basilica. Consequently, the church, in sharp contrast with what the passions unanimously relate, was not built above the tomb of St Demetrius.

Interestingly, this view is confirmed by certain passages of the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius* too, which suggest that the 7th century compiler of the collection, Archbishop John of Thessalonica, did not know exactly whether the relics were indeed in the church or not.[23] This is equally confirmed by the fact

18 M. Vickers, Sirmium or Thessaloniki? A Critical Examination of the St. Demetrius Legend. *BZ* 67 (1974) 337–350.

19 First described by G. and M. Soteriou, The Basilica of St. Demetrius [in Greek]. Athens 1952, 61–62.

20 A. Grabar, Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique. I. Paris 1946, 456.

21 According to the Soterious (as footnote 19, 61 above), the powder is dried remnants of blood collected by the martyr's servant as told in the *Passio altera* (*ASS* Oct. IV, 1780, 94D: τὸ ὀράριον τοῦ Ἁγίου, ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνελέξατο τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ), while Lemerle has interpreted it as the remainder of the ribbon (ὀράριον) soaked in the sacred blood. See P. Lemerle, Saint-Démétrius de Thessalonique et les problemes du martyrion et du transept, *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 77 (1953) 660–694, here 661.

22 On the various interpretations of the find, see Skedros, Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki (as footnote 5 above) 59.

23 In the first chapter of the first book of the *Miracle*, for example, one can read: "where the relics are told to lie" (Cf. P. Lemerle, Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius. I. Paris 1979, 66: τὸ λεγόμενον κιβώριον…, ἔνθα φασί τινες κεῖσθαι ὑπὸ γῆν τὸ

that the Thessalonican clergy was unable to provide relics for Constantinople even after repeated requests from various Byzantine emperors. These appeals were either refused,[24] or fulfilled by a "supplementary" relic, such as a container of the "fragrant soil" from the martyr's church, presented to Justinian in the 6th century,[25] or later the *myron*, a miraculous oil flowing from the tomb.[26]

Based on the above facts, Michael Vickers in 1974 reconstructed the early history of the St Demetrius cult the following way. According to him, the Sirmians fleeing from the Hun onslaught – most likely led by the Sirmian prefect at the time, Leontius – brought with them some relics of their local deacon-martyr, Demetrius. After their arrival in Thessalonica, they placed the relics in a smaller building, until a real church was erected for them. This temporary building, he believes, is the smaller construction mentioned by the *Passio prima* as "a small format building",[27] later transformed into the martyr's impressive basilica.[28] According to Vickers, the martyrdom was originally commemorated on April 9th, the date appearing in the martyrologies, whereas the traditional feast of Demetrius on October 26th originated presumably in the date when the relics were transported to Thessalonica.[29]

Vicker's conclusions were apparently supported by the subsequent archaeological excavations in the Thessalonican basilica. For the vestiges of a smaller building predating the basilica were found as early as after the 1917 fire. This building might have been present at the time of the arrival of the relics in Thessalonica, or it might have been the sanctuary which was then constructed

πανάγιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον). For this and similar cases, see LEMERLE, Saint-Démétrius (as footnote 21 above) 665–667.

24 As in the case of Emperor Maurice, who at the end of the 6th century wrote a letter to Eusebius bishop of Thessalonica requesting a relic of the saint. However, Eusebius tactfully declined to fulfill it claiming that noone knows where the relics were and those who had firm faith in their hearts did not need such forms of contact with the martyr. See LEMERLE, Les plus anciens recueils (as footnote 23 above) 89.

25 According to the letter of Eusebius to the emperor Maurice, Justinian also attampted to acquire some relics from Thessalonica. He has even sent some people to dig them out from the basement of the church, but a flame sprang up before them and a voice was heard forbidding them to dig further. Instead, he had to be satisfied with a "supplementary" gift, that of the fragrant soil from the saint's suposed tomb, the so-called *lythron.* See LEMERLE, Les plus anciens recueils (as footnote 23 above) 90, lines 8–10.

26 Use of the myron as a relic is proved most notably by the ampullae found in ever greater numbers starting from the 10th century both in private and official use. See A. GRABAR, Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrios et le martyrion du saint a Salonique, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950) 3–28.

27 DELEHAYE, Les Légendes (as footnote 1 above) 262: οἰκίαν ἐπὶ μικροῦ πάνυ σχήματος.

28 VICKERS (as footnote 18 above) 346–350.

29 VICKERS, ibid. 349.

for them.[30] Research indicated, however, that the basilica itself was built after the fall of Sirmium and the supposed relocation of the prefect from Sirmium to Thessalonica in 441, presumably above the earlier, smaller building, around the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th centuries.[31]

From the 1970 s onwards Delehaye's theory of the Sirmian origin as elaborated by Zeiller and Vickers has become widely accepted in hagiographical research and the study of Byzantine literature. Today almost all of the most important reference books indicate that Saint Demetrius had originally been a Sirmian martyr, and it was only later that his cult was connected with Thessalonica as a consequence of the turbulent era of the great migrations.[32]

Nonetheless, Greek scholars have published again and again articles and monographs trying to refute the above mentioned arguments and to uphold the Thessalonican origin of the martyr. The first such text was published almost immediately after Vickers' paper[33] and was followed by a number of similar

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30 This could possibly be the small-format construction mentioned in the *Passio prima*, as footnote 4 above, and Soteriou (as footnote 19 above) 37–47. Compare: J.-M. Spieser, Théssalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle. Contribution à l'étude d'une ville paléochrétienne. Athènes-Paris 1984, 214.

31 According to Spieser the basilica was founded in 510 (Spieser, as footnote 30 above, 165–213) whereas according to Cormack in 500 (R. Cormack, The Making of a Patron Saint: The Powers of Art and Ritual in Byzantine Thessaloniki. *World Art: Themes of Unity and Diversity*, ed. I. Lavin. Pennsylvania 1989, 3, 549.), and Skedros believes it was between 475–500 (Skedros, Saint Demetrios, as footnote 5, 37–39 above). Speck has similar views: P. Speck, De miraculis Sancti Demetrii, qui Thessalonica profugus venit oder Ketzerisches zu den Wundergeschichten des heiligen Demetrius und zu seiner Basilika in Thessalonike, *Poikila Byzantina*, *Varia IV* 12 (1993) 257–261.

32 See, for example R. Aubert, Art. Démétrius de Thessalonice, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie Ecclésiastique* 14 (Paris 1960) 1493–1499 or V. Saxer, Art. Demetrios the Martyr, *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* I. (Cambridge 1992) 225, ill. R. Janin, Art. Demetrio di Tessalonica, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* IV. (Roma 1964) 556–564; M. Jarak, Martyres Pannoniae: The Chronological Position of the Pannonian Martyrs in the Course of Diocletian's Persecution. Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit, in: Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit, ed. R. Bratož. Ljubljana 1996, 263–289: 274–276; R. Bratož, Verzeichnis der Opfer der Christenverfolgungen in den Donau- und Balkanprovinzen, in: Diokletian und die Tetrarchie: Aspekte einer Zeitenwende, ed. A. Demandt/A. Goltz/H. Schlange-Schöningen. Berlin 2004, 209–251, here 217–218.

33 G.J. Theocharides, Sirmium or Thessalonike? A reexamination of a critical examination of the legend about St. Demetrius *Makedonika* 16 (1976) 269–306 [in Greek with English summary on p. 307–308.]

articles.[34] Recently another Greek scholar, James C. Skedros, summed up the findings of earlier Greek research in a complete monograph.[35]

Although Skedros repeatedly states that his objective is not to determine the origin of the cult of Saint Demetrius[36] he tackles the problem in a number of places in his book. Of course, as most Greek scholars, Skedros does not accept Delehaye's hypothesis about Demetrius' Sirmian origin. Instead, he represents a standpoint that itself is something of a peculiar mix of views. He in fact rejects the documentary value of the martyrologies and instead attempts to reconstruct the origin of the cult relying on the text of the passions. And although he does not share Delehaye's view that always the shorter and simpler passion is more historically authentic and earlier,[37] he accepts only the *Passio prima* as a trustworthy source. Moreover, he considers the elements of the Leontios-narrative in the *Passio altera* concerning Sirmium (the narrative about the origin of the church in Sirmium and the Demetrius relics therein) a late fiction which was inserted in the text during the 8th century to explain the Sirmian veneration of Saint Demetrius, a very prominent cult at the time.[38]

According to Skedros, by the 8th century the cult of Saint Demetrius in Sirmium had become so significant that "the city of Sirmium could easily have claimed a local allegiance to St. Demetrios".[39] All this, Skedros argues, can be explained by the fact that some time towards the beginning of the 6th century the Emperor Justinian – who devoted a great deal of effort to strengthen his empire's borders not only with fortifications, but also with the relics of saints, and thereby through their intercession – probably sent a Demetrius relic to Sirmium, which (according to Skedros' view) laid the long-term foundations of a local, Sirmian cult for St Demetrius.[40]

In reality, however, this hypothesis of Skedros – along with a number of his other arguments[41] – is highly improbable. For, as has already been noted, Justinian did indeed try to acquire Demetrius' relics from the Thessalonican church, even by force as the *Miracula* tell us. However, in the end he was

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34 A. Mentzos, The veneration of St. Demetrios in Byzantine Period [in Greek]. Athens 1994 and Ch. Bakirtzis, Le culte de saint Démétrius, *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie* (Münster 1995) 58–68.

35 Skedros, Saint Demetrios (as footnote 5 above).

36 Skedros, ibid. 2: "It is not an investigation into the identity and history of the martyr Demetrios".

37 Skedros, ibid. 64–65.

38 Skedros, ibid. 22–27.

39 Skedros, ibid. 28.

40 Skedros, ibid. 27–28.

41 As, for example, his views on the martyrologies which he believes to be untrustworthy concerning the early martyrs of Thessalonica. On the critic of this attitude, see Woods (as footnote 11 above) 222–223. More generally see the review of X. Lequeux, *AnBoll* 119 (2000) 168–170.

unsuccessful and instead of the martyr's body he had to settle for the "fragrant soil" from the church,[42] which, of course, "he relished" – as the Miracula state – "as if it were in fact the martyr's real body".[43] However, it is especially this last comment which makes it seem unusual that he would place this precious "supplementary" relic obtained with such difficulty in so remote a town as Sirmium, which during his reign was not even under Byzantine rule.

For after the Huns conquered the city in 441–442, not much later it was ruled by the Ostrogoths, then by the Gepids, and then again by the Goths.[44] The rule of the Goths over Sirmium was recognized by the Emperor Anastasius in a separate contract in 510 AD.[45] Although it is true that in 535 Justinian has managed to reconquer Sirmium, his rule, however, was short-lived and the Barbarians almost immediately retook possession of the city.[46] Therefore, it seems very unprobable that Justinian would have placed relics in the barely reconquered town, without any of the sources mentioning such an event.[47] However, even if we accept the historicity of such an assumption, it still appears very unlikely that the relics allegedly located in the city by Justinian in the sixth century would be able to create such a strong Demetrius-tradition which could survive by the 8th century and induce Sirmians to "claim a local allegiance to St. Demetrios".[48]

However, the most astonishing attempt to solve the difficult problem of the "Sirmium or Thessalonica" question is that elaborated by David Woods who wanted to connect the Thessalonican Demetrius with two Spanish military martyrs, Emeterius and Chelidonius. On the basis of the account of Prudentius

42 As footnote 25 above.

43 Lemerle, Les plus anciens recueils (as footnote 23 above) 90: ὅπερ μετὰ πάσης ἀπέλαβε χαρᾶς, ὡς αὐτὸ τοῦ μάρτυρος τὸ σῶμα δεξάμενος.

44 See M. Mirković, Sirmium – Its History from the I. Century AD to 582 AD, in: Sirmium I. Archaeological Investigations in Syrmian Pannonia. Beograd 1971, 45–54.

45 On this contract and the sources of it, see E. Stein, Zur Geschichte von Illyricum im V-VII. Jahrhundert, *Rheinisches Museum* NF 74 (1925) 354–364, here 362–363.

46 According to Procopius (*Bellum Gothicum* I,7, 1–10, ed. H. B. Dewing. London 1978, 438) "the Gepaedes have taken possession of Sirmium at the moment the Emperor Justinian took it away from the Goths", see also: E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire. Paris 1959, II, 435; F. E. Wozniak, East Rome, Ravenna and Western Illyricum: 454–536 AD, *Historia* 30 (1981) 351–382, here 381; Mirkovic (as footnote 44 above) 52.

47 See the objections against Skedros' view by Woods (Woods, as footnote 11 above, 225–226), who writes that with this hypothesis Skedros "finds himself in the position of denying the translation of relics from Thessalonica to Sirmium as attested by the literary tradition, while assuming a similar such translation at some undetermined later date that has left no trace in the tradition whatsoever."

48 Especially since Sirmium – although the Byzantine troops once again succeeded in reconquering the city in 567 – not much later came finally under Avar rule as a result of a long and cruel siege in 582. The inhabitants fled, and the city was in ruins for a long time. On these events, see below footnote 105.

regarding the relics of these two martyrs (interestingly a ring and a scarf just like in the case of St Demetrius) he argues that "the cult of St. Demetrius has its origin in some misunderstanding concerning the presence of some alleged relics of St Emeterius at Thessalonica"[49] whose name was simply misread as Demetrius.

This almost grotesque hypothesis, which was refuted almost immediately on the subsequent pages of the same journal where it was published,[50] marks clearly the nature of the hypotheses surrounding the "Sirmium or Thessalonica" problem. So one cannot but agree with Woods who at the end of his provocative article writes that his reconstruction is no more speculative, "than the hypothesis that currently holds sway, that St. Demetrius of Thessalonica is identifiable with the St. Demetrius the Deacon of Sirmium".[51]

Although this objection seems true and the hypothetical character of Delehaye's view on the martyr's Sirmian origin is always acknowledged in scholarship,[52] in contrast with the "speculative" attempt by Woods, it can be supported by the historical and archaeological evidences listed above. That is why one can only wonder that adherents to the Delehaye hypothesis have never tried to compare the Demetrius problem with the cases of other Sirmian martyrs, whose later history – in many respects similar to the fate of St Demetrius – may shed some more light on the origin of his cult and contribute to a better solution of the "Sirmium or Thessalonica" problem. In the following, then, a comparison will be made between the afterlife of some other Pannonian martyrs and the cult of St Demetrius and on the basis of the results gained, a new reconstruction of the history of Demetrius' cult will be formulated.

The Illyrian Parallels

In the 5th and 6th centuries there were numerous Pannonian martyrs' relics taken to other cities, to flee migrating barbarian troops, and in their new homes there were new, independent local traditions born around the figure of these "fugitive" saints. In such important cultural and religious centres as Rome or Aquileia a local cult of these Pannonian martyrs had already come into existence even before the translation of the relics had taken place. Later, these

49 Woods (as footnote 11 above) 230.

50 J. C. Skedros, Response to David Woods, *The Harvard Theological Review* 93 (2000) 235–239.

51 Woods (as footnote 11 above) 234.

52 See e. g. Lequeux, who in his argumentation in favour of Delehaye's concept notes, that "Il s'agit bien sûr d'une hypothèse": Lequeux (as footnote 41 above) 170.

local traditions, and in some cases under the influence of the later arrival of the relics, went through rather interesting transformations.

Quirinus

One of the best-known Pannonian martyrs is Quirinus, the bishop of Siscia (today Sisak in Slovenia) who was captured during Diocletian's persecution and executed in 304 in the territory of Savaria (today North-West Hungary), where a basilica was erected above his relics.[53] At the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th centuries the martyr was a widely known and popular saint. Even the Chronicle of Jerome pays tribute to his suffering,[54] and the famous Latin poet Prudentius wrote a hymn in his honour.[55] His name, as the bishop-martyr of Pannonian Savaria, appears of course in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum.*[56] At the beginning of the 5th century, however, when the invasion of the Huns began to pose an increasing risk to the people of Savaria, the local congregation was forced to make a sudden decision, of which a paragraph of the passion of Quirinus states:

> When, however, the Barbarians overran the territory of Pannonia, and the Christians fled Savaria, they took with them the holy body of the martyr-bishop, Quirinus. They placed it next to the third milestone on the Via Appia [in Rome] at the basilica of the Apostles Peter and Paul, where they once lay and where Christ's holy martyr, Sebastian rests in a place called Catacumbas. There was a church dedicated in his honour which was worthy of them, … in which the saint's presence manifests itself to this very day.[57]

53 On Quirinus and his basilica, see E. Tóth, Late Antique Imperial Palace in Savaria (The Questions of the so-called Quirinus Basilica), *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 25 (1973) 117–137; M. Jarak (as footnote 32 above) 278–280; D. Gáspár, Christianity in Roman Pannonia: An Evaluation of Early Christian Finds and Sites from Hungary. Oxford 2002, 116–118; R. Bratož, Verzeichnis (as footnote 32 above) 212–213.

54 Hieron. Chron a. 308 (*GCS* Eusebius VII. Ed Helm, Rudolf, 229.).

55 Prudentius, Peristephanon VII. (*CSEL*, 61, 362–365).

56 Martyrologium Hieronymianum (as footnote 8 above) [70]: *In Sabaria civitate Pannoniae Quirini.*

57 Th. Ruinart, Acta sincera martyrum. Ratisbonae 1859, 524: *Facta autem incursione Barbarorum in partes Pannoniae populus Christianus de Scarabetensi urbe Romam fugiens, sanctum corpus Quirini Episcopi et Martyris afferentes, secum deduxerunt. Quem via Appia milliario tertio sepelierunt in basilica Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ubi aliquando jacuerunt, et ubi S. Sebastianus Martyr Christi requiescit, in loco qui dicitur Catacumbas: ædificantes nomini ejus dignam ecclesiam … ubi præstantur beneficia ejus usque in hodiernum diem.*

The martyr's abovementioned church is still standing, and it is perhaps one of the most beautiful Roman catacombs,[58] but nonetheless it did not become the final resting place of the relics. Some fragments ended up in other cities, for example in Fulda or Tegernsee in Germany, and probably this is how Aquileia in northern Italy acquired them.[59] However, for the inhabitants of the city he might have been a martyr who apart from his name was completely unknown, so, as a kind of interpretation for the highly venerated, but presumably almost totally unknown martyr, a few decades later the name Quirinus appears among the names of the local bishops, as a successor to Saint Mark the Evangelist, the alleged founder of the episcopal see of Aquileia.[60]

Hermogenes / Hermagoras

Another martyr from Illyricum, Hermagoras, lector of the church in Singidunum (today Belgrade), who is also mentioned in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* under the name Hermogenes, underwent a similar but perhaps more adventurous fate.[61] Hermogenes also suffered martyrdom during

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58 Concerning the translation of the relics, see T. Nagy, A Quirinus reliquiák translatiójának időpontja Pannonia prima későrómai sorsának tükrében (The Date of the Translation of Qurinus' Relics in Mirror of the History of Pannonia in Late Roman Period). *Regnum* 6 (1944–1946) 244–257.

59 There still exists a reliquary in Grado (G. Noga-Banai, Workshop with Style. *BZ* 97 (2004) 531–542, here 539–541.) which – according to its inscription – contains some relics of Quirinus and which according to its recent interpretation was originally in the possession of the Aquileian clergy. Interestingly even the transfer of Quirinus' relics is preserved in the local historical tradition which holds that the relics were saved by the Aquileian bishop Paul to Grado in 568. See Chronicon Gradense , ed. G. Monticolo *(Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 9).* Roma 1890, 40.

60 On Quirinus in the list of Aquileian bishops see *ASS* Iun. I. (1695) 381: "S. Marcus Euangelista, S. Hermagoras, S. Helarus, S. Chrysogonus, S. Quirinus". Noteworthy is also the legend of St. Maximilianus (*ASS* Oct. VI. (1794) 54E) where there is mention about a certain Quirinus who originally was bishop of Lorch, but later elected to be the bishop of Aquileia where he was crowned as a martyr. On the Aquileian tradition, see R. Egger, Der heilige Hermagoras, *Karinthia* 134–135 (1947) 16–39, here 27 and R. Bratož, Krščanstvo v Ogleju in na vzhodnem vplivnem območju oglejske cerkve od začetkov do nastopa verske svobode. Ljubljana 1986, 180 and C. Sotinel, Identité civique et christianisme: Aquilée du IIIe au VIe siècle. Rome 2005, 238.

61 *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (as footnote 8 above) [36]. The Bollandists in the 18th century had already alluded to the identity of the two saints, Hermogenes and Hermagoras. *ASS* Aug IV. (1739) 588. In 1911 this view was adopted by S. Ritig, Martyrologij srijemsko-pannonske metropolije, *Bogoslovska smotra* 2 (1911) 353–358, and later by T. Nagy, Die Geschichte des Christentums in Pannonien bis zu dem Zusammenbruch des römischen Grenzschutzes. Budapest 1939, 59. Detailed research by Rudolf Egger only confirmed this, compare: Egger (as footnote 60 above) 217–219. His

Diocletian's persecution of Christians in 303–304, most likely in Sirmium, where he was brought from Singidunum under orders from the prefect.[62] Although a written source similar to the narrative about the transfer of the Quirinus relics is not preserved, his relics probably arrived in Aquileia at the beginning of the 5th century as well, where by the 6th century all information had been forgotten concerning the martyr, except for his name. Therefore, when the city was forced to prove the entail of its episcopal see in order to strengthen its influence and authority, the martyr Hermogenes, due to a misreading of the saint's name as Hermagoras, became its first bishop. According to a legend born around this time, Hermagoras was consecrated by Saint Mark the Evangelist himself, who was sent by Peter the Apostle to found the episcopate, and he suffered martyrdom in Aquileia, in Nero's time.[63]

Anastasia

Even stranger is the narrative about Saint Anastasia, who was also martyred in Sirmium and whose name is also found for the date of December 25. in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, as a martyr of Sirmium.[64] A highly interesting Roman legend, or rather a whole cycle of legends appears almost simultaneously to the martyrologies, sometimes even incorporated into certain of their manuscripts, which depicts her as a Roman lady of noble origin. The original Latin legend of Anastasia, which at the beginning of the 9th century was translated into Greek, combines four different narratives, connected with each other only by means of the figure of Anastasia. The narratives are in fact separate passions (of Chrysogonus; Agape, Chionia, Irene; Theotime and her children; and of Anastasia herself), in which Anastasia appears as the physical

view was accepted later by B. SARIA, Noricum und Pannonien, *Historia* 1 (1950) 436–486, here 450 and more recently by V. B. PROZOROV, The Passion of St Domnius: The Tradition of apostolic Succession in Dalmatia, *Scrinium* 2 (2004) 219–239, here 225–226. However, most Italian scholars have not accepted Egger's hypothesis: S. TRAMONTIN, Origini e sviluppi della leggenda marciana, in: Le origini della Chiesa di Venezia, ed. E. TONON. Venice 1987, 167–186; G. CUSCITO, Martiri cristiani ad Aquileia e in Istria. Documenti archeologici e questioni agiografiche. Udine 1992, 17–26. See the detailed presentation of their arguments by R. BRATOŽ, Krščanstvo (as footnote 60 above) 41–68.

62 Compare the data of the passion: *ASS* Aug. IV (1739) 412–413.

63 See the detailed argumentation by R. EGGER (as footnote 60 above) 225–240.

64 *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (as footnote 8 above) [6]. On the Sirmian origins of her cult, see JARAK (as footnote 32 above) 284 and BRATOZ, Verzeichnis (as footnote 32 above) 222.

and moral support for the suffering martyrs, and finally suffers martyrdom herself in Rome.[65]

Interestingly however, up to the 6th century the relics of Anastasia were not present in Rome, for according to a ninth century historian, they were taken from Sirmium to Constantinople in the 5th century, probably as a result of the popularity of the legend.[66] It is perhaps not the relics, then, what stands in the background of the "Roman legend" of Anastasia, but a mysterious 4th century church dedicated to Anastasia. The origin of the church, which most surely bore the name of its founder, Anastasia, sister of the emperor Constantine,[67] was all but lost by the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries. Thus a narrative of a martyr who was later to be called Saint Anastasia the Roman evolved during the 5th and 6th centuries, as an explanation for the name of the church.[68] According to the legend, Anastasia is of course of Roman ancestry, born to a noble Christian family. Previously married, she lives a chaste life, and devotes all her energy to the support of the martyrs. Nevertheless, the narrative

65 The Latin and Greek versions of the text in H. Delehaye, Étude sur le légendier romain. Bruxelles 1936, 221–249; and 250–258.

66 The translation of the relics is dated to the year 470 AD by Theophanes the Confessor (C. de Boor, Theophanis chronographia, 1. Leipzig 1883, 111: Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ἠνέχθη τὸ λείψανον τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας ἀπὸ τοῦ Σερμίου καὶ κατετέθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς Δομνίνου ἐμβόλοις). On the church of Anastasia in Constantinople, see L. Ryden, A Note on Some References to the Church of St Anastasia in Constantinople in the 10th century, *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 198–210. The church, from where the relics were taken to Constantinople was probably the chapel of St. Anastasia next to the St. Demetrius church, mentioned in the last lines of the *Passio altera:* πλησίον τοῦ σεβασμίου οἴκου τῆς καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας (*ASS* Oct. IV, 1780, 95 A).

67 Early Roman churches often bore the name of the founder, later, however, when the origin of the name faded, it was interpreted as the name of a saint, on the analogy of churches named after martyrs and other saints. For the title of St. Anastasia and its connection to Anastasia, sister of Constantine, see V. Saxer, La chiesa di Roma dal V al X secolo: amministrazione centrale e organizzazione territoriale, in : Roma nell'alto medioevo. Spoleto 2001, 2, 493–637, here 559; R. Lizzi Testa, Aquileia e Sirmium fra agiografia e fondazioni titolari, *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 57 (2004) 243–272, here 254–256 and also in R. Lizzi Testa, Senatori, popolo, papi: il governo di Roma al tempo dei Valentiniani. Bari 2004, 117–118.

68 Compare Zeiller, Les origines (as footnote 15 above) 85–86, and Delehaye, Étude (as footnote 65 above) 158–161. Paul Devos later came to the same conclusion in connection with a version of the legend that had become independent. Compare: P. Devos, Sainte Anastasie la vierge et la source de sa passion, *AnBoll* 80 (1962) 33–51. Quite recently, Stefen Diefenbach has put forward a new hypothesis on the origin of the „Roman" Anastasia arguing that it was not the founder of the Roman church who gave the title Anastasia, but there were originally some relics – transported from Sirmium in the 5th century – deposited in the church, and it was because of the forgotten origin of these that a new legend was created to shed some light on the mysterious Anastasia. See S. Diefenbach, Römische Erinnerungsräume: Heiligenmemoria und kollektive Identitäten im Rom des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Berlin 2007, 351–353 and 373–376.

did preserve some of the saint's "Sirmian connection". In helping the martyrs Anastasia arrives in Sirmium, where she is imprisoned, repeatedly questioned and tortured, and finally taken by ship to the island of Palmaria, where she ultimately suffers martyrdom.[69] According to the view of Hippolyte Delehaye, the compiler of the narrative most probably knew well that the saint had suffered martyrdom originally in Sirmium; that is why he takes her to Sirmium for the sake of "historical truth", "where she is consequently captured, imprisoned, but immediately escapes because", – as Delehaye argues – "it should be avoided that a patron saint of a Roman church would be put to death in Sirmium".[70]

The "Quattuor coronati"

Even more complicated is the problem of another Pannonian group of martyrs, the account on the sculptors Claudius, Nicostratus, Simpronianus and Castorius known by the name "The Four Crowned Martyrs". The Pannonian sculptors also suffered martyrdom during Diocletian's persecution of Christians, for they refused to make a statue of the god Aesculapius. The emperor sentenced them to death, and they were put in lead coffins and thrown into a nearby river. A passion attributed to an official called Porphyrius, originally written in Latin and later translated into Greek, recounted the narrative of their martyrdomc.[71] Besides the numerous chronological and topographical inconsistencies,[72] there is a rather strange appendix at the end of the narrative. According to this short passage, after the death of the martyrs Diocletian travelled to Rome from Sirmium and there built a large temple for Aesculapius, where he forced everyone to sacrifice to the god.

> And when all of them were forced to sacrifice, there were four officers who were also forced to make sacrifice. They, however, refused. This was immediately reported to the Emperor Diocletian, who then ordered them to be beaten there, in front of the statue, by iron rods. After having been tortured for a long time, they finally gave up their spirit. Their bodies were thrown to the dogs on the street, and there

[69] For the Sirmian section of the legend, see Delehaye, Études (as footnote 65 above) 221–249.

[70] Delehaye, Études (as footnote 65 above) 162: "Elle est jetée en prison mais bientôt délivrée, car il faut éviter de faire mourir à Sirmium la patrone d'un titre romain."

[71] The edition of the Latin and Greek version: *ASS* Nov. III. (1910) 765–779.

[72] The numerous errors and mistakes are listed in *ASS* Nov III. (1910) 759 and N. Vulić, Quelques observations sur la Passio sanctorum coronatorum, *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 11 (1934) 156–159.

> they lay for five days. Then the holy Sebastian[73] and the bishop Miltiades[74] gathered their remains and buried them with other saints on the Via Labicana, at the third milestone from the city. However, since this happened two years later, but also on November 8. [as the martyrdom of the Pannonian sculptors], but the names of these saints were impossible to find, the holy bishop Miltiades decided that their feast day should be held under the name of Saint Claudius, Nicostratus, Simpronianus, and Castorius.[75]

The two stories, namely that of the Pannonian sculptors and that of the anonymous Roman soldiers who were later venerated under the name of the sculptors, have kept researchers preoccupied for more than a century. Scholars have proposed a wide range of explanations to solve the problem,[76] but instead of becoming enmeshed in the tangled history of research on this question, let us simply mention the currently accepted explanation, which – as we shall see – provides numerous parallels with the problems concerning Saint Demetrius.

According to the scholarly consensus, the anonymous Roman soldier-martyrs are identical to the Pannonian martyrs, whose veneration was adopted in Rome during Constantine's reign by the Emperor's court, keenly interested in preserving the family's Illyrian traditions.[77] The site of their cult on the Via

73 The "holy Sebastian" probably refers to the famous martyr Sebastian, for the Pannonian sculptors appear in his passion as well. See below footnote 79.

74 Bishop Miltiades was a real person: he was Roman pope between 311–314. A. Lumpe, Art. Miltiades, Papst. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 5 (Herzberg 1993) 1537–1538.

75 *ASS* Nov. III. (1910) 778–779: *Cumque omnes ad sacrificia conpellerentur, quattuor quidam cornicularii conpellebantur ad sacrificandum. Illis autem reluctantibus, nuntiatum est Dioclitiano augusto; quos iussit ante ipsud simulacrum ictu plumbatarum deficere. Qui cum diu caederentur, emiserunt spiritum. Quorum corpora iussit in platea canibus iactari; quae etiam corpora iacuerunt diebus quinque. Tunc beatus Sevastianus cum Militiadem episcopum collegit corpora et sepelivit in via Labicana, miliario ab urbe tertio, cum sanctis aliis in arenario. Quod dum eodem tempore sed post duos annos evenisset, id est sextum idus Novembris, et nomina eorum repperire minime potuissent, iussit beatus Militiades episcopus ut sub nomina sanctorum Claudii, Nicostrati, Simproniani et Castorii anniversaria dies eorum recolatur.*

76 For example Zeiller (as footnote 15 above) 88–104; Delehaye, Études (as footnote 65 above) 64–73; Nagy, Die Geschichte des Christentums (as footnote 61 above) 61–65; D. Simonyi, Sull' origine del toponimo 'Quinque ecclesiae' di Pécs, *Acta antiqua* 8 (1960) 165–184.; or more recently J. Guyon, Les Quatre Couronnés et l'histoire de leur culte des origines au milieu du IXe siècle, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 87 (1975) 505–561 and Jarak (as footnote 32 above) 281–284 and Bratož, Verzeichnis (as footnote 32 above) 221–222.

77 Constantine and his family come from Illyricum, more precisely the city of Naissus (today Nis in Serbia), where the memory of the first Chirstian emperor's and his mother's, Saint Helen's local origins are alive to this day. Compare: T. D. Barnes, The

Labicana attests to this. The four saints venerated there, however, had been slowly forgotten, and by the 5th century their names appeared in various other legends completely unrelated to the original narrative of these saints, simply indicating the effort to explain their cult in the city of Rome.[78]

At the end of the 6th century, however, when the Avars had definitively conquered the province of Illyricum, and along with it the city of Sirmium, a large number of refugees fled from the Balkans southward, and thereby to Rome as well.[79] Not only did these refugees bring with them the relics of their saints, as already mentioned, but they also brought the traditions connected to their saints and martyrs. This is how the "authentic", fourth-century narrative of the four Pannonian sculptors' suffering arrived in Rome towards the end of the 6th century.[80] As we have seen, however, by this time the Romans venerated the four soldier-martyrs buried on the Via Labicana as their own saints. Public opinion at the time, therefore, found itself in a quite awkward situation: They honoured the same four saints, using the same names, nonetheless the refugees as well as the inhabitants considered these saints to be their own. This is why it was decided that the two narratives – the original Pannonian passion and its later, local "Romanized" version – should somehow be reconciled, thereby creating the version of the four crowned martyrs known today, with the characteristic appendix explaining the local Roman tradition and reconciling it with the original narrative.[81]

New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine. Cambridge, Mass. 1982, 40–42. A different view is taken by Diefenbach, Römische Erinnerungsräume (as footnote 68 above) 345–348, who assumes that the early Roman cult of the Pannonian martyrs has originated in a church on the Mount Coelius (titulus Aemiliana) and not in a subterranean catacomb as that on the Via Labicana.

78 All four appear in the passion of Saint Sebastian, and they convert to Christianity inspired by the suffering of the martyr. They are drowned by the soldiers – just like in the "original" narrative –, and they become martyrs. See the text in *ASS* Ian. II. (1643) 269.

79 On these refugees, see Mirković (as footnote 44 above) 57, and Guyon, Les Quatre Couronnés (as footnote 76 above) 520, footnote 1 and V. Popović, Le dernière évêque de Sirmium, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 21 (1975) 91–111, here 108–110.

80 Sirmium's supposedly last bishop, Sebastian, who lead the see between 567 and 582, probably fulfilled an important role in this. He led the refugees to Rome, and according to Popovic, he probably took part in the editing of the new passion (compare: Popovič, Le dernière évêque, as footnote 79 above, 109–110.) It is perhaps a residue to his role that the passage at the end of the passion relates how the "holy Sebastian" helped gather and bury the remains of the Roman soldier-martyrs? (See the text cited above.)

81 Guyon, Les Quatre Couronnés (as footnote 76 above) 516–529.

Conclusions to draw

In addition to the fact that the later histories of the above-mentioned martyrs seem to complement and mutually explain each other, they also allow us to get some insight into the beginnings of the Thessalonican veneration of Saint Demetrius, as well. For we have seen that in the background of these later legends around the Pannonian martyrs there often lie relics saved from the barbarian intrusions, such as in the case of Quirinus or Hermagoras, while in other cases it is simply the cult of saints radiating from Pannonia or Illyricum to North Italy or even to Rome, which eventually could also have been enriched by some relics, as in the case of Anastasia or the "Four Crowned Martyrs".

Why could this not have happened in the case of Saint Demetrius as well? We know that the Sirmian martyr-deacon was well-known enough that his veneration reached more distant churches as well, since his name appears even in the Syriac martyrology from the beginning of the 5th century.[82] Moreover, an important basilica was built in his honour as early as the late 4th century in Ravenna.[83] His cult, then, could have easily arrived in Thessalonica at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th centuries as well, where a church might even have been built in his honour.[84] However, it is also possible that his veneration, similarly to the above-mentioned cases, was also enriched by some relics being transported to Thessalonica in the wake of the barbarian invasions, perhaps even after the fall of Sirmium in 441–442, as in the case of Anastasia whose relics were translated to Constantinople in 470.[85] However, some 100–150 years later there might have been new, local Thessalonican narratives and legends created around the figure of the mysterious martyr Demetrius. Just as we have seen through the above-mentioned examples, where the passing of some 100–150 years after the arrival of the cult to a new place proved more than enough to obscure the memory of the "original" traditions, and to allow

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82 As footnote 8 above.

83 The church is mentioned by the historian of the church of Ravenna, Agnellus, in his work *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* written in the beginning of the 9th century. (Agnelli qui et Andreas liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX.* Hannover 1878, 271). Here he states in relation to the bishop Saint Apollinaris that once, when he was arrested, he was taken to a place about six miles from the city, where "today the old church of Saint Demetrius is standing" (*ubi ecclesia beati Demetrii antiqua structa est*). On the church itself, see G. Cortesi, La basilica della casa bianca, *Atti del I. Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini (Archeologia – Arte).* Ravenna 1966, 43–64.

84 Perhaps this is the small-format building mentioned in the *Passio prima* and excavated by the archeologists. Compare above footnotes 4 and 30.

85 See footnote 66 above.

new, local legends to be born in order to explain the veneration or the churches of the saints, of whom only the names had remained.

This is, then, what probably happened in the case of Saint Demetrius as well, whose basilica in Thessalonica – as we have already mentioned[86] – was probably founded in the first decade of the 6th century, about 100–150 years after the cult was thought to have been transported from Sirmium devastated by the Huns. Whereas the passions – since they all make mention of the Thessalonican basilica of Demetrius[87] – very probably stem from the period after the foundation of the martyr's basilica, for they try to give some kind of explanation for the existence of the church with their narrative about Leontios as its founder, a detail which is present in all three versions.[88]

This hypothesis seems to be supported by a still unnoticed attempt to identify the often mentioned prefect Leontios. According to Jean-Michel Spieser, the prefect Leontios mentioned in all versions of the passion should be identical to the Illyrian prefect Leontios, who is referred to by a number of sources in connection with the year 510.[89] For in this case the information given by the *Passio prima*, stating that the church in Thessalonica was built by a prefect named Leontios, would perfectly match the results brought to light by archaeology and art history. The basilica – just as it is recorded in the passions – would have been built by an Illyrian prefect called Leontios, sometime at the very beginning of the 6th century. In this case there would be no need for the earlier, rather complicated and shaky conjectures concerning the identity of this mysterious prefect Leontios which seem to rest rest on quite dubious foundations.[90]

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86 As footnote 31 above.

87 Spieser (as footnote 31 above) 214, footnote 315 who dates the *Passio prima* to the 6th century, while Skedros (Skedros, Saint Demetrios, as footnote 5, 24) puts the *Passio altera* to the 8th.

88 The foundation of the church in Thessalonica by Leontios is recorded in all three versions of the passion, with the difference that while in the *Passio prima* (Delehaye, Légendes grecques, as above footnote 1, 262) there is only a simple narrative about Leontios and the new church in Thessalonica, in the *Passio altera* (*ASS* Oct. IV (1780), 94D) and following the latter also the *tertia* (*ASS* Oct. IV (1780) 102E–F), connects Leontios with the foundation of the Sirmian church as well.

89 Spieser (as footnote 30 above) 214 footnote 315. Joannes Lydus also mentions the prefect Leontios in his *De magistratibus* 3, 17. (A.C. Bandy, Ioannes Lydus. On powers or the magistracies of the Roman state. Philadelphia 1983, 158), and so does the *Codex Justiniani* at several places (CJ 7, 39.6; CJ 1, 12.2.9). See the detailed references by J. Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, II (AD 395–527). Cambridge 1980, 672–673.

90 It was only Vickers and Popović who took this possibility into account, but Vickers considered the year 510 to be too late for the foundation if the Thessalonican basilica, and, therefore, did not accept this identification. While Popović rejected this view as being not reconcilable with the translation of the relics from Sirmium to Thessalonica.

The Prefect Leontios of the *Passio prima*

In the 18th century, the prefect in question was identified by the Bollandist Cornelius Byaeus with a certain Leontios who was prefect of Illyricum between 412–413, and it was he who had been considered by Byaeus to be the founder of the Thessalonican church.[91] This date, however, did not match the results of archeology and art history concerning the foundation date of the Thessalonican basilica, for the church, on the basis of its structure and style, seems to have been built later. Therefore, the view of András Alföldi and Michael Vickers cited above proved plausible, according to which the Leontios of the passions is identical to another Leontios, prefect of Constantinople who some time before his career in the capital – as Alföldi and Vickers argue – could possibly have been prefect of Illyricum.[92] However, no sources report that Leontios of Constantinople might ever have led the province of Illyricum around 441, nor that he should have been the one who carried the Sirmian Demetrius relics from the Hunnic aggression to Thessalonica. What's more, he is even depicted as a kind of pagan intellectual who became famous of his efforts to renew the traditions of the Olympic Games in Constantinople,[93] which plan he finally had to give up due to the bitter resistance of St Hypatius and his monks.[94]

Moreover, according to common scholarly opinion, the seat of the Illyrian prefect (the so-called *praefectus praetorio per Illyricum*) after the partition of the Roman Empire in 395 was no more in Sirmium, but in Thessalonica.[95] Therefore, when the Huns occupied Sirmium in 441–442, most probably a

See Vickers, Sirmium or Thessaloniki (as footnote 18 above) 340, footnote 17 and V. Popović, Die süddanubischen Provinzen in der Spätantike vom Ende des 4. bis zur Mitte des 5. Jh., in: Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jh., ed. B. Hansel. München/Berlin 1987, 95–139, here 101: "könnte der illyrische Präfekt Leontios von 510 keinerlei Verbindung mit der Übertragung des Kultes stehen".

91 *ASS* Oct. IV. (1790) 68C. This Leontius is listed as Leontius 5 by Martindale, Prosopography (as footnote 89 above) 668.

92 See p. 148 above.

93 See the references by Martindale, Prosopography (as footnote 89 above) 669 who lists him as Leontius 9–10 and on the basis of Vickers' arguments, considers them as one and the same person.

94 See Callinicus, *Vita Hypatii* 33,1–11. (ed. G. J.M. Bartelink, *Sources chrétiennes* 177 (1971) 215–219). On these events, see F. R. Trombley, Hellenic Religion and Christianisation, c. 370–529, II. Leiden, 1993, 83–85.

95 See e.g. E. Stein, Zur Geschichte von Illyricum (as footnote 45 above) 358 where he expressively writes that "die infolge der Reichsteilung von 395 geschaffene oströmische *praefectura praetorio per Illyricum* hatte ihren Sitz von Anfang an in Thessalonike und bestimmt nicht in Sirmium".

prefect had not been residing in the city.[96] The flight of the prefect from the Huns, as assumed by Alföldi and Vickers, cannot be conclusively proved. There is only one single written source which mentions the escape of the prefect from Sirmium to Thessalonica, a decree of Emperor Justinian issued in 535, which reads as follows:

> For since in ancient times there was a prefecture of Sirmium, the head of Illyria in civil and Episcopal matters, but it was subsequently, in the times of Attila, devastated, and Apraeemius, the praetorian prefect of the Sirmian state fled to Thessalonica… And since at the present time our state has been increased through the grace of God, so that both banks of the Danube wash our cities… we have thought it necessary to transfer the prefecture, formerly constituted in Pannonia, to our nearby fatherherland [i. e. Justiniana Prima].[97]

This novel, however, most probably contains a deliberate distortion. For in this law, the emperor created a new prefecture and thereby a new episcopal see as well in his native town of Justiniana Prima, not far from Sirmium (in the vicinity of what is today Caricin Grad). This prefecture was intended to oversee the northern part of Illyricum province, which was previously under Thessalonican rule, so the emperor had obviously curtailed the prerogatives of Thessalonica. Justinian then tried to justify this practical albeit probably not very popular decision among Thessalonicans with the obvious distortion that the prefecture used to be in the north, namely in Sirmium, and it had been transferred only temporarily to Thessalonica due to the devastation of Attila's Huns. So Justinian's decision to take the prefecture to Justiniana Prima, the successor of Sirmium, simply reinstated the old organization.[98] The only

[96] The same view is shared by J.-R. PALANQUE, Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du Bas-Empire. Paris 1933, 52–56; POPOVIĆ, Le dernière évêque (as footnote 79 above) 104–105 and V. POPOVIĆ, Die süddanubischen Provinzen (as above 89 footnote) 106–108.

[97] Justinian, Novella 11. 1–2.: R. SCHOELL/W. KROLL (eds.), Corpus iuris civilis, III. Novellae. Berolini 1895, 94: *Cum enim in antiquis temporibus Sirmii praefectura fuerat constituta, ibique omne fuerat Illyrici fastigium tam in civilibus quam in episcopalibus causis, postea autem Attilanis temporibus eiusdem locis devastatis Apraeemius praefectus praetorio de Sirmitana civitate in Thessalonicam profugus venerat,… Cum igitur in praesenti deo auctore ita nostra respublica aucta est, ut utraque ripa Danubii iam nostris civitatibus frequentaretur,… necessarium duximus ipsam gloriosissimam praefecturam, quae in Pannonia fuerat constituta, iuxta Pannoniam in nostra felicissima patria collocare.* English translation by F. H. BLUME, Annotated Justinian Code (http://uwacadweb.u-wyo.edu/blume&justinian/novel1–20/novel1–20.htm).

[98] This is interpretation of the law given by STEIN, Zur Geschichte von Illyricum (as footnote 45 above) 357–359; P. LEMERLE, Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans, *Revue Historique* 211 (1954) 265–308, here 267–269; POPOVIĆ, Le dernière évêque (as footnote 79 above) 102–104 and POPOVIĆ, Die süddanubischen Provinzen (as footnote 89 above) 107.

existing textual source for a possible translation of the seat of the prefect from Sirmium to Thessalonica, the famous Novella 11 of Justinian, then, cannot be used as trustworthy evidence concerning the history of the Illyrian prefecture.[99]

The prefecture of Illyricum, therefore, had moved to Thessalonica more than a century before the basilica was founded, and what's more, even the power of the prefecture itself had not extended to Sirmium which since 441 was occupied again and again by various barbarian forces. So Leontios, the founder of the church in Thessalonica cannot be identical to the alleged prefect of Illyricum as argued by Alföldi and Vickers, and the whole hypothesis about Leontius' saving of the relics from Sirmium to Thessalonica seems to be a late and apparently mistaken scholarly fiction. Therefore the only remaining claimant for the foundation of the church is the sixth century prefect Leontios as proposed by Spieser. It is only him who fits perfectly with the result of the archaeological and historical research concerning the basilica just as it is recorded by the *Passio prima.*

What shall we make then of the Sirmium subplot in the *Passio altera*, the narrative about Leontios' founding of another, Sirmian Demetrius church and his translation of some of the martyr's relics from Thessalonica to Sirmium?

The prefect Leontios of the *Passio altera* – the Sirmian connections

The "Sirmian additions", in my view, seem to play a similar role in the *Passio altera* as the narrative about St. Anastasia's capture, interrogation and torture in Sirmium placed in the middle of her later legend, namely they preserve details from the original story of the saint. For why else would the *Passio altera* mention that the giant gladiator, Lyaeus, the opponent of Demetrius' disciple, Nestor "defeated many not only in Rome, but in Sirmium as well",[100] a piece of information that would otherwise be impossible to interpret. It would be difficult to give any other explanation to the mention of Sirmium alongside Rome, the center of the Empire and Thessalonica, the location of the narrated events and – what is apparently not less important – the seat of the Illyrian prefecture as well, if there were no connections at all between Demetrius and Sirmium.

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99 See the harsh judgement of Stein, Zur Geschichte von Illyricum (as footnote 45 above) 359: "Damit ist erwiesen, daß Just. Nov. 11. als Geschichtsquelle für das V. Jahrhunderts wertlos ist."

100 *ASS* Oct. IV. (1780) 91A: οὐ μόνον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς εἰς τὸν λοῦδον ἀνῃρήκη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Σερμίῳ.

The same is true for another passage in the *Passio altera* providing a precise description of the location of the Demetrius church in the town of Sirmium,[101] and also for the whole narrative regarding its foundation by Leontius, which apparently plays an aetiological role as well. For it is typical of hagiographic literature to explain a current situation, building, or tradition posteriorly with a new narrative: a miracle or legend of the saint, or even by amending or rewriting his original story, just as we have observed in all of the above-mentioned Illyrian parallels. The *Passio altera* then obviously attempts to explain the origin of the St Demetrius church in Sirmium, which for some reason regained importance at the time of its composition.

But how could Sirmium and the Sirmian St Demetrius church have come to the centre of attention in Thessalonica at the time of the birth of the *Passio altera* so much that its author knew even the exact location of the martyr's church in Sirmium what he described as "near the laudable sanctuary of the victorious martyr Anastasia"? Such topographic awareness requires a forensic knowledge of the location, which would have only been possible during Byzantine rule of the city, or immediately afterwards, among exiles fleeing from their home. We know that Sirmium was under Byzantine rule for a very short time, from 567 till 582,[102] and even received an independent bishopric, led probably until the Avar conquest of 582 by Bishop Sebastian, who has already been mentioned in connection with the "Four Crowned Martyrs".[103] The *Passio altera* therefore was born sometime towards the end of this fifteen year period, probably after the 582 conquest of the city, when the fleeing Sirmians looked for refuge in the more distant and safer centres of the Empire.

After the fall of Sirmium, as we have seen in connection with the "Four Crowned Martyrs", one part of the Pannonian Christians fled to Rome, and the birth of the new "amalgam-legend" of the "Four Crowned Martyrs" combining the Pannonian and the local Roman traditions is probably related to their appearance there.[104] This is what probably should have happened in the case of the *Passio altera* as well, which also seems to be related to the appearance of Christians fleeing south of Sirmium to the capital of the province, Thessalon-

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101 *ASS* Oct. IV. (1780) 95A: πλησίον τοῦ σεβασμίου οἴκου τῆς καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας.

102 On the Byzantine period of the city see the sources collected in S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, Ein Versuch zur Sammlung und chronologischen Anordnung der griechischen Quellen der Awarengeschichte nebst einer Auswahl von anderssprachigen Quellen. Szeged 1972, 66–71 and their interpretation by Mirkovic (as footnote 44 above) 52–57 and more recently W. Pohl, Die Awaren: Ein Steppenvolk im Mitteleuropa, 567–822 N. Chr. München 2002, 52–70.

103 On the bishopry and bishop Sebastian, as footnote 80 above.

104 See page 161 above.

ica.[105] It is then the presence of these immigrants which may lie in the background of the sudden appearance of Sirmium and its St Demetrius tradition in Thessalonica, and the reason for the curious familiarity with Sirmian topography as well.

In light of all this, therefore, the *Passio altera* seems but a reconciliation of two distinct Demetrius traditions, the Sirmian and the local Thessalonican, but in sharp contrast with the case of the "Four Crowned Martyrs", strictly from the point of view of the "receiving party", the Thessalonicans. For if – to quote Delehaye – "the patron saint of a Roman church cannot die in Sirmium",[106] where else could the emergent and quite disturbing Sirmian Demetrius tradition have originated than from Thessalonica alone, which had since become the new home of the martyr.

The author of the *Passio altera* – who must have been active some hundred years after the proposed early 6th century foundation of the church – worked out his explanation of the Sirmian tradition by trying to compose a historically valid narrative. Based on Justinian's Novel 11, he was probably familiar with the tradition that Sirmium had once been the seat of the Illyrian prefecture.

The Novel would have had a considerable impact on Byzantine hagiography for we find its echoes even in the eight century *Life of St David of Thessalonica.* According to this legend, David, a sixth century solitary of Thessalonica, was asked by the archbishop of the city to travel to Constantinople and persuade the emperor Justinian to bring back the prefecture and the archbishopric to Thessalonica from its new place, the emperor's "fatherland", Justiniana Prima.[107] Curiously however, when speaking about the new location of the prefecture, instead of Justiniana Prima the text consistently mentions the town of Sirmium and depicts David as negotiating to avoid the diminution of Thessalonica in favour of Sirmium.[108] The inclusion of Sirmium

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105 After the capture of the city in 582, the inhabitants – exhausted after the siege and starvation lasting several months – could leave Sirmium unharmed. Indeed, most of the exiles fled towards the south, in the direction of Moesia and Dalmatia, according to the contemporary inscriptions. For the details on the siege, see the sources in: Szádeczky-Kardoss (as footnote 102 above) 71–72. There are two inscriptions by fleeing Sirmian Christians found in Salona: A. Dobó, Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae. Budapest 1975, Nr. 250–251. For the evaluation of these sources, see Mirkovic (as footnote 44 above) 57–58; V. Popović, Les témoins des invasions avaro-slaves dans l'Illyricum byzantin. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 87 (1975) 445–504, here 487 and Pohl (as footnote 102 above) 70–75.

106 Compare Delehaye, Études (as footnote 65 above) 162: «… il faut éviter de faire mourir à Sirmium la patrone d'un titre romain.»

107 V. Rose, Leben des heiligen David von Thessalonike. Berlin 1887, 9.

108 Cf. Rose, ibid. 9: ὅπως ἀναγάγῃ τῷ θειοτάτῳ βασιλεῖ Ἰουστινιανῷ,… ὅπως μεταστήσῃ τὴν ἐπαρχότητα ἐκ τοῦ Σιρμείου εἰς τὴν τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων πόλιν. Εν γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ἡ ἐπαρχότης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν τῷ Σιρμείῳ ἔπραττεν.

instead of the original name of Justinian's hometown is generally interpreted as a simple error of the eight century author of the *Life* who was probably influenced by the statement in Novel 11, that Sirmium once possessed the seat of the prefect and the archbishop.[109]

The same information about the Sirmian residence of the prefect might have been used by the author of the *Passio altera* as well. In this case however, it is not a simple mistake or lapse of memory that the text speaks about a prefects residing in Sirmium, but an intentional falsification. It seems to be a literary device to provide a prompt solution for the problem of the embarrassing Sirmian traditions concerning St Demetrius. Thus the author places the actual founder of the basilica, the 6th century prefect Leontios, into the legendary past – the *antiquis temporibus* as stated by the Novel – when the prefect still resided in Sirmium. Moreover, he depicts him as the founder of a St Demetrius church in Sirmium, which however is said to be built only secondarily, *after* the construction of the Thessalonican basilica, as a mere reflection or "souvenir" of the Thessalonican cult of the martyr.

With this small anachronism, the *Passio altera* has gained a twofold result. On the one hand the martyr's new home, Thessalonica, was glorified by showing that its piety towards St Demetrius and the basilica itself has its roots in the legendary past, *in antiquis temporibus.* On the other hand, the saint's newly appeared Sirmian connections also received a sufficient and soothing explanation by highlighting its secondary character compared to Thessalonica.

The proposed solution

In light of the above observations then, the Thessalonican Demetrius tradition – in accordance with the today generally accepted theory of Delehaye – indeed seems to have originated in Sirmium. The veneration of the Sirmian martyr – a deacon according to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* – had probably been rather well-known by the end of the 4th century, thereby reaching Ravenna and even appearing in the Syriac martyrology. This is probably how it had reached Thessalonica, near Sirmium, where it perhaps became fairly established. The cult probably gained more significance after the fall of Sirmium in 441–442, and might have even been enriched with relics from the occupied city. It eventually became so important that in the early 6th century the prefect Leontios residing in Thessalonica constructed a glorious basilica in Demetrius'

[109] See e.g. A.A. Vasiliev, Life of David of Thessalonica, *Traditio* 4 (1946) 115–147: 127; Skedros, Saint Demetrios (as footnote 5 above) 24–26 or more recently C. S. Snively, Thessaloniki Versus Justiniana Prima: A Rare Mention of the Conflict in the Life of Osios David of Thessaloniki, in *Niš and Byzantium Symposium.* Niš 2007, 55–61.

honour. By this time however, the original traditions concerning the saint's origin and martyrdom had already been forgotten, just as we have observed in the above-mentioned cases, and a new legend – the *Passio prima* – was created to explain the existence of his cult in Thessalonica, according to which Demetrius had been a saint of local, Thessalonican origins and the city was consequently depicted as the place of his birth as well as his life and martyrdom.

Not much later however the Byzantines retook possession of Sirmium, but some 15 years later in 582, the city fell into the hands of the Avars – this time for good. After the long and strenuous siege the Sirmians fled from the Avar expansion to the larger cities of the Empire, thereby arriving in Salona, in Rome, and most likely in Thessalonica as well, taking their own traditions concerning the saints of their city. This is how the "Sirmian connection" of Demetrius came into prominence in Thessalonica towards the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, and in all probability this is also why the *Passio altera*, which apparently makes a particular attempt to reconcile the two traditions, came into existence. It offered an answer, admittedly with some distortion, to the question of the Sirmian roots of the martyr by describing it as a mere descendant of the Thessalonican tradition.

Abstract

The question of the origins of the cult of the fourth century martyr, Demetrius of Thessalonica has been the focal point of hagiographical research since the first publication of his passions by the Bollandists in 1780. Since then there were the most divergent hypotheses put forward to explain the obscure beginnings of his Thessalonican basilica and his alleged connection to Sirmium and its martyred deacon, Demetrius. Different ideas and assumptions were proposed based on various art-historical, archaeological and literary observations, or sometimes relying only on national ideologies or even pure fantasy. However, there were no attempts made to put the whole problem into the wider context of the Illyrian hagiographic tradition and to make a detailed comparison between St Demetrius' cult and the afterlife of other Pannonian and Illyrian martyrs. In the present paper, then, after a critical analysis of the problem and its proposed solutions, a number of comparative case-studies will be carried out aiming to map the basic tendences of the afterlife of the martyrs of Late Antique Illyricum which presumably will help us to have a better view of the whole problem of the migration of the Illyrian martyrs and to provide a fresh solution for the origin and development of St Demetrius' cult.

URBAN OR RURAL? THEORETICAL REMARKS ON THE SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN BYZANTINE *EPIRUS* (7TH–11TH CENTURIES)

MYRTO VEIKOU / CRETE

Historical, topographical and archaeological studies of Middle Byzantine settlements (7th–11th centuries) have pointed out the distinction between town and countryside as a complex issue, especially when it comes to the earliest of these sites (those dated from the 7th to the late 9th century).[1] At least three conditions have hitherto kept this problem within the grey areas of research. While the first condition is independent of the problem itself, the other two are associated with methodological and theoretical approaches.

The first condition relates to the lack of relevant archaeological and historical evidence which still remains true for certain geographical areas (e. g. central mainland Greece or the Aegean).

The second condition is the presupposition of a bipolar pattern of distinct "urban" and "rural" spaces in habitation as well as the definitions of the terms "city", "town" and "village" in relevant discussions. Not only does there seem to be an underlying assumption that these definitions are clear-cut, but they are also attributed in similar ways by all scholars to specific kinds of contemporary settlements. The consequent application of the above bipolar pattern also to reconstructions of historical settlements obviously adds further complexity through the intervention of subjective historical interpretative criteria, which has been already questioned in the past.[2]

This paper constitutes the first part of an effort to re-evaluate the available analytical categories for settlements from an interdisciplinary post-processual approach. The second part – published as: 'Rural towns' and 'in-between' or 'third' spaces. Settlement patterns in Byzantine Epirus (7th–11th centuries) from an interdisciplinary approach. *Archeologia Medievale* 36 (2009) 43–54 – puts on the table the underlying assumptions in research that interpretations of historical settlement should take as a given a clear dichotomy between distinct 'urban' and 'rural' spaces and the bipolar 'urban-rural' hermeneutical schemes, based on recent archaeological and geographic research. A preliminary version of this text was presented during the Conference "Town and countryside in the Mediterranean" at the University of Athens in May 2007 (abstracts forthcoming in Greek).

1 G. Dagron, The Urban Economy, in A. Laiou (ed.) The Economic History of Byzantium. Princeton NJ 2002, 395.

2 W. Brandes, Byzantine cities in the seventh and eighth centuries – different sources, different histories?, in G.P. Brogiolo/B. Ward-Perkins (ed.), The idea and ideal of town between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, The transformation of the roman world 4. Leiden 1999, 25–26; J. Koder, Instrumenta Studiorum, Historical topography, in: XXe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, Collège de France

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Since the history of medieval settlement remains in many ways unknown, it is not possible to define an uninterrupted line of development of settlement or the exact points on it. This leads to the third and last source of difficulty in this discussion: our attempt to use the analytical categories of "urban" and "rural" spaces in order to define and explain settlements which appear during periods of rapid or radical settlement transformation and which may be of a rather more "hybrid" nature.
The scope of this paper is the investigation of the above conditions in relation to the problem of settlement-patterns, the question of the absence (or the making?) of urbanism in the Byzantine province of *Epiros* during the early Middle Ages (7th – 10th centuries) and its "rebirth" during the 11th–12th centuries. This investigation will involve an examination in two parts:

I. an account of the examples provided by two case-studies of settlements from Byzantine *Epiros*, set in the context of the archaeological and historical evidence, and

II. a reappraisal of the current interpretation of Byzantine settlements as "urban" or "rural" in the light of contemporary geographical approaches.

I. *Epirus* (ancient Greek Ἤπειρος) has been the name of two Early Byzantine provinces *(Epirus Vetus* and *Epirus Nova)* of the *Eastern Illyricum*, roughly corresponding to contemporary southern Albania and northwestern Greece. Ἤπειρος remained also in use as a geographical name[3] to designate the same geographical area during the 7th to 12th centuries, while a part of this area has preserved the same name until the present times.[4] During the Middle Byzantine period this was a mountainous landscape dominated by long river systems which provided communication between the hinterland and the rest of the Mediterranean Sea. It became the territory of the later themes of Νικόπολις and Κεφαλληνία, quite distant from the most important centres of the Middle Byzantine Empire and located near its western edge (hence it is often mentioned in Byzantine texts as *Δύσις*). The period between the 7th and 12th centuries in Epirus was marked by constant external threats and insecurity (as

Sorbonne, 19–25 août 2001, Pré-Actes, 1. Séances plénières. Paris 2001, 345–346; Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 399.

3 Ήπειρος remained in use together with the names of the Middle Byzantine themes in this area, Νικόπολις and Κεφαλληνία, as well as with the name Αἰτωλία and the name Δύσις (for a wider administrative division of the Byzantine State that is its western part). For a discussion of the use of these names during the 7th-12th centuries see M. Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις στην Βυζαντινή Ήπειρο από τον 7ο έως τον 12ο αιώνα. Μια τοπογραφία του μετασχηματισμού, Doctoral Diss. University of Athens (forthcoming as Byzantine Epirus: Settlements of the 7th–12th centuries. A Topography of Transformation). Athens 2007, 2–4.

4 The Modern Greek District of Epiros comprises the Prefectures of Ioannina, Thesprotia, Preveza and Arta, at the north-western part of the Greek mainland.

elsewhere) as well as by internal transformation and eventual development and prosperity.[5] Obviously, Byzantine control over this province was important for maintaining control over the Aegean and security in Greek mainland.

However, not much is known about the settlement of this province from the 7th to the 12th century. The evolution of the Early Byzantine cities during Late Antiquity has been recently discussed by J.-P. Sodini, W. Bowden and others.[6] All studies have shown that the Early Byzantine cities of this province were gradually abandoned or displaced from the middle of the 6th to the end of the 8th centuries as a result of general insecurity and the vulnerability of the Early Byzantine settlement sites. The migration of people is also a fact as is the settlement of Slavic populations attested by the names of new settlements appearing in the sources from the 9th century onwards.[7] This formed the beginning of the transformation of the earlier conditions.

Different aspects of this transformation of settlement in the southern part of this region as it developed through the Middle Byzantine period until 1204, have been the subject of an archaeological-topographical survey conducted as part of my doctoral research at the University of Athens, during the years 2000–2007.[8] That research considered historical evidence for settlement as well as published and original archaeological evidence consisting of religious and secular architecture, building inscriptions, pottery, metalwork, glasswork, sculptures, seals and coinage. The contextualization of the above evidence allowed putting on the map a substantial number of archaeological sites with Middle Byzantine references and/or material remains (**Fig. 1**). This map revealed a transformation of the form of habitation compared to that of the Early Byzantine period, as a result of an adaptation to the limitations posed by natural space and historical conditions. The sites demonstrate a geographical

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5 See J. Koder / P. Soustal, Nikopolis und Kephallenia. *TIB*, 3. Wien 1981; G. Prinzing, Μέση βυζαντινή περίοδος, $6^{ος}$ αι.–1204, in: Ήπειρος, 4000 χρόνια ιστορίας και πολιτισμού. Athens 1997, 189–196; E. Chrysos, Μέση βυζαντινή περίοδος, $6^{ος}$ αι. –1204, in: Ήπειρος, 4000 χρόνια ιστορίας και πολιτισμού (as above) 182–189.

6 J.-P. Sodini, The transformation of cities in Late Antiquity within the Provinces of Macedonia and Epirus, in A. G. Poulter (ed.), The transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and beyond. Oxford 2007, 311–336; W. Bowden, Epirus Vetus. The archaeology of a Late Antique province. London 2003; Chrysos, Πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδος, $4^{ος}$–$6^{ος}$ αι., in: Ήπειρος, 4000 χρόνια ιστορίας και πολιτισμού (as in footnote 5 above) 148–165; Idem, Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Ηπείρου κατά την πρωτοβυζαντινή εποχή (δ΄–στ΄ αιώνα), *Epeirotika Chronika* 23 (1981) 6–111.

7 Such names were Ῥωγοί, Βούνδιτζα, Δραγαμέστο, Κοζύλη, Πρέβεζα and others. See Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 29–33, 510–513.

8 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above). The region under consideration consisted of the modern prefectures of Preveza, Arta and Aetoloacarnania (including a total territory of approximately 8.500 km^2).



Fig. 1 Sites of the 7th to 12th centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania, Greece. Within the designated areas, the sites in reference to Byzantine *Acheloos* and *Arta*.
■ fortification – ● other remains – ○ church – ▲ cemetery

uniformity associated with specific conceptions and uses of space during that period as confirmed by their contemporary sources.

Moreover, the relatively homogeneous geographical distribution of Middle Byzantine sites raises some questions as to the interpretation of habitation in relation to the historical evidence. The information on 7th and 8th century habitation is scarce.[9] According to the *Notitiae*, by the end of the 9th century six major administration centres had been formed in this area of Epiros which was now part of the territory of the *theme of Nicopolis*: four episcopal sees under the names of Acheloos, Aetos (Ἀετός), Vonditza (Βόνδιτζα) and Rogoi (Ῥογοί or Ῥωγοί) subordinate to the Archbishopric of Naupactos (Ναύπακτος) and an archbishopric of Leucas (Λευκάς). If one considers the "theory of

9 The sources indicate a reduction of the Episcopal sees in the 7th century and the presence of just one, Nicopolis, in the 8th. See Chrysos, Μέση Βυζαντινή περίοδος (as footnote 5 above) 184–188.

central places"[10] the historical evidence on ecclesiastical administration might indicate a habitation pattern with a distribution of sites around six central places, one major and five minor. These settlement names are often confirmed by other sources together with two more settlements, Amvrakia (Ἀμβρακία) and Dragameston (Δραγαμεστόν).[11] Around the mid-11th century one more episcopal see and one settlement are attested, Kozyli (ἐπισκοπὴ Κοζύλης) and Anatolikon (Ἀνατολικόν), while in the mid-12th century one more bishopric appears, that of Arta (Ἄρτα). On the contrary, archaeology indicates an even distribution of sites corresponding to small-scale habitation scattered within wide areas, with the exception of two middle Byzantine sites, those near Naupactos and Arta.[12] On the basis of the proposed identification of episcopal sees as towns[13] the afore-mentioned settlements referred to as episcopal sees should be considered to have been urban ones. So, if one is to acknowledge some find-concentrations as corresponding to urban sites in this "scattered" habitation pattern, how might one distinguish between centres and periphery or between "urban" and "rural" settlement sites?

Among the outcomes of that research were two case-studies of settlements which constitute representative examples of the aforementioned problematic situation. These are attested in rather "opposite" ways: the first only by written sources and the second only by archaeological evidence. The first case is that of a settlement and episcopal see under the name of Acheloos (Ἀχελῷος) appearing in texts of the 9th–12th centuries but as yet unidentified due to absence of specific material remains. The second one is an important concentration of material remains of the 8th–11th centuries in the vicinity of the modern town of Arta (southern Epiros), which have not been identified with any settlement named in the sources until the middle of the 12th century – when a settlement named Arta (Ἄρτα) and its bishop finally appears in texts.

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10 The geographical theory of central places introduced by W. Christaller, Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland. Jena 1933, has been used for example by J. Koder to study the cities of Asia Minor during this period (6th–12th c.): J. Koder, Παρατηρήσεις στην οικιστική διάρθρωση της κεντρικής Μικράς Ασίας μετά τον 6ο αιώνα. Μια προσέγγιση από την οπτική γωνία της «Θεωρίας των κεντρικών τόπων». Byzantine Asia Minor (6th–12th c.), Institute for Byzantine Research International Symposium, 6. Athens 1998, 245–265.

11 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 54, 82–83, 99–100, 175–181, 274.

12 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 463–466.

13 On the association of the Byzantine urban geography with that of ecclesiastical administration see Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 398–399.

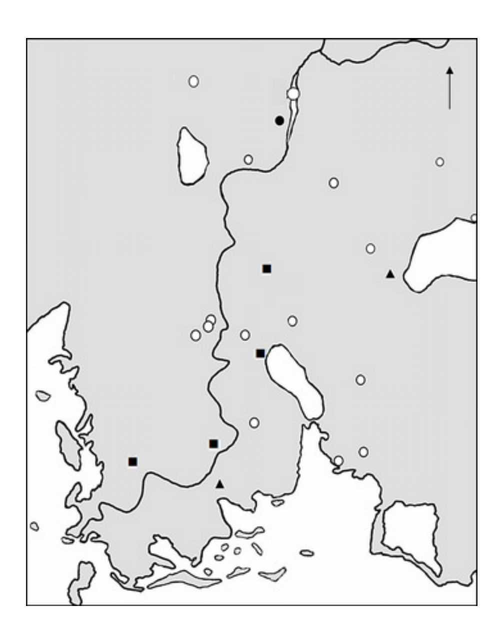


Fig. 2. Sites of the 7th to 12th century in proximity to Acheloos River.
■ fortification – ● other remains – ○ church – ▲ cemetery

1. Acheloos (Ἀχελῶος)

Acheloos is mentioned in Byzantine sources as the name of two things: a settlement and a river. The settlement is first mentioned as the seat of a bishopric subordinate to the metropolis of Naupactos during the time of Leo VI (886–912 AD). It is further mentioned in the Notitiae episcopatuum without interruption until the 12th century, when Benjamin of Tudela visited the settlement and wrote that "there lived 10 Jewish families".[14] In 1204 AD it is an ἐπίσκεψις assigned to Venice.[15] The river is mentioned also as Acheloos by Byzantine geographers and historians[16] and in the 10th century it is considered

[14] C. Megalomatis/A. Savidis (ed.), Βενιαμίν εκ Τουδέλης: Το Βιβλίο των Ταξιδιών στην Ευρώπη, την Ασία και την Αφρική, 1159–1173, translation by Ph. Vlachopoulou. Athens 1994, 12 ff.

[15] *Pertinentia de Achelo, Achello, Acheloi*: Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 101; A. Carile, Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965) 219, 263; G.L.F. Tafel/G.M. Thomas, Urkunden zur alteren Handels- und Staaten-Geschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante. Amsterdam 1964 (Wien [1]1856/67 I 470, 490, 494 (no. 121), II 120 ff. (no. 224).

[16] Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 102; S. Houby-Nielsen, Chalkis in Aetolia in ancient written sources and early modern travel accounts. A survey, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute in Athens* (1998) II, 244–245.

by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Liutprand of Cremona to be one of the highlights of the Theme of Nicopolis.[17]

The river name most probably refers to that of a river in the region of Aetolia-Acarnania of western Greece from antiquity to the present day (**Fig. 2**). Along the river are located several material remains of the 7th to 12th centuries. There have been several unsuccessful attempts to identify many of those sites with the settlement mentioned in the sources.

Research has since long sought material remains that could indicate the "form" of a Byzantine town but no such concentration of finds has ever been located. Alternatively, researchers looked for a Byzantine church of this period which would be sizeable and special enough to be the episcopal church.[18] There are several sizeable churches along the river. Two of these churches have the name Episcopi (i.e. "bishopric" in Greek): these are located one at the spring and one at the mouth of the river.[19] The first one dates from the 9th century while the second one was built in the 7th century and restored on several occasions during the 10th and 13th centuries. Other churches are scattered all along the river course: the Dyo-Ekklisies (i.e. "Two Churches" of the 9th and 10th centuries) and Hagioi Theodoroi (9th century) at Stamna, the Panagia (built in the 6th c. and restored during the 8th–9th century and later) at Zapandi, the Panagia at Paravola (with 6th-, 10th- and 13th-century construction phases), the Hagios Dimitrios at Matsouki, the Hagia Triada at Mavrikas and the cave monastery of Hagios-Nicolaos-Kremastos on Mount Arakynthos (10th–13th c.).[20]

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17 A. Pertusi (ed.), Constantino Porfirogenito, De Thematibus. Vaticano 1952, 8.21; J. Becker (ed.), Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona. 1977 (repr. of edition Hannover/Leipzig [3]1915) 208; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 102; V. Koutava-Delivoria, Ο γεωγραφικός κόσμος του Κωνσταντίνου του Πορφυρογέννητου. Athens 1993, v. II, 270.

18 Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 101; P. Vokotopoulos, Η εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική εις την Δυτικήν Στερεάν Ελλάδα και την Ήπειρον από του τέλους του 7ου μέχρι του τέλους του 10ου αιώνος. Thessaloniki [2]1992, 11; G. Papatrechas, Η Επισκοπή Αχελώου και η ομώνυμη βυζαντινή πόλη. *Archeia Etaireias Aetoloacarnanikon Spoudon* 1 (1958) 173–177; A. Paliouras, Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία. Athens [2]2004, 503–507.

19 The first church called Episcopi Evrytanias is nowadays under the waters of Kremaston Lake – see Vokotopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική (as footnote 18 above) 69–74. The second one is Episcopi or Hagios Giannis Riganas in the village of Mastron – see Vokotopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική (as footnote 18 above) 11–20, 95–105, 179–181; Paliouras, Αιτωλοακαρνανία (as footnote 18 above) 197–200; B. Katsaros, Αχελώος, συμβολή στο πρόβλημα της βυζαντινής πόλης, *Historikogeographika* 1 (1986) 43–52 1986: 43–52; Idem, Η θέση της επισκοπής Αχελώου. *Historikogeographika* 2 (1988) 198–201; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 202–203.

20 On the *Dyo Ekklisies* see Vokotopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική (as footnote 18 above) 41–44, 177–178; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 264. On Hagioi Theodoroi church see B. Katsaros, Μια ερειπωμένη εκκλησία με ανεικονικό διάκοσμο στο χωριό Σταμνά της Αιτωλίας, in: XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten,

Byzantine fortifications such as those at the fort of Angelokastron[21] and the tower at Katochi[22] have also been considered as the possible settlement location,[23] as well as the two 11th–12th century buildings within the Hellenistic

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II/5, *JÖB* 32/5 (1981) 397–406; Katsaros, Ο ναός των Αγίων Θεοδώρων της Αιτωλικής Σταμνάς, Αφιέρωμα στον Στυλιανό Πελεκανίδη, *Makedonica Supplements* 5. Thessaloniki 1983, 109–166; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 264. On Panagia church at Zapandi (also known as Megali Chora) see A. Orlandos, Η παρά το Ζαπάντι βασιλική της Μεγάλης Χώρας. *Archives of the Byzantine Monuments of Greece* 9 (1961) 43–53; G. Pallas, Η Παναγία της Σκριπούς ως μετάπλαση της παλαιοχριστιανικής αρχιτεκτονικής σε μεσαιωνική βυζαντινή. *Epeteris Etaireias Stereoelladikon Meleton* 6 (1977) 28–29; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 280; Paliouras, Αιτωλοακαρνανία (as footnote 18 above) 55, 170–172. On Panagia church at Paravola see Paliouras, Αιτωλοακαρνανία (as footnote 18 above) 53–55, 204–207; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 189. On the church of Hagios Dimitrios see D. Konstantios, Προβλήματα προστασίας, έρευνας και ανάδειξης των βυζαντινών μνημείων της Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, in: Α′ Αρχαιολογικό και Ιστορικό Συνέδριο Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, Αγρίνιο 21–23 Οκτωβρίου, 1988. Agrinio 1991, 603. The building has been dated in the Middle Byzantine period. It cannot be more precisely dated as it now is under the water of the Stratos reservoir. On Hagia Triada church see Vokotopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική (as footnote 19 above) 50–51; Paliouras, Αιτωλοακαρνανία (as footnote 18 above) 172–173, 433–439. Its first construction phase of 8th century was of unknown function while in the second and third phases during the 10th–12th centuries it must have been a *catholicon* of a monastery – see Paliouras, Αιτωλοακαρνανία (as footnote 18 above) 433–439. On the monastery of Kremastos see P. Vokotopoulos, Μεσαιωνικά Αιτωλίας και Ακαρνανίας. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 22 (1967) Chronika, B2, 327–328; B. Katsaros, Μια ακόμη μαρτυρία για τη βυζαντινή Μονή του Κρεμαστού. *Kleronomia* 12/II (1980) 367–388; Paliouras, Αιτωλοακαρνανία (as footnote 18 above) 187–196.

21 Orlandos, Το φρούριον του Αγγελοκάστρου. *Archives of the Byzantine Monuments of Greece* 9 (1961) 54–73; A. Portelanos, Οι Αρχαίες Αιτωλικές οχυρώσεις (PhD Diss., The University of Crete). Rethymnon – Athens 1998, I, 140–147; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 108. This Castle presents at least three distinct construction phases, of which one dates from the Ottoman period, one from the 13th–15th centuries and another one could belong to a much earlier construction phase dated within the Middle Byzantine period. Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 384–385.

22 The construction of such towers is now thought to be associated with later settlements that is Byzantine villages of the 13th–14th settlements. See A. Avraméa, Les villages de Thessalie, de Grèce centrale et de Péloponnèse, Ve–XIVe siècle, in J. Lefort/C. Morisson/ J.-P. Sodini (eds.), Les Villages dans l'Empire Byzantin. Paris 2005, 221. The tower location, moreover, in proximity to the large church of Mastron and on the road from Mastro to the 7th–15th c.– settlement of *Dragameston* (near modern Astakos) do not allow to exclude the possibility of the site of Katochi having also been settled during the 7th–12th centuries.

23 Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 101; F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, Voyage de la Grèce, II. Paris 1825, 277; M. Petropoulos, Η Αιτωλοακαρνανία κατά τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, Πρακτικά Α΄ Αρχαιολογικού και Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου Αιτωλοακαρνανίας (Αγρίνιο 21–23 Οκτ. 1988). Agrinio 1991, 114; L. Heuzey, Le Mont Olympe et l' Acarnanie. Paris 1860, 458.

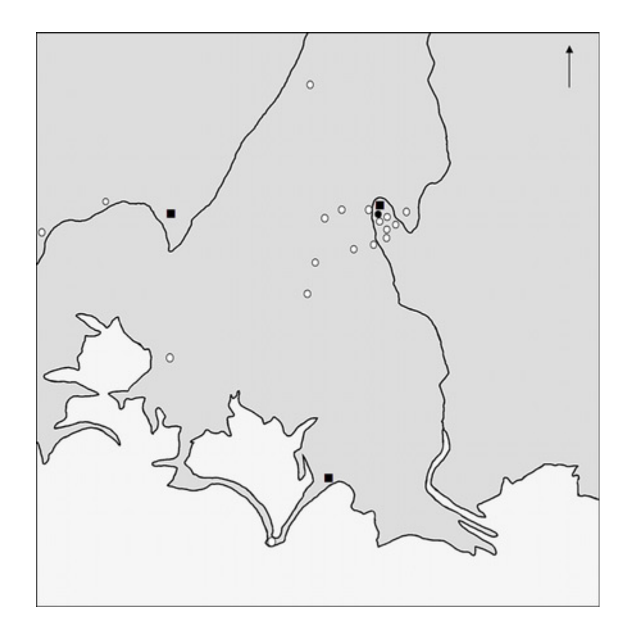


Figure 3. Sites of the 7th to 12th century in the vicinity of the city of Arta.
■ fortification – ● other remains – ○ church

fortified site of Stratos.[24] Other concentrations of material remains have also been identified with the settlement of Acheloos, such as those around Hagios-Georgios-Kissiotis[25] near Ochthia or at Aetolikon.[26] In fact, all along the course and valleys of the river there is a more or less even distribution of fairly equally important small-scale archaeological finds dating from the 7th to the 12th centuries (**Fig. 3**);[27] that is probably why Katsaros has in fact finally suggested that the episcopal see of Acheloos was linked to a network of settlements and must have been at times transferred among different locations along the river.[28]

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24 E.L. Schwandner, Stratos am Acheloos, η πόλη φάντασμα; in: Φηγός, τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σωτήρη Δάκαρη, Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων. Ioannina 1994, 459–465.

25 Paliouras, Αιτωλοακαρνανία (as footnote 18 above) 503–507.

26 D.M. Nicol, The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479. Cambridge ²1984, 222; Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 81, note 431.

27 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 512.

28 B. Katsaros, Το Πρόγραμμα έρευνας της βυζαντινής τοπογραφίας στην κοιλάδα του Αχελώου, πρόταση για μια νέα θεώρηση του χώρου, in: Πρακτικά Α′ Αρχαιολογικού και Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου Αιτωλοακαρνανίας (Αγρίνιο 21–23 Οκτ. 1988). Agrinio 1991, 324–327.

2. Arta (Ἄρτα)

The vicinity of the modern town of Arta near the northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf, in the southern part of the modern Prefecture of Epiros, presents a landscape very much transformed over time due to the alluvial process of the river Arachthos. Nevertheless, the concentration of material remains dated within the 8th–12th centuries remains quite important (**Fig. 3**). The earliest site is that of Hagios-Dimitrios-Tou-Katsouri (7th–8th century with later construction phases), at quite a large distance to the south of Arta.[29] From the 9th century onwards the locations of the settled sites seem to have approached the hill of the Castle of Arta and the area to the south on the banks of Arachthos River: Hagios-Vassilios-Tis-Gefyras (9th–12th centuries) Hagios-Nikolaos-at-Panda-Kopsia (9th–10th centuries) and several churches in the area of the city of Arta (10th–12th centuries).[30] Some parts of the hill fortifications date from the period from the 10th to the 12th centuries, now integrated in the later Castle.[31] Archaeological evidence from the whole area suggests that in this location there was a river-port settlement[32] clearly occupied at least from the 8th–9th centuries onwards, which developed into an important settlement during the 11th–12th centuries as shown by the abundance of material remains of this period (**Fig. 4**).[33] According to the available archaeological and historical evidence, this settlement further developed during the 13th century – a period in which one may suppose that it had some "urban" characteristics.[34] Not many material remains dating from

29 A. Orlandos, Τρεις ανέκδοτοι βυζαντινοί ναοί των περιχώρων της Άρτης. Athens 1922, 7–16; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 140; Vokotopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική (as footnote 18 above) 56–69, 181–183.

30 On Hagios Vasileios Gefyras see Orlandos, Τρεις ανέκδοτοι ναοί (as footnote 29 above) 3–6; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 115; Vokotopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική αρχιτεκτονική (as footnote 18 above) 45–49, 183–185. On Hagios Nikolaos at Panda Kopsia see P. Vokotopoulos, Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Αιτωλίας και Ακαρνανίας – Βυζαντινά, μεσαιωνικά και νεότερα μνημεία της Ηπείρου. *Archaiologikon Deltion* 27 (1972) Chronika B2, 465; Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 115. For a review of the material remains of churches of this period within the city of Arta and an account of previous relevant literature see Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 511.

31 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 395.

32 In relation possibly to the port named Phidokastron (Φιδόκαστρον) which later fell in misuse – see P. Soustal, Bompliana und das "Phidokastron": zwei mittelalterliche Festungen in der Umgebung von Arta (Epirus), in: Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Athènes, Septembre 1976, II – Art et Archéologie, B – Communications. Athens 1981, 718–720.

33 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 225–255.

34 This is basically reflected in that it served as the administration centre of the Late Byzantine independent state of Epirus, but also in its urban plan, large number of churches and evidence of industrial activity (pottery, sculptures etc.). On the later



Fig. 4. Sites of the 7th to 12th century in the area of the city of Arta.
■ fortification – ● other remains– ○ church – ▲ cemetery

the 9th to the 12th centuries have so far been located within the area surrounded by the fortification walls of the Castle of Arta.[35] On the other hand, quite extensive remainings are located around the foot of the hill and in sites scattered along the southern border of the contemporary town, along the route of Arachthos (**Fig. 2 and 3**).

This settlement in Arta, however, is not mentioned in the Middle Byzantine sources, certainly not in the list of the episcopal sees – at least not with its known earlier (Ἀμβρακία) or later (Ἄρτα) names. The names of the episcopal sees of Epirus mentioned during the 9th–12th centuries may be associated with other archaeological sites of this period on the basis of their place names.[36] A bishop of Arta is first mentioned as late as in the year 1157.[37] The mention of

development of Arta into an important urban centre see C. Papadimitriou, Άρτα, η νεότερη πόλη. Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη από το 1149 έως το 1946, Research Diss., Department of Architecture of the University of Patras. Patras 2004.

35 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 234–237.

36 Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 510–513.

37 Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 113; D.A. Zakythenos, Μελέται περί της επαρχιακής διοικήσεως και της διοικητικής διαιρέσεως εν τω βυζαντινώ κράτει, *EEBS* 21 (1951): 194–205; *PG*140, 180; I. Sakellion, Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη. Athens 1890, 317 ff.

Arta by this name in western sources as a settlement which was besieged by the Normans in 1082 AD (when Alexios I Comnenos tried to help out),and again in 1131 AD,[38] may be an indication that the location of that settlement was already then referred to by that name. Though its absence from Byzantine documents (including lead-seals) indicates that it was not one of the civil and religious administrative centres its prosperity might be traced to Arta being an ἐπίσκεψις; that is mentioned to have been assigned to Venice by 1204 AD.[39]

So, to briefly and simply illustrate the problem, one has to deal, in the case of Acheloos, with a town mentioned in the sources as opposed to a "scattered settlement pattern" produced by the archaeological account and, in the case of Arta, with a rather "concentrated" density of finds dating from the 9th to the 11th centuries not corresponding to any historical reference of a large nucleated settlement until much later (middle of 12th century).

II. The three problems may be defined as follows:

1. In the case of Acheloos, a settlement-episcopal see is mentioned in the sources but it corresponds to a "non-urban-like" archaeological context.

2. In the case of Arta, such a density of finds potentially corresponding to an important, nuclear, "urban-like" settlement is not cited in any similar historical reference.

3. In the case of the whole region, there is a general difficulty of associating specific 7th–12th century archaeological contexts with

a) the reconstructions of Middle Byzantine habitation which derive from the 9th–12th century historical evidence, and
b) corresponding well-defined analytical categories of Byzantine settlements resulting from the combination of historical and archaeological evidence.

So was there nuclear or dispersed habitation or both? If there were nuclear settlements, how may one make hypotheses that they were villages or towns? In the end, are these problems common or exceptional compared to the habitation of other Byzantine provinces? Which are the available analytical categories of settlements in the history and archaeology of Middle Byzantine habitation?

The problem of the definition of Middle Byzantine settlements is familiar and extensively investigated in both general accounts and case studies, as discussed below. The "end of the ancient world" meaning the beginning of a transformation of habitation from the middle of the 6th and during the 7th or

38 Koder/Soustal (as footnote 5 above) 113.

39 As *pertinentia de Arta.* See Tafel/Thomas, *Urkunden* (as footnote 15 above) I 470, 490, no. 121; II 121 no. 224.

even 8th century (with local variations) is a well attested phenomenon around the Mediterranean.[40] The historically and archaeologically attested large Early Byzantine urban centres either survived or disappeared or were relocated; in any case they changed between the end of the 6th and the middle of the 9th (or 10th) centuries – in appearance, in function and in definition.[41]

The causes of such a complex phenomenon must have been certainly diverse,[42] still, one basic factor of this transformation[43] was the fact that with the state's control over the economy ensured by a radical change of role of the *kommerkiarioi* – a practice later integrated in the *theme* system[44] – administrative, fiscal and military control over the provinces was no longer exercised through a network of cities.[45] The state's attention was transferred from towns to rural settlements as key elements in its fiscal administration.[46]

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40 To cite only a brief selection among the extensive relative literature: G. Dagron, Les villes dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin, in: Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin (Actes de Colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome, Rome 12–14 mai 1982), *École Française de Rome* 77. Rome 1984, 10–20; J.-M. Spieser, L'évolution de la ville byzantine de l'époque paléochrétienne à l'iconoclasme, in J. Lefort/C. Morisson (eds.), Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, I (IVe–VIIe siècle). Paris 1989, 97–106; W. Brandes, Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert, *BBA*, *56.* Berlin 1989; J. Durliat, De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances. *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 136. Paris 1990, 590–594; J.-P. Sodini, La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin (IVe–VIIe siècle). *DOP* 47 (1993) 139; T. Loungis, Η εξέλιξη της βυζαντινής πόλης από τον 4° στο 12° αιώνα, *Byzantiaka* 16 (1996) 35–67; Brandes, Byzantine cities (as footnote 3 above) 25–57; J.F. Haldon, Byzantium in the 7th Century. Cambridge 1997; J.F. Haldon, The idea of the town in the Byzantine empire, in Brogiolo/Ward-Perkins(eds.),The idea and ideal of town (as footnote 2 above) 1–23; W. Brandes/J.F. Haldon, Towns, tax and transformation: state, cities and their hinterlands in the east roman world, c. 500–800, in G.P. Brogiolo/N. Gauthier/N. Christie (eds.), Towns and their territories between the Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The transformation of the roman world, 9. Leiden 2000, 141–172; Ch. Bouras, Aspects of the Byzantine City, eighth–fifteenth centuries, in Laiou (ed.), Economic history (as footnote 1 above) 489–520.

41 Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 400.

42 Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 149.

43 The term "transformation" is preferred to describe the changes that took place from the 6th to the 8th century, against that of "transition" appearing more frequently in relevant debate, not only because of the lack of a linear evolution from a starting to an ending point presupposed by "transition" but also due to the complexity of the phenomenon. See J.F. Haldon, Some considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century. *BF* 10 (1985) 76–78, 111–112; J.F. Haldon, Byzantium in the 7th Century. Cambridge 1997.

44 Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 164 ff.; Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 392.

45 Haldon, Considerations (as footnote 43 above) 87–90; Spieser (as footnote 40 above) 102–106; Dagron, Villes (as footnote 40 above); Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 148–150.

The successive state of habitation (until the end of the 9th or the 10th century with local variations) has been described by the rather self-contradictory terms of "ruralization of cities" and "ruralised towns",[47] since the result of this phenomenon was a general ruralization of the Byzantine society and a predominance of rural settlements.[48] These "rural" settlements are mentioned in the sources as *χωρίον, κώμη, κωμόπολις, πολίχνιον, πόλισμα, πόλις, κάστρον, φρούριον.*[49] It has been suggested though that there must not have been any great difference between town and village during this period.[50] Were there some degree of differentiation among rural settlements in terms of their size or relative importance, the differentiating criteria which would signify some of them as "towns" would have been the following: "first the sense of market centre, where producers from the area would assemble at regular intervals to buy, sell or exchange goods ; second, as defensive enclosures and consequently as the location for local political power, and thus as foci for military, strategic or administrative needs ; and third as cult or religious centres".[51] In that respect, episcopal sees have been directly associated with "urban" settlements (towns) in the literature,[52] an assumption probably originating in the 6th century definition of a *πόλις* as a settlement having its own bishop.[53]

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46 Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 149, 171.

47 J. Lefort/C. Morrisson/J.-P. Sodini, Introduction, Les Villages dans l'Empire Byzantin. Paris 2005, 18; Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 398; B. Bavant, Caričin Grad and the Changes in the Nature of Urbanism in the Central Balkans in the Sixth Century, in Poulter (ed.), Transition (as footnote 6 above) 378.

48 Lefort/Morrisson/Sodini (as footnote 47 above) 18–19; J. Lefort, The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries, in Laiou (ed.), Economic History (as footnote 1 above) 275; Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 149.

49 See for example Brandes, Byzantine cities (as footnote 2 above) 25–29; Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 10–16; Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 141–172; E. A. Zachariadou, Πολίχνη και πολίχνιον, Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Σβορώνο I. Rethymno 1986, 242–247.

50 Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 393–394. W. Brandes has shown that the use of the terms "πόλις" and "κάστρον" during the 6th and 7th centuries already demonstrated a gradual confusion of use – see: Die Städte (as footnote 40 above) 31–35. Then maybe their form was similar (if any real distinction between them existed at all)? J. Haldon discusses how Simocatta, in the early 7th century, also uses the terms "πόλις", "πόλισμα" and "φρούριον" to refer to the same settlement in three different occasions (The idea of the town, as footnote 40 above, 11); Brandes, Byzantine cities (as footnote 2 above).

51 Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 141; See also Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 401.

52 Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 398–399.

53 In the Justinian Codex (I 3, 35) – cf. Spieser (as footnote 40 above) 101, who considers the αξίωμα πόλεως to be of an earlier date. Also see N. Moutsopoulos, Η βυζαντινή πόλη. *Archaiologia kai technes* 64 (September 1997) 32–33.

Such towns, namely "urban" settlements of a type very different than before – in that they were non-State-orientated urban centres – seem to have indeed evolved organically from the 9th century and beyond.[54] These appear in literature under the terms of "*πόλεις*" or "*κάστρα*" and more often as "*πόλεις-κάστρα*"; within the modern Greek regions adjacent to Epiros such *πόλεις-κάστρα* have been identified with archaeological sites such as those at Monemvasia, Corinth, Thebes, or even Athens, Pydna, Rendina etc.[55] Brandes notes that most of such towns mentioned by Theophanes were also episcopal sees.[56] The evolution of these settlements is to be most probably associated with the rise of a military – at first – and land-owning –later – aristocracy which sprang from a monopolizing of offices by the higher state officers Byzantine provinces.[57] These archaeologically familiar spatial formations in the sources under a variety of terms: "*ἄστυ*", "*πόλις*", "*κάστρο*", "*φρούριο*".[58] There is therefore great difficulty in associating each of these terms with a specific, archaeologically determined form of settlement, not only due to the dearth of relative archaeological research but also because a confusion of these terms is attested in the Byzantine texts themselves.[59] Therefore, it would not be appropriate to consider that the use of different terms suggests great differences even among these settlements, especially as to their form.

Due to the frequent confusion of the afore-mentioned terms in the sources of the 9th and 10th centuries or later, there has been a gradually formed and established notion of the towns of this period having the form of a *κάστρον* (meaning "castle" in modern Greek) that is an urban centre surrounded by fortification walls. Haldon has suggested that the term "*κάστρον*" was used in a more regular way during the 9th and 10th centuries regardless of the form of the settlement until the middle of the 10th century when it prevailed as a term

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54 That is – I quote Brandes/ Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 171 – "they emerged with no State role at all (except as defensive or administrative centres, but not as necessary elements of a set of fiscal administrative structures upon which the State depended for the extraction of resources), in the context of the needs of their hinterlands for centres of exchange". Cf. Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 9.

55 For a description of this analytical category of Byzantine settlement in archaeology see: Bouras (as footnote 40 above) 499 ff. and especially 501, 504–528.

56 Brandes, Städte (as footnote 41 above) 38–39. Cf. Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 13.

57 Loungis (as footnote 41 above) 55–67; Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 19–20; Brandes/Haldon, Towns (as footnote 40 above) 172.

58 Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 16–23; Dagron, Urban Economy (as footnote 1 above) 400–405.

59 See Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 16; Loungis (as footnote 40 above) 57–65; Whittow(as footnote 41 above) 66–67.

to describe the "urban settlement.[60] Koutava-Delivoria suggests that in the texts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus the *"κάστρον"* is synonymous with the *"φρούριον",* both signifying a fortified township or entrenchment.[61] However, on the one hand Porphyrogenitus' texts cannot be considered as books of geography and, on the other hand, Porphyrogenitus could be well correct in that many *κάστρα* might at that time have morphological – or even some functional – similarities to forts. The terms πόλις and ἄστυ on the other hand tend to dominate in literary – not official – sources during the 11th and 12th centuries.[62]

All the above have principally led to the conclusion (and to the consequent construction of an analytical category in Byzantine settlement research) that the larger settlements of the 9th–12th centuries were the "poleis-castra" (towns having the form of castles),[63] where the underlying assumption that at that time a *κάστρον* meant a fortified castle-like site is more than obvious.

So did the Episcopal sees at southern Epiros correspond to such "poleis-castra"? The afore-mentioned construction is in my opinion the heart of the problem. Namely, the direct association of Episcopal see, town and fortification walls is the reason why the previous investigation of Middle Byzantine *Acheloos* has not succeeded in identifying the settlement – Episcopal see of the sources with a "Byzantine fortified township" – i.e. a Byzantine castle surrounded by settlement, such as Monemvasia for instance – or a great density of archaeological remains or impressive buildings such as big churches in *one* place. In the case of Arta, although there does exist a Byzantine castle surrounded by a concentration of settlement-like finds dating from the 8th until the end of the 11th centuries (finds most dense and of most impressive quality and variety within the whole region) this is also the reason why research has

60 Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 16. On this word use, see also A. Constantopoulou, Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλονίκη: χώρος και ιδεολογία. Thessaloniki 1996, 16–17.

61 Koutava-Delivoria (as footnote 17 above) vol. I, 249–251.

62 Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 41above) 17.

63 J. Koder, Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος (Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner 1984[1], Greek translation by D. Stathakopoulos). Thessaloniki 2005, 169; Haldon, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above); A.W. Dunn, The transition from *polis* to *kastron* in the Balkans (III – VII cc.): general and regional perspectives, *BMGS* 18 (1994) 60–80; Bouras(as footnote 40 above) 493; Brandes, Byzantine cities (as footnote 2 above); Loungis (as footnote 40 above); N. Moutsopoulos, Η βυζαντινή πόλη, *Archaiologia kai technes* 64 (September 1997) 32–33; Durliat (as footnote 40 above) 590–594, 604–605; Spieser (as footnote 40 above) 97–106; P. Tivcev, Sur les cités byzantines aux XI[e]–XII[e] siècles. *Byzantinobulgarica* 1 (1962) 145–182; D. Evgenidou (ed.), Μονεμβασία. Athens 2001, 61–62; N. Bakirtzis/Ph. Oreopoulos, An essay on Byzantine fortification, Northern Greece 4th–15th century, a Catalogue for the Exposition: Byzantine Hours – Works and Days in Byzantium, Thessaloniki October 2001 – January 2002. Athens 2001, 29–33.

been unable to identify it with any settlement mentioned in contemporary sources. So if episcopal sees from the 9th to the 11th centuries indicate the presence of "poleis-castra", that is fortified urban settlements, as so far suggested, why are these elements not directly associated with the evidence for settlement in the case of southern Epiros?

There is always the possibility that this is due to the paucity of archaeological research. It is also possible that the direct association of episcopal see, town and fortification should be re-evaluated for the specific period of time on the basis of the available archaeological evidence. The association of town and fortification, to begin with, as well as its subsequent impediments in settlement interpretation, might be due to a misinterpretation of the term "*πόλις-κάστρον*". Brandes has shown how the word "*κάστρον*" – which in modern Greek means clearly the Roman or Byzantine fortification surrounding a town as well as the town surrounded by the fortifications[64] – was not Byzantine neither did it have such a meaning then. It originated from the Latin word "*castrum*", meaning originally in plural (*castra, orum*) the provisional military camp[65], and was introduced in Byzantine military language as *κάστρον* in the 6th century (it was then a word borrowed from Latin which no educated Byzantine would even consider using).[66]

This term was used from the middle of the 10th century onwards to describe the urban settlement. What was the *castrum* then? It was the fortified village on hilltops resulting from the phenomenon of the *incastellamento* which began in Latium around the 9th century or even earlier (with local variations) and was completed by the 11th century.[67] The predominance of this type of settlement in the region of Latium[68] was not due to external threat (as originally thought to have been); it was instead an internal process related to population increase and the rising feudal class aiming to control the local rural populations.[69] So the term "*κάστρο*" did not mean "fortification" in Medieval

64 Μέγα Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας. Dimitrakos Editions, Athens 1950, 3655. The more recent Dictionary of common Modern Greek language by The Manolis Triandaphyllidis Foundation (electronic edition Thessaloniki 1998, entry: κάστρο, το) mentions a few further uses of the word, as follows: a) walls fortifying a settlement, a town or a site of strategic importance and further the town or location surrounded by fortification walls, b) a fortified residence of feudal patron or tower, and c) a site where strong resistance is exercised against external pressure or influence, a fort.

65 S. Koumanoudis, *LatinGreek Dictionary* (ed. 2006) 108 (castrum).

66 Brandes, Byzantine cities (as footnote 2 above) 29.

67 P. Toubert, Les structures de Latium médiéval. Rome 1973.

68 This phenomenon has also been recorded in Italy and around the Mediterranean. See A. Bazzana/P. Guichard/J.-M. Poisson (eds.), Habitats fortifiés et organisation de l'espace en Méditerranée médiévale: Table Ronde tenue à Lyon les 4 et 5 mai 1982. *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient*, 4 / *Castrum*, 1. Lyon 1983.

69 Toubert, Structures (as footnote 67 above).

Greek – as it does in Greek – neither does it mean a town surrounded by fortification walls. On the contrary, when it was used, the *castrum* a fortified, that is a protected settlement a hilltop. The use of the word could have been carrying some of the socio-economic or even merely the morphological connotations of its contemporary western *castrum.*

While several phenomena involving a development of settlement patterns similar to the *incastellamento* have been observed around the Western Mediterranean, it is now known that the transformation of settlement in Europe, Byzantium and the southern Mediterranean during the period in question was a much more complex phenomenon and produced a multiformity of settlement.[70] For example the transformation of settlement in some regions including Byzantium within the 6th to 9th centuries seems to have involved not a total abandonment of former urban sites in favour of new fortified hilltop settlements but rather a radical change in the way of settlement in the same area.[71] When it comes to Byzantium, the use of the term *κάστρον* does not seem directly associated with a socio-economic organization similar to that of the West, it rather refers to that period's organised efforts to exploit the countryside which took place in Byzantium – as did also in the West – but did not have the same results in habitation as in the West. In brief, the use of *κάστρον* in Byzantium seems to have probably been a loan-word bearing certain connotations with a specific kind of settlements (i.e. the *castra*) formed in the West during that time. In my opinion, those connotations were relevant to the fact that both *kastra* and *castra* were associated with fortification walls and connected with the development of agrarian economies – not to the administrative and socio-political role of either settlements nor to their form.

Picking up the case of Epiros again, the uninterrupted construction and restoration of churches – of which some are sizeable and all are located outside fortified areas, the construction of fortifications and the abundance of other finds in the regions of Acheloos River and Arta during the 7th–12th centuries

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70 On these phenomena see BAZZANA/GUICHARD/POISSON (eds.), Habitats fortifiés (as footnote 68 above). The use of the term *incastellamento* outside Italy, though, has been questioned by C. WICKHAM (L'incastellamento e I suoi destini, undici anni dopo il Latium di P. Toubert, in: Structures de l'habitat et occupation du sol dans les pays méditerranéens, Les méthodes et l'apport de l'archéologie extensive. *Castrum*, 2. Rome/Madrid 1988, 411–420).

71 See e.g. HALDON, The idea of the town (as footnote 40 above) 12; BAZZANA/GUICHARD/POISSON (as footnote 68 above) and especially: A. BAZZANA, Typologie: les habitats fortifiés du Sharq al-Andalus, 19–27; V. DALLIERE-BENELHADJ, Le château en al-Andalus: un problème de terminologie, 63–67; P. GUICHARD, Géographie historique et histoire sociale des habitats fortifiés ruraux de la région valencienne, 87–93; J. HENNING, Early European Towns, in J. HENNING (ed.), Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in the Europe and Byzantium. Berlin 2007, 3–40; M. MCCORMICK, Where do trading towns come from? Early medieval Venice and the northern *emporia*, in: HENNING ibid., 41–68.

confirm that these regions were inhabited. The locations of architectural remains on hilltops, along the rivers and in close proximity to the main roads bring to mind the usual pattern of Byzantine villages.[72] Had there been five settlement formations amongst these villages which were considered to be urban – that is "towns" – on the basis of the criteria discussed above, archaeology indicates that these "urban settlements" from the 8th until the end of the 11th century: a) might not fall in the archaeological analytical category so-called "polis-kastron" and b) might not necessarily identify with the names of bishoprics known from the sources of that period. That is the recurrent deduction – Middle-Byzantine episcopal see = Middle-Byzantine *πόλις-κάστρον* = urban settlement partly surrounded by fortification walls – may not apply to the case of southern Epirus.[73] On the contrary, the same deduction seems to apply in both the cases of Acheloos and Arta after the 11th century.

Hence, the common historical model of network for the Byzantine agrarian civilization, consisting of a structural relationship between a *πόλις-κάστρον* inside and around which population settles in well-defined villages divided into sectors with different uses[74] may not have been the only existing form of settlement-pattern during the 7th–11th centuries (or perhaps even later). Therefore, the lack of find concentrations which may be easily interpreted as corresponding to "urban" formations of "poleis-castra" which are also mentioned as episcopal sees should not be attributed to the paucity of research alone. Among the urban, military and rural Byzantine fortifications, the latter, which I consider to have been preponderant in southern Epiros during the period under consideration, served either as permanent townships or as *refugia* inhabited only during emergencies. In both cases, the castle served as a centre for the population of the neighboring areas, who lived in unfortified "open" villages or hamlets within a two-hour distance from the castle.[75]

72 Lefort, Rural Economy (as footnote 48 above) 273; Laiou, The Byzantine Village (5th–14th century), in Lefort/Morrisson/Sodini (as footnote 22 above) 31–54.

73 This is suggested on the grounds of the fact that settlements might be generally referred to as *castra* in the sources regardless if they are surrounded by fortification walls or if they are not surrounded but referring to some fortification. It can definitely not be deduced from the sources that populations were usually assembled within urban sites surrounded by fortification walls.

74 Toubert, Byzantium and the Mediterranean Agrarian civilization, in Laiou (ed.), Economic History (as footnote 2 above) 382–383; Lefort, Rural Economy (as footnote 48 above) 231–252; Koder, Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος (as footnote 63 above) 165–170.

75 Lefort, Rural Economy (as footnote 48 above) 236–237, 275–279. Similar settlement patterns are also attested elsewhere in the Mediterranean during this period: see the works cited in footnote 69 as well as those by J. Lefort/J. Martin and the conclusions by P. Toubert in the same volume: J. Lefort/ J. Martin, Fortifications et pouvoirs en Méditerranée, X^e^–XIIe siècles, in Bazzana/Guichard/Poisson (as footnote 68 above) 197–207; Toubert, Conclusion, in Bazzana/Guichard/Poisson, ibid. 209–213. Also see

Although these castles might have included some dignitary's residence or church, they were preserved and controlled principally by local communities.[76] Several such scattered rural settlements would have formed a bishopric whose see would have been a kind of "hybrid" settlement – that is combining both rural character and some more urban functions regardless of its form.[77] Thus the episcopal sees mentioned in the sources from the 9th until the end of the 11th century consisted of several such rural settlements or "hybrid" rural-urban settlements and their territory might have extended over a large area. In brief, a bishopric in this case does not seem to refer to an "urban" settlement and its hinterland (as was perhaps the case in other Byzantine regions or as it happened even in Epiros after the 11th century), but instead to a concentration of population and the existence of a Byzantine community (or communities) within a geographical region.[78] This view is further encouraged by the clearly preponderant pastoral economy of this specific region of southern Epiros and its largely transhumant populations,[79] its very unstable geology and limited land suitable for agriculture.[80] The difference between "in-field" agricultural

M. Whittow, Rural fortifications in Western Europe and Byzantium, 10th–12th centuries, in S. Efthymiadis/C. Rapp/D. Tsougarakis (ed.), Bosphorus, Essays in honour of Cyril Mango presented in Oxford, 6 July 1995. *BF* 21 (1995) 57–74.

76 Koder, Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος (as footnote 63 above) 170–171, 182; This is also described by Muslim geographers as discussed by Haldon, Considerations (as footnote 43 above) 92–93.

77 See the discussion of the evidence from Muslim texts describing Byzantium as a "land of fortresses and villages": Haldon, Considerations (as footnote 44 above) 94.

That is most probably not the case with the very few settlements which appear to have been of a more "urban" nature (of the socalled "poliscastron" type) during later periods (mid–11th to 13th centuries. Such settlements were Arta (as discussed above), Vonditza (at the place of modern Vonitsa) and Acheloos (at a site along the river's upper course). An exception, moreover, could be 10th-century-Naupaktos (at the place of the modern town) which seems to be an urban centre as early as the 10th century. For all the above sites see Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 461–466.

78 Maybe in a way similar to the way Modern Greek municipalities (*dimoi*) of the so-called *Capodistrias Reform* consist of several minor village communities (the previous *koinotites*).

79 Among the nomad pastoral populations, the Vlachs and Slavs are very well attested in Middle Byzantine Epirus: see Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 30–32. On the economy of Slavs and Vlachs in Byzantium see Lefort, Rural Economy (as footnote 48 above) 245, 265.

80 Most of the modern lowlands of the region consist of alluvial deposits which increased dramatically some time during the Middle Byzantine period. See E. Fouache, L'alluvionnement historique en Grèce Occidentale et au Péloponnèse. Paris 1999; S. Papageorgiou/S. Steiros, Μεταβολή παλαιοαναγλύφου, σεισμική δραστηριότητα και αρχαιολογική έρευνα στη βορειοδυτική Ελλάδα, in: Πρακτικά Πρώτου Αρχαιολογικού και Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, Αγρίνιο 21–23 Οκτωβρίου 1988. Agrinio 1988, 233–241; Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above). The same fact is noticed

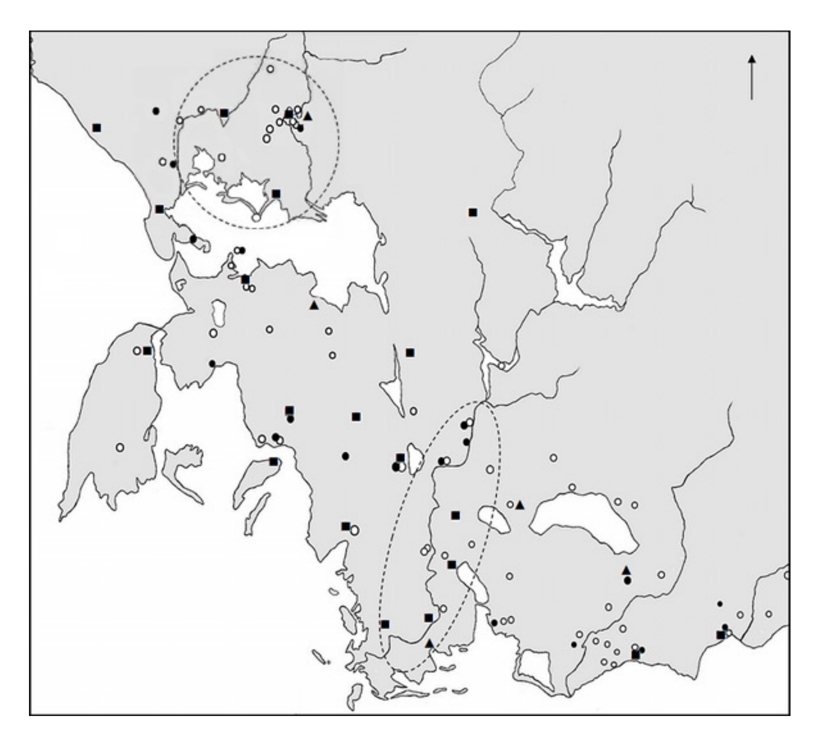


Fig. 5 Schematic reconstruction of the approximate territories of the Middle-Byzantine bishoprics of Acheloos and Rogoi until the mid-11th century.
■ fortification – ● other remains – ○ church – ▲ cemetery

and "out-field" pastoral communities[81] has been shown to have had an impact on settlement patterns. Such were the cases of a settlement at Nichoria and rural habitats in Serbia, with nucleated settlements for farmers and occasional settlements for shepherds organised in small clusters scattered over wide areas.[82] The location of Epirus on the western borders, the constant external raids and threats causing general instability would have further increased the insecurity and some reluctance to investment in land and permanent settling. Small periodic settlements and fortifications of the type of the *refugia* might have been more of a priority than "poleis-castra".

elsewhere in central Greece – see e.g. A. Dunn, The exploitation and control of woodland and scrubland in the Byzantine world. *BMGS* 16 (1992) 244–246; Avraméa (as footnote 22 above) 217.

81 Toubert, Agrarian civilization (as footnote 74 above) 382–383.

82 Laiou, Village (as footnote 72 above) 45 W.A. McDonald/W.E. Coulson/ J. Rosser, Excavations at Nichoria in south-western Greece, III, Dark Ages and the Byzantine Occupation. Minneapolis 1983, 376–377, 423; L. Maksimović/ M. Popović, Le village en Serbie médiévale, in Lefort/Morrisson/Sodini (as footnote 22 above) 329–349.

I therefore suggest that the bishopric of Acheloos corresponded to the whole region of the river and consisted of small settlements one or several of which would have been the see at different times, until the 11th century when one of them developed to a somewhat more "urban" settlement (**Fig. 5**). In the case of the settlement in the vicinity of modern Arta, I suggest that it was part of the bishopric of Rogoi which covered the whole northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf until after the middle of the 11th century when the economic development of the settlement in Arta required its emergence as a separate bishopric and the main settlement of the region.[83] Therefore the formations corresponding to bishoprics in certain areas during this period might require new geographic definitions[84] through further archaeological investigation of Middle Byzantine habitation.

Further archaeological research into Byzantine settlements may either confirm or abort this suggestion, which if valid should lead us to revise the analytical categories used in the study of settlements and fortifications in discourse with alternative approaches to the texts that refer to them. The contextualization of archaeological and historical evidence for Middle Byzantine settlements / episcopal sees in Southern Epiros demonstrates a rather flexible organization of habitation; episcopal sees do not seem to have corresponded to any clear distinct type of settlement. This seems to imply that during periods of rapid social change expressed through a transformation of habitation, specific forms or sizes of settlements cannot be correlated to specific functions or other political or socioeconomic activities. There should rather be more of "hybrid" settlement formations of changing nature and mixed qualities, such as those studied in current geographical research.[85] Given the dynamic development pattern of Byzantine habitats, there is room for such "open" analytical categories in the archaeology of settlements, in order to facilitate descriptions of find distributions which do not conform to the available theoretical patterns. These new categories could further lead to an emergence of new interpretation schemes bringing out the spatial differentiation and uniqueness which seems to have been very much the case in the evolution of Byzantine provincial settlement patterns.

Abstract

This paper refers to habitation in the Byzantine Empire from the 7th to the 11th centuries and attempts a reappraisal of the patterns used to describe, evaluate and interpret the distribution of archaeological remains. Based on the study of a region in

83 See Veikou, Οικιστικές θέσεις (as footnote 3 above) 463–471.

84 For an example see Veikou, 'Rural towns' (as in the introductory note).

85 See Veikou, 'Rural towns', ibid.

western Greek mainland, several contradictions between the historical and the archaeological evidence on settlement are being discussed; those reveal the prevalence of dispersed rather than nuclear patterns of habitation in the area. These patterns are further discussed within the context of medieval settlement around the Mediterranean. The physical form of Middle Byzantine Episcopal sees is sought for while the term '*κάστρον*' is examined against the "archaeological imaginary" of 6th–11th c. Byzantine fortified settlements.

It is concluded that the contextualization of archaeological and historical evidence for Middle Byzantine settlements in Southern Epiros demonstrates instead a rather flexible organization of habitation; episcopal sees do not seem to have corresponded to any clear distinct type of settlement. It is therefore suggested that during periods of rapid social change expressed through a transformation of habitation, specific forms or sizes of settlements cannot be correlated to specific functions or other political or socioeconomic activities. There should rather be more of "hybrid" settlement formations of changing nature and mixed qualities. Given the dynamic development pattern of Byzantine habitats, there is room for such "open" analytical categories in the archaeology of settlements, in order to facilitate descriptions of find distributions which do not conform to the available theoretical patterns. These new categories could further lead to an emergence of new interpretation schemes bringing out the spatial differentiation and uniqueness which seems to have been very much the case in the evolution of Byzantine provincial settlement patterns.

II. ABTEILUNG

Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae quas edidit Theodora Antonopoulou. *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 63. Turnhout, Brepols 2008. CCXXX, 689 S. ISBN 978-2-503-40631-2.

Das Schaffen Kaiser Leons VI. gilt nicht gerade als ein Höhepunkt der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte. Eher herablassend bemerkt Albert Ehrhard,[1] seiner theologischen Schriftstellerei habe er wohl den Beinamen ὁ σοφός zu verdanken, Krumbacher[2] sieht ihn, was sein übriges Literatentum angeht, zwar „emsig mit der Feder beschäftigt", aber er erscheint ihm „unbedeutend", und auf Jan Olof Rosenqvist[3] machen „seine Leistungen auf literarischem Gebiet einen etwas amateurhaften Eindruck". Das fast durchgehend negative Bild hat A(ntonopoulou) in ihrer Dissertation (Oxford 1995), was das umfangreiche Corpus der Homilien Leons betrifft, durch eine ausführliche Analyse in Frage gestellt. Die Dissertation enthielt zunächst außer der historisch-literarischen Würdigung dieser 42 Homilien auch ein umfangreiches Kapitel über deren handschriftliche Überlieferung, welches aber in der Druckfassung[4] ausgespart wurde. Es bildet jetzt den umfangreichsten Teil (S. XVII–CCXI) der *Introduction* der anzuzeigenden Edition. Diese präsentiert zum ersten Mal das gesamte homiletische Werk Leons in einer mustergültigen kritischen Ausgabe.

Wie auch immer das literarische Urteil moderner Interpreten über die von Leon verfassten Homilien ausfallen mag, feststeht, dass die Leon-Homilien in einer reichen und differenzierten Überlieferung auf uns gekommen sind, und zwar sowohl das vom Kaiser selbst, wie A. in ihrer Dissertion plausibel gemacht hat, oder zumindest in seiner nächsten Umgebung zusammengestellte spezielle Panegyrikon als auch einzelne Homilien in anderen Sammlungen oder anderweitigen Codices. Diese Überlieferung untersucht und bewertet A. in ihrer *Introduction* in vorbildlicher, methodisch strenger, alle wichtigen Aspekte berücksichtigender Weise. Zunächst beschäftigt sie sich mit den Handschriften des auf den Kaiser selbst zurückgehenden *Special Panegyricon.* Alle 19 erhaltenen Codices sowie ein im Escorial 1671 verbrannter und einige in älteren Inventaren erwähnte werden, soweit eruierbar, mit allen wichtigen kodikologisch-paläographischen Daten sowie Ausführungen zur Provenienz und Literaturangaben vorgestellt. 13 dieser Codices hat A. *in situ* konsultiert; bei den übrigen war das aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht möglich und musste durch die Benutzung von Mikrofilmen kompensiert werden, so z.B. auch bei einem der wichtigsten Überlieferungsträger, cod. Athous Vatopedinus 408, einem 34 der insgesamt 42 Homilien enthaltenden Luxus-Manuskript, das dem 10. Jh. entstammt und sehr wahrscheinlich in der

[1] K. Krumbacher. Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, [2]München 1897, 168.
[2] Ebenda 721.
[3] J. O. Rosenqvist, Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453, Berlin/New York 2007, 90.
[4] Th. Antonopoulou, The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI, Leiden/New York/ Köln 1997.

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Umgebung des Kaiserpalastes in Konstantinopel hergestellt worden ist. Die übrigen Codices verteilen sich auf das 11. bis 19. mit Schwerpunkt im 16. Jh.

Die *recensio* dieser Codices wird, jeweils ausgehend von *codices eliminandi*, auf S. LXXI–CIX der *Introduction* durchgeführt; sie basiert auf über den Gesamttext verteilten Teilkollationen. Auch hier zeigt A. methodische Stringenz, sicheres Urteil und untadelige Exaktheit. Ein kleiner methodischer Einwand, der jedoch die gewonnenen Ergebnisse nicht in Frage stellt, betrifft die mehrfach vorgenommene Wertung von Auslassungsfehlern auf Grund von *saut-du-même-au-même* als Bindefehlern (vgl. S. LXXII zu Hom. 2,298–299; Hom. 9,120; Hom. 26,18 und 584 sowie S. LXXXIV zu Hom. 13,108). Als Ergebnis der *recensio* der Handschriften, welche das Spezialpanegyrikon enthalten, stellt A. fest, dass es zwei Phasen dieser Sammlung gab, deren erste durch den verlorenen gemeinsamen Vorfahr unserer Codices O (= Bodleianus Rawlinsonianus G 189, 11. Jh.), S (= Sinaiticus gr. 522, J. 1242) und A (= Ambrosianus F 106 sup., 13.–14. Jh.) repräsentiert wird, wobei S und A, die beide aus Süditalien stammen, wiederum über ein gemeinsames verlorenes Bindeglied zusammengehören. Die spätere zweite Phase vertritt Codex B (= Athous Vatopedinus 408, 10. Jh.), für einen kleineren Textteil zusammen mit dem Palimpsest Z (= Parisinus gr. 117, Mitte 10. Jh.), wobei B selbst für einen Teil des Textes noch eine Korrektur durchlaufen hat, die jedoch nicht immer zu korrekten Ergebnissen führte. Wir erhalten also ein zweispaltiges Stemma mit B (wo vorhanden auch Z) auf der einen und O A S auf der anderen Seite. Alle übrigen Codices sind *codices eliminandi.* Dieses Ergebnis (zusammengefasst S. CVII–CIX) und das daraus resultierende Stemma (S. CVI) dürfen als gesicherte Grundlage der Edition angesehen werden.

Im Anschluss an die Überlieferung des Spezialpanegyrikon Leons behandelt A. (S. CX–CCX) diejenigen Codices und ihre Stellung im Stemma, welche in anderen Sammlungszusammenhängen jeweils nur einzelne Homilien Leons enthalten. Das angewandte Verfahren ist im Prinzip mit demjenigen beim Spezialpanegyrikon identisch: Zunächst werden die einzelnen der insgesamt 83 (!) Handschriften mit den für die in ihnen enthaltene Leon-Homilie relevanten Daten präsentiert. 40 dieser Codices hat A. *in situ*, 29 mit Hilfe von Mikrofilmen konsultiert; die übrigen 14 (überwiegend dem 19. Jh. angehörigen) waren ihr nicht zugänglich. Bemerkenswert außer der großen Zahl der Handschriften, die für ein reges Interesse an Homilien Leons durch die Jahrhunderte zeugt (zur Verteilung auf Zeiten und Sammlungen vgl. die Statistiken S. CXLIX–CLI), ist die von A. hervorgehobene Tatsache, dass 5 der Codices aus dem 19. Jh. Metaphrasen der betreffenden Homilien in ein der Umgangssprache der Zeit nahestehendes Idiom enthalten.

Die *recensio* für die einzelnen in diesen Handschriften überlieferten Homilien wird auf S. CLVI–CCXI durchgeführt und jeweils mit dem entsprechenden Teilstemma abgeschlossen. Auch hier bewähren sich die exakte Arbeitsweise und die methodische Strenge der Editorin. Auch hier ist die etwas problematische Kleinigkeit, dass S. CLXXXIII als einziger Bindefehler für zwei im unteren Bereich des Stemmas angesiedelte Handschriften eine durch *saut-du-même-au-même* hervorgerufene Auslassung (Hom. 19,10–12) angeführt wird, für das Gesamtergebnis irrelevant.

Nachdem A. in einer Appendix (S. CCXII–CCXVI) mit guten Argumenten für die Authentizität der 41. Homilie plädiert und diese Homilie zusammen mit Homilie 38 dem noch jungen und unreifen Leon zugewiesen hat, folgen S. CCXVII–CCXXX die Erklärungen zur *ratio edendi.* Aus den verschiedenen Stemmata geht hervor, dass für

den größten Teil der Homilien die Handschriften B, S, A und O die wichtigste Rolle als Textträger spielen, wobei im Fall gleichwertiger Varianten und die Präsentation des Textes betreffender Elemente (Absätze, Akzentuierung, Interpunktion) von der Editorin der Handschrift B mit Recht eine führende Funktion eingeräumt wird. Einige wenige Homilien sind nur in einer einzigen Handschrift auf uns gekommen (so Hom. 1 in O, Hom. 14, 22 und 37 in B, Hom. 41 im cod. Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus gr. 242). Die Kollation der Textträger ist, wie aus einer Teil-Nachprüfung geschlossen werden kann, mit äußerster Akribie durchgeführt worden.

Eine Nachkollation der in O enthaltenen 9 Homilien anhand elektronisch von der Bodleian Library übermittelter Fotos hat nur folgende *corrigenda* bzw. *supplenda* ergeben: Hom. 2,257 ergänze im app. cr. ὅσῃ^{2} O$^{\text{p. corr.}}$, ὅσα O$^{\text{a. corr.}}$ – Hom. 2,285/286 ergänze im app. cr. δι ὰτόμου (i.e. διὰ τόμου) O$^{\text{p. corr.}}$, δι ἀτόμου O$^{\text{a. corr.}}$ – Hom. 3,225 ergänze im app. cr. προδιέρχονται O (statt des anderweitig überlieferten προέρχονται) – Hom. 3,289 ergänze im app. cr. λιμῶν O (statt des anderweitig überlieferten richtigen λιμῷ) – Hom. 4,315 ergänze im app. cr. κατατατησάντων O (statt des anderweitig überlieferten richtigen καταπατησάντων) – Hom. 4,323 ergänze im app. cr. ἀπελείποντο O (statt des anderweitig überlieferten ἀπελίποντο) – Hom. 5,115 ergänze im app. cr. ἐπελάθεσθε O$^{\text{p. corr.}}$, ἐπιλάθεσθε O$^{\text{a. corr.}}$ – Hom. 6,112 korrigiere im app. cr. τριτύν O zu τριττὺν O – Hom. 8,31 korrigiere im app. cr. ἧν ὅσων zu ἢ νόσων – Hom. 8,257 korrigiere im app. cr. ἀνομολογῆσθαι O zu ἀνομολογεῖσθαι O – Hom. 8,317 ergänze im app. cr. κακίαι O$^{\text{a. corr.}}$

Der im Allgemeinen negativ gehaltene *apparatus criticus* gibt neben den notwendigen Angaben zur handschriftlichen Grundlage des Textes eine vernünftige Auswahl aus den Textformen in vorangegangenen Teileditionen des Corpus, insbesondere denjenigen des Mönchs Akakios (Erstedition für 21 der 42 Homilien, Athen 1868) und von J.-P. Migne (Edition von 16 Homilien, Paris 1863).

Die Präsentation des Textes selbst erfolgt in weitestgehender Übereinstimmung mit der im *Corpus Christianorum* befolgten Praxis, d.h. unter Bewahrung der von den Byzantinern selbst angewandten Formalien, im Gegensatz etwa zum *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, das bisher überwiegend den von der Klassischen Philologie für ihre Texte entwickelten Gewohnheiten angehangen und dem entsprechenden Normalisierungsdruck nachgegeben hat. Was Enklise, Worttrennung, Orthographie, Akzentuierung, Interpunktion und Einteilung des Textes in Absätze angeht, lehnt sich die Edition sehr eng an die im Codex B beobachtete Praxis an und kommt damit wahrscheinlich derjenigen Leons und seiner Umgebung, wie sie in Übereinstimmung mit dem, was im 9. Jh. allgemein galt, geübt wurde, sehr nahe. Besonders bei Enklise und Worteinteilung wird dabei deutlich, dass es vom 9. Jh. hin zu späteren Zeiten in der byzantinischen Handhabung dieser Formalien durchaus weitere Entwicklungen gegeben hat, welche in den Editionen der betreffenden Texte zusammen mit anderem wie der Interpunktion, die weitgehend völlig willkürlich behandelt wurde, bisher nur sehr unzureichend dokumentiert worden sind. A. geht in diesen Punkten in der Edition allgemein erfreulich weit, wenn auch in Einzelheiten vielleicht nicht weit genug: Warum wird etwa die in B angetroffene Schreibweise οὐδὲ μία nicht reproduziert? Der Verweis auf die anderen Formen von οὐδείς und auf οὐδέτερος ist kein zureichendes Gegenargument. Warum werden auf der anderen Seite die Verbindungen ἐπίσης, καταβραχύ, καταμέσον, καταμικρόν, καταμόνας, καταπολύ entgegen der Praxis in B in der Edition jeweils als zwei Wörter geschrieben? Warum wird in der Edition entgegen

der Praxis in B in der Regel vor καὶ kein Interpunktionszeichen gesetzt? Das sind Einzelheiten. Insgesamt aber seien gerade die Ausführungen zur *ratio edendi* und ihre Umsetzung im Text selbst jedem Editor byzantinischer Texte zur Kenntnisnahme und Nachahmung empfohlen. Die Edition trägt nicht zuletzt durch die Praxis der Präsentation der Texte dem Umstand Rechnung, dass diese ja zu mündlichem Vortrag bestimmt waren. Das betrifft in diesem speziellen Fall auch die Einteilung der Texte in Absätze, die deren Predigtcharakter dort, wo dieser gegeben ist, deutlich hervortreten lässt.

Für die drucktechnische Präsentation hat die Editorin ein etwas ungewöhnliches Verfahren gewählt, um die intertextuellen Bezüge schon im Text selbst deutlich werden zu lassen: Der Normaltext ist in halbfetter Type gedruckt, die Bibelzitate erscheinen kursiv, was allerdings nicht besonders klar ins Auge fällt, wohingegen die Zitate aus anderen Schriften (sie sind bisweilen sehr häufig, da Leon in einigen Fällen schon vorhandene Texte bearbeitet hat) in magerer Schrift erscheinen. Vorbildlich ist der *apparatus fontium* gestaltet: Es gibt hier eine Abstufung zwischen auch im Wortlaut unveränderten Zitaten, solchen, die eine Veränderung und Adaptation erfahren haben (diese werden mit „cf.“ eingeführt), bloßen Similien (mit „cf. ex. gr.“ eingeführt) und entfernten Reminiszenzen (mit „v[ide]“ eingeführt). Erfreulich ist auch die Zurückhaltung der Editorin bei den zuletzt aufgeführten Kategorien, welche manch andere Editoren, die dem exzessiven unkritischen Computergebrauch nicht widerstehen konnten, bisweilen vermissen lassen.

Der Text der Homilien ist insgesamt sehr gut überliefert, so dass über die *recensio* hinausgehende Eingriffe in den Text selten notwendig waren. In etwas mehr als 25 Fällen hat sich A. mit Recht an (oft nur Kleinigkeiten betreffende) Konjekturen früherer Herausgeber angeschlossen, an ca. 30 Stellen hat sie selbst den Text gegen die Überlieferung korrigiert. Auch hier handelt es sich meistens um geringfügige Eingriffe (z. B. Hom. 30,177 ἐπαρκῇ gegen überliefertes falsches ἐπαρκεῖ; Hom. 21,168 συνίει gegen überliefertes falsches συνίῃ und Ähnliches) bzw. um vorsichtig formulierte Vorschläge im *apparatus criticus.* Nicht mit allen der vorgeschlagenen Lösungen muss man einverstanden sein: Hom. 7,155 bei überliefertem συνίασιν wäre statt an „expectaveris συνίσασι“ eher an συνιᾶσιν zu denken (die Akzentuierung der Komposita von ἰέναι und ἱέναι in der 3. Pers. Plur. Ind. Praes. schwankt in dieser Weise an vielen Stellen, nicht nur in den Handschriften der Leon-Homilien, sondern eventuell auch bei den Autoren); Hom. 7,424 ist die Frage zu ὧ „an legendum ὃ ?“ mit Hinblick auf lin. 391 eher negativ zu beantworten; Hom. 15,145/146 ist überliefertes ταῖς ἅλω statt in ταῖς ἅλῳ<ς> eher zu τῆς ἅλω zu korrigieren; Hom. 26,28 braucht überliefertes αὐτὴν nicht in αὑτὴν geändert zu werden (siehe die richtigen Ausführungen zur Verwendung der obliquen Kasus von αὐτός als Reflexiva in byzantinischen Texten allgemein S. CCXXVI); Hom. 31,41 ist überliefertes αὐτῷ nicht in αὐτὸ zu ändern, da es auf den Architekten („im Interesse des Architekten“) bezogen werden sollte; Hom. 38,54 ist die Einfügung von τὰ abzulehnen, da sie keinen Sinn ergibt und τῶν ἄλλων ῥυπασμάτων als „den übrigen Besudelungen zugehörig“ zu deuten ist. Die Zahl dieser und einiger weniger weiterer mit Reserve zu betrachtender Textvorschläge ist, auf die Länge des Gesamttextes gesehen, außerordentlich gering. Es sei auch angemerkt, dass das gesamte Buch sehr sorgfältig gedruckt ist. Mir sind so gut wie keine Druckfehler aufgefallen (S. CLXII, Z.10 v. u. statt B lies β; S. CXCIX, Z. 18 statt ἀηττων lies ἀήττων; S. 608 s. v. Κάϊν füge „cum“ ein vor „app. cr.“).

Große Sorgfalt hat auch bei den Indices (*Index nominum et vocum ex eis formatarum*; *Index locorum Sacrae Scripturae*; *Index aliorum fontium*) gewaltet. Beim *Index nominum* wäre es konsequenter gewesen, die im Text mit kleinem Anfangsbuchstaben geschriebenen Wörter auch für den Index entsprechend zu behandeln (Begriffe wie γενέθλια oder πάσχα). Von Namen abgeleitete Adjektive (z.B. θεοφόρος oder χριστομίμητος) und Verben (z.B. ἀρειανίζω) sollten wie im Text selbst mit kleinem Anfangsbuchstaben unter dem Namen, von welchem sie abgeleitet sind, erscheinen.

Alles in allem haben wir es mit einer hervorragenden, allen modernen Ansprüchen genügenden Edition der Homilien Leons VI. zu tun, mit welcher A. ihre langjährige Beschäftigung mit diesem Autor zu einem krönenden Abschluss gebracht hat.

Berlin *Diether Roderich Reinsch*

Richard Brüx, Faltkapitelle. Untersuchungen zur Bauskulptur Konstantinopels. *Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes*, 13. Langenweißbach 2008. 297 + 72 Seiten. 6 Beilagen. 32 Abb. ISBN 978-3-937517-86-5.

Die Beschäftigung mit der frühbyzantinischen Bauplastik Konstantinopels hat in den letzten 30 Jahren stark zugenommen und ist heute weit über das bloße Sammeln und Auflisten hinausgekommen. Der Versuch, die Bauplastik in ihrer Eigenart und Veränderung zu verstehen, gehört zum Versuch des Begreifens der byzantinischen Kunst überhaupt. Ausgangspunkt aller Untersuchungen bleibt immer noch Rudolf Kautzschs „Kapitellstudien“ (1936). Einen wichtigen Schritt im Hinblick auf unser Verständnis bildet die Arbeit von Christine Strube,[5] und bei Lektüre des Buches von Brüx gewinnt man den Eindruck, als ob die Auseinandersetzung mit Strube den eigentlichen Auslöser für diese Arbeit darstellte.

Es handelt es sich um eine 2005 in Halle abgeschlossene Dissertation, die ihren Ausgangspunkt in der 1996 geschriebenen Magisterarbeit des Verfassers „Zur sasanidischen Ornamentik in der frühbyzantinischen Kunst. Sichtungen nach Motivrepertoire, historischem Umfeld und Vermittlungswegen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Polyeuktoskirche in Konstantinopel“ hatte. Diese Magisterarbeit ist vollständig mit eigener Paginierung auf 72 S. als Anhang des Buches abgedruckt. Erstaunlicherweise wird jedoch auf diese Magisterarbeit im Text kaum Bezug genommen. Das Ergebnis dieser Arbeit lässt sich knapp zusammenfassen, dass zwar gerne von sasanidischem Einfluss in der frühbyzantinischen Bauornamentik gesprochen wird, wenn es aber an konkrete Beispiele geht, diese sich meist kaum benennen lassen, wir es also mit einem forschungsgeschichtlichen Phantom zu tun haben. Aber dies ist, zumindest unter den Bauornamentik-Forschern, keine ganz neue Erkenntnis.[6] Bei der Frage, ob der Ab-

[5] Ch. Strube, Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia. Umbildung und Auflösung antiker Formen. Entstehung des Kämpferkapitells. München 1984.

[6] S. zum Thema jetzt auch G. Brands, Persien und Byzanz: Anmerkungen zur Geschichte einer Irritation, in: Austausch & Inspiration. Kulturkontakt als Impuls architektonischer Innova-

druck dieser Magisterarbeit in voller Länge notwendig war oder ob nicht eine gekürzte und gestraffte Zusammenfassung sinnvoller gewesen wäre, möchte der Rez. doch eher für die Zusammenfassung plädieren.

Das Buch beginnt mit einer zehnseitigen Einleitung, die zahlreiche Aspekte der bisherigen Forschung zum Bauornament problematisiert und Prämissen in Frage stellt, dies sicher mit Recht. Weder der „typologische“ Ansatz von Kautsch, noch der mehr „formgeschichtliche“ von Strube befriedigen den Autor, er möchte weg von einer „entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise“ zu einer „historisch relevanten Klassifizierung“, was der Leser so jedoch erst in der Zusammenfassung mitgeteilt bekommt. Die in dieser Einleitung eingestreuten Angriffe gegen Strube sind jedoch völlig unangebracht. Die hier und an weiteren Stellen angeführte Ablehnung jeder Art von „evolutionärer Entwicklung“, sei es zeitlich oder typologisch, ist sicher verständlich, aber die Erklärung von Unterschieden nur durch „Bauprozeß“ und „Werkstätten“, wie es der Verf. im weiteren Verlauf der Arbeit (bes. 139 ff.) versucht, greift zu kurz. Es hat zu allen Zeiten stilistische Entwicklungen gegeben, diese sind jedoch bei den wenigen Fixpunkten der Chronologie des 6. Jh.s nur schwer genau zu fassen. Diese stilistische Entwicklung als Möglichkeit zur Erklärung von Unterschieden einfach abzulehnen und in Anlehnung an die Methode von K. Freyberger nur verschiedene Vorlagen und Werkstätten zur Erklärung von Unterschieden heranzuziehen, ist nach Ansicht des Rez. kein gangbarer Weg

Die Lektüre der Zusammenfassung (S. 243–253) sei jedem Leser dringend empfohlen, bevor er sich selbst an den Versuch macht, dem Inhalt des Buches zu folgen. Der Rez. muss gestehen, dass ihm selbst bei mehrfachen Versuchen nicht jede Formulierung und Argumentation des Verf. verständlich geworden ist. Dies liegt an einer überaus komplizierten und umständlichen Sprache mit sehr langen Sätzen. Das Für und Wider einer jeden Argumentation wird im Text erwogen, man hat oft den Eindruck, jedem Gedankengang des Autors zu folgen, was jedoch von seinen eigentlichen Thesen nur ablenkt

Kapitel I verspricht mit dem Titel „Zur Entstehung des Faltkapitells“ (S. 23–55) mehr, als es halten kann. Der größte Teil wird von einer überausführlichen Forschungsgeschichte eingenommen. Diese ist jedoch für das Verständnis des Faltkapitells in keiner Weise notwendig. Die heutige Forschung geht alleine auf Kautzsch zurück, schon dieser entwickelte seine Überlegungen nicht aus der Auseinandersetzung mit älterer Literatur, sondern im Versuch der Klassifizierung des überkommenen Materials. Nach Kautzsch finden dann nur noch F.W. Deichmann und Ch. Strube das Interesse des Verf., da andere Autoren „keine neuen Erkenntnisse zum Faltkapitell“ erbracht hätten (S. 37). Und auch die „Weiteren Überlegungen zu einer Definiton“ (S. 42 ff.) problematisieren mehr, als dass sie eine eigene Definition geben. Immer wieder eingestreut begegnet das Ringen des Verf. mit der Begrifflichkeit, sei es die der Antike, der Forschungsliteratur oder seiner eigenen.

Eine Definition des Begriffes „Faltkapitell“ findet sich erst auf S. 58–59, und die leitet sich, wie auch bisher immer angenommen, alleine aus seiner Grundform ab: Ein

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tion. Mainz 2008, 244–256. Brands, der Betreuer der Dissertation von Brüx, verweist auf dessen Arbeit, ebenso Brüx auf Brands (s. Anhang 1), ohne dass diese beiden Arbeiten jedoch im einzelnen Bezug aufeinander nähmen.

Kapitellkörper vermittelt durch acht Aufwölbungen („Falten") von einem unteren runden Fußring zur korinthischen Form der Deckplatte (Abakus) des Kapitells.

Die verschiedenen Arten der Dekoration, und um diese geht es dem Verf. im folgenden Teil des Buches, sind dabei völlig sekundär. Der Untersuchung der Systematik der verschiedenen Dekorationssysteme des Faltkapitells, ihrer genaue Analyse, ihrer Verbreitung in Hauptstadt und „Provinz" ist der verdienstvolle Hauptteil des Buches gewidmet (S. 57–155). Neben den eine Sonderform der Dekoration darstellenden Kapitellen von der Sergios- und Bakchoskirche ist die größte Menge der Faltkapitelle mit unterschiedlichen Systemen „beblätterter Kreisschlingen" dekoriert. Diese Dekorationen werden bis ins kleinste beschrieben und analysiert. Dabei wird geschieden zwischen Stücken, die aus der Hauptstadt kommen und konstantinopler Stücken von außerhalb, was aber zu keinem Ergebnis führt. Ein eigenes Kapitel ist provinziellen Nachahmungen gewidmet, die sich weiter von den Konstantinopler Produkten absetzen. Als weitere kleinere Gruppe werden die Faltkapitelle mit vier Blattpaaren herausgearbeitet.

Der abschließende dritte Hauptteil des Buches (S. 157–241) befasst sich mit „Umfeld" der Faltkapitelle in der frühbyzantinischen Kapitellproduktion. Hier werden in z. T. sehr verdienstvoller Weise sowohl die Ornamentformen wie Anordnungssysteme der Faltkapitelle mit verwandten Formen auf andern Kapitellen in Verbindung gebracht. Ohne dass hier auf Einzelheiten eingegangen werden kann, finden sich hier viele kluge Beobachtungen zu einzelnen Kapitellen und Kapitellgruppen, eine Lektüre am Stück wird jedoch zur Qual.

Die Kataloge (S. 255–284) vereinigen nicht nur Einträge zu den eigentlichen Faltkapitellen, sondern auch zu den syrischen (1) und ägyptischen (12) Faltkapitellen, mittelalterlichen und späteren (8) Faltkapitellen sowie Kämpferkapitellen mit verwandten und in der Arbeit diskutierten Dekorationssystemen. Danach umfasst die Gruppe der Faltkapitelle 100 Katalognummern, insgesamt wohl mindestens 115 Stücke (der Autor spricht immer nur von 107), wobei Nr. 93, bei dem auch der Verf. zu zweifeln scheint, nach Ansicht des Rez. kein Faltkapitell ist. Kat. 92 ist mit den Angaben „FO unbekannt" und dem lakonischen Text „einem Foto nach" ohne Abbildung dieses Stückes völlig sinnlos. Dem Verf. noch nicht bekannt war ein im omayyadischen Palast von Qasr Hallabat wieder verwendetes Faltkapitell.[7] Die Reihenfolge im Katalog folgt der Reihenfolge der Systematik im Text und wird dadurch sehr unübersichtlich, vor allem, wenn man sich etwa über die Kapitelle aus einem einzelnen Bau informieren will. Hier ist dann auch das recht umständliche Register (S. 285–296) wenig hilfreich, da dort die Kat. Nr. unter den Ortsnamen nicht aufgeführt sind, sondern sich nur wenig hilfreiche Verweise finden. In dem Katalog verbergen sich z. T. weitschweifige Diskussionen zur Datierung einzelner Bauten, wie etwa S. 260–262 zur Demetrioskirche in Thessaloniki. Aus dem Katalog wird nicht klar, welche Stücke der Verf. eigentlich aus Autopsie kennt, bei vielen hat man aus den Angaben etwa zu Photos, Maßen und Aufbewahrungsorten den Eindruck, dass keine Autopsie vorliegt.

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[7] I. Arce, in: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, IX. Amman 2007, 340 Abb. 22; ders. in K. Bartl/A. al-Razzaq Moaz (Hrsg.), Residences, castles, settlements. Transformation processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham. Rahden 2008, 157. 178 Abb. 9 f.

In einer Arbeit, die es sich selbst so schwierig macht und auf genaueste terminologische Details Wert legt, stören selbst kleinere Fehler wie M. L. Brehier für Louis Brehier (S. 3, M. steht für Monsieur), Cannakkale für Çanakkale (S. 280);[8] die Neuschöpfung „spolisch" sollte in der deutschen Sprache auf keinen Fall verwendet werden

Was bleibt? Ein zwiespältiger Eindruck und die Gewissheit, dass dieses Buch in der Komplexität seiner Sprache und seiner Gedanken kaum rezipiert werden wird, da es den Leser, der sich über Faltkapitelle informieren will, eher abschreckt als zur Lektüre einlädt. Sind die Sprache und der Gedankengang des Verf. schon für einen deutschen Leser selbst bei mehrmaligem Lesen teils nur schwer verständlich, so hat ein Nicht-Muttersprachler hier keine Chance.

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Matthew P. Canepa, The Two Eyes of the Earth. Art and Ritual of Kingship between Roman and Sasanian Iran. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 45. Berkeley 2009. 425p. ISBN 978-0-520-25727-6.

In summer 540 Khusro I, after the sack of Antioch, advanced to the Mediterranean coast at Seleucia, where he bathed alone in the sea and sacrificed to the sun and other deities, before commencing his circuitous return to Persia (Procopius, *Wars* 2.11.1). This event is not discussed by Canepa, which is a pity, since the intelligent analysis which he applies to a range of ceremonial acts and objects might have unlocked the full significance of this action. Khusro was scarcely washing off the grime of war, but performing an act of significance to himself that caught the attention of whatever observers transmitted the information to Procopius. This Roman audience does not seem to have understood the king's intentions; rather Procopius records this almost as an example of Khusro's bizarre and unpredictable nature – a salutary reminder that messages might lose their significance through intercultural transmission. To my mind this deliberate ceremony held cosmic significance, with Khusro as companion of the sun marking the western limit of his victorious campaign by dipping into the encircling Ocean, just as Alexander had marked his eastern terminus by sacrifices in the Ocean beyond the mouth of the Indus.

The ceremonial competition between the two Great Powers of the ancient Near East across the four centuries between the 220s and 630s has attracted the attention of numerous scholars, but the current study places our understanding on firmer footings, through its sensitive and sensible assessments as well as its substantial scholarly underpinning: the main text occupies only just over half the book, while the endnotes, even though they could have been shortened by adoption of Harvard, or short-title, referencing, and by pruning repetitions and overlaps with the text, are still a major contribution, as is the 51-page bibliography. A key factor is Canepa's mastery of a wide

[8] Ein diesem Kapitell entsprechendes findet sich übrigens in Akköy in der Troas (J. M. Cook, The Troad. Oxford 1973, Taf 42b) wo auch das heute im Museum von Çanakkale befindliche Kapitell herkommt.

range of eastern, and especially Persian, material in which very few scholars have the appropriate technical expertise. Those, like myself, who approach these issues from the Greco-Roman perspective, have much cause for gratitude.

Rivals naturally influence, and feed off, each other, for example through the adaptation of military practices to increase the chances of success, but the dynamics of ceremonial interaction are of greater complexity, and investigation of their significance is Canepa's topic. The ritual environments of imperial rule take centre stage, both visually, how things looked in terms of architecture, ornamentation, imagery, clothing, and conceptually, how power was articulated and communicated. Cross-cultural interactions between Romans and Sasanids are probed, to elucidate how motifs and artefacts migrated in ways that first facilitated the mutual comprehension of the rival courts and ultimately generated a striking cultural fusion. The "process of agonistic exchange" (p. 21–22) of cultural concepts both defined how each court viewed the other and helped to determine how each developed its own self-presentation, internally as well as externally. Throughout Canepa operates with a clear hierarchy of evidence (p. xvii–xviii) in which contemporary internal material (e.g. reliefs, artefacts, inscriptions) is privileged over later Persian evidence (e.g. the *Shahnameh*) with anything non-Persian in third place. Although in principle appropriate, it is also necessary to recognise that some "third class" material, such as the records of Khusro II's inscriptions in Greek at Resafa and Martyropolis, or translations of Persian letters whose claim to verbatim status appears plausible, may merit some intermediate status.

The story starts, appropriately, with the Sasanids as the new arrivals on the international stage in the third century, with a pressing need to define themselves both against Parthian predecessors and Roman neighbours. Here Canepa resolves the issue of Sasanid exploitation of an Achaemenid heritage, identifying how the assimilation of historical Achaemenid and mythical Kayanid ancestries ensured that this representation had internal relevance, even before diplomatic dealings with Rome led to it being invested with more specific historical and historiographical overtones (ch. 3). The dramatic victories of Shapur permitted the evolution in Persia of increasingly complex representations of royal success, with the Romans being assimilated to the cosmic demon Ahriman while Shapur presides over his nobility as upholder of Iranian traditions; this analysis of the various rock reliefs brings clarity to a complex issue (ch. 4). Shapur forced the Romans to take the Sasanids seriously, first ideologically and then militarily (ch. 5): the suggestion that Sol Invictus emerged from the plethora of Gallienus' divine links as the companion of choice because it responded to Shapur's cosmological claims is interesting (p. 81), though I am less convinced by the proposal that the creation of a royal duel for Galerius also responds to Shapur's representation (92), since the fighting reliefs on Galerius' arch at Thessalonica are also foreshadowed in images of Alexander. Following the initial hectic seven decades (not seventy! p. 21), the rivals began to move towards greater accommodation of each other's presence in the fourth century, a process accompanied by a reduction in triumphalist representations of royalty in favour of more general statements of power (ch. 6). There is some inconsistency as to whether this occurred during or after the third century (p. 100, 121), with the latter surely being preferable – though this also relates to the issue of when the "two eyes" imagery emerged. The next chapter focuses on the diplomacy which joined the empires and provided a ready mechanism for communicating ideas and images. Although there are some signs of the emergence of collaborative vocabulary in the

exchanges between Shapur II and Constantius II, the fourth century was dominated by warfare: the battle of Singara in 344 was scarcely the end of conflict (p. 107), as the inhabitants of Amida or Bezabde could testify, and it was not until the partition of Armenia in 387 that the empires really embarked on a long period of relatively peaceful co-existence. Diplomatic dealings were played out in physical spaces, and entailed particular activities, whether the exchange of gifts or engagement in hunting, chess or other diversions; they were inevitably tough, and physical as well as intellectual resilience were essential qualities for representatives. Ambassadors would naturally report back developments in architecture, ceremony, or clothing, while gifts served to propagate images or technologies and to challenge recipients to respond (ch. 8). The suggestion (p. 166) that the Sasanids expected active participation, whereas the Romans preferred passive presence at public spectacles, might have been connected with the military engagement of the respective rulers in the fifth and sixth centuries. The final chapter considers the increasing cultural convergence between the royal courts, with particular consideration of the nimbus and ornamentation: both treatments are interesting, though the discussion of St Polyeuctus takes on its own momentum: the eastern victories of Areobindus are as convincing an explanation for its Persian decoration as the imperial ambitions of Anicia Juliana.

One surprise in the volume is that more space is not devoted to the image in the book's title, "the two eyes (or perhaps 'lights') of the earth". I discussed this briefly in *The Emperor Maurice* (1988), and in a broader diplomatic context in a 2000 conference paper which is at last published as "Byzantine Diplomacy: Keeping Faith in International Relations in Late Antiquity", in P. de Souza and J. France (eds.), War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History (Cambridge, 2008) 120–140. This metaphor for co-operation certainly emerged out of the pervasive cosmic imagery which both courts exploited, although, interestingly, there is more evidence for this on the Roman than Sasanid side where the first internal evidence refers to "two shoulders" (Synod of Persian Christians in 420). Its occurrence in Peter the Patrician's account of speeches during the 298 negotiations would favour an early date for its introduction, if we could assume that Peter accurately preserves diplomatic rhetoric over a period of 250 years. Peter's sources are, however, uncertain (Blockley, East Roman Foreign Policy 171 note 8), and it is better to focus on the reign of Theodosius II as the time of greatest cultural convergence between the empires, after the solution of the Armenian question in 387 had ushered in a century during which peaceful relations were only occasionally disrupted.

One ramification of the two-eye imagery that might have received greater attention is the empires' relationships with other peoples, and how these influenced their cultural expression. For instance, one factor which may well have predisposed Constantinople to adopt Persian artefacts and practices is that this helped to distinguish its court from those of the western empire at Ravenna and the various successor states; the same might have applied in reverse for the Sasanids. Furthermore, throughout their history, Romans enjoyed the reputation for assimilating and reusing any good aspects of foreign practices they encountered; with this history, their receptivity to Sasanid culture is unsurprising. The contextual nature of diplomacy must also be remembered: co-operative rhetoric might be pragmatic or opportunistic, and an overall tradition of cordiality might not save particular ambassadors from unpleasant experiences: in 579 Zachariah and Theodore were treated with contempt as virtual prisoners (Menander

fr. 23.9), while the ambassadors of 615/16, Olympius, Leontius and the priest Anastasius, all died in captivity, two apparently being flogged to death after Heraclius invaded Persia (Nicephorus, *Brev.* 7, 15). The empires were always, and above all, competitors, as an exchange at the court of the Turkish Chagan illustrated: a Persian ambassador boasted that the Romans were their tributaries, since they paid money for peace, but was embarrassed to confess that a statue of Emperor Trajan still caused them panic (John of Ephesus 6.23).

In such a dense and detailed book, minor slips are inevitable, though a good copy-editor should have caught various errors over apostrophes, singular/plurals, and other aspects of grammar, and tidied up various repetitions. There are also errors of fact and dubious interpretations, on historical rather than cultural issues. The sons of Constantine and Maxentius could not have had relations with the Tetrarchy (p. 45); Valerian is usually depicted being grabbed by Shapur, which makes his identification as the standing figure on Shapur's gold dinar dubious (p. 70); Carus' successes were not publicised since he did not survive to exploit them (p. 82); an important aspect of the 298 peace was the transfer of various Transtigritanian territories, so the river did not become the frontier (p. 84); the end of Arcadius' reign may have been peaceful in the East, but not in the Balkans (p. 114); drawings of the equestrian statue reused by Justinian clearly show the name Theodosius, not Arcadius (p. 115).

The importance of the book is scarcely affected by such details, nor even by doubts about the headline issue of the two eyes – that is a matter of timing and trajectory rather than substance. This book fleshes out current understandings off Roman-Sasanid diplomatic relations, rather than develops a substantially new framework, but Canepa's scholarly analysis of cultural connections places this important topic on a new footing and his presentation of Iranian material is invaluable.

Warwick *Michael Whitby*

Elias Giarenes, Η συγκρότηση και η εδραίωση της αυτοκρατορίας της Νίκαιας. Ο αυτοκράτορας Θεόδωρος Α′ Κομνηνός Λάσκαρις / Establishment and Consolidation of the Empire of Nicaea. The Emperor Theodoros I Komnenos Laskaris. *Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Μονογραφίες*, 12). Athen 2008. 410 + 1 S. Karte. ISBN 978-960-371-052-3. With English summary, general index and 1 map.

Eine umfassende, systematische Untersuchung über Theodoros I. Laskaris, den ersten Kaiser des nach 1204 in Nikaia begründeten byzantinischen Kaiserreiches „im Exil", war bislang nur bedingt ein Desiderat. Denn für die Entstehung und Geschichte des Reiches von Nikaia kann und wird man auch weiterhin noch immer mit Gewinn auf das Standardwerk von Michael Angold „A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Lascarids of Nicaea 1204–1261" zurückgreifen. Aber es stammt von 1974. Seither hat sich die Erforschung dieses Zeitraums erheblich intensiviert. Sie ist ebenso aufgrund neuer oder verbesserter Quellenausgaben wie auch veränderter Fragestellungen vielfach zu neuen Ergebnissen gelangt. Besonders die zahlreichen ab 2004 (bis ca. 2008) erschienenen Publikationen zum Gedenken an

die vor 800 Jahren erfolgte lateinische Eroberung Konstantinopels und ihre Folgen liefern hierfür eindrucksvolle Belege.

Insofern stellt es ein berechtigtes Anliegen dar, eine erste Monographie über Theodoros Laskaris in Angriff zu nehmen und mit ihr eine gründlich recherchierte neue Darstellung der Gründungsphase des nikänischen Reiches (1204–1222) vorzulegen. Dieses umzusetzen, hatte sich Giarenes (= G.) mit seinem Dissertationsvorhaben bei Kostas Konstantinides in Ioannina zum Ziel gesetzt. (27). Die Anfang 2003 abgeschlossene Arbeit wurde zum Druck in der Reihe der Athener Monographien überarbeitet. Dass sie erst fünf Jahre später erschienen ist, könnte daran gelegen haben, dass wegen der erwähnten Publikationsflut zu 1204 ungewöhnlich viel Literatur nachträglich einzuarbeiten war. Vielleicht aber haben auch bei deren Sichtung fallweise auftretende Sprachprobleme (mit Deutsch oder Russisch und anderen slavischen Sprachen) und Schwierigkeiten bei der Buchbeschaffung (?) zur Verzögerung und zu gewissen, den Leser irritierenden, nicht nur redaktionellen Inkonsequenzen bei der Aktualisierung der Dokumentation beigetragen (vgl. auch unten). An verschiedenen Stellen wird jedenfalls erkennbar, dass G. sich im Zuge der Überarbeitung zwar nach Kräften bemüht hat, bestimmte Mängel und bibliographische Lücken der Erstfassung zu beheben, dieses Vorhaben ihm aber nur zum Teil gelungen ist. Denn gerade im Hinblick auf ANGOLDS Buch wäre es nötig gewesen, von Anfang an deutlich konturiert herauszuarbeiten, inwieweit sich anhand neuerer Forschungen (inklusive Quellenfunde oder verbesserter Textausgaben) und neuer methodischer Ansätze auch in Bezug auf das Thema verfeinerte oder neue Fragestellungen nun etwa im Kontrast zu den Ergebnissen ANGOLDS und anderer ergeben und auch die Arbeit an vorliegender Untersuchung mit beeinflusst haben. Einer solchen Bestandsaufnahme und Klarstellung der Ausganglage dient normalerweise ein konziser Forschungsüberblick zur Quellenlage und Sekundärliteratur, der in diesem Fall mit „Angold 1974" hätte einsetzen und als Einleitung in die Problemlage dienen können. G. hat ihn sich zum Schaden seiner Arbeit erspart. Denn wäre er so oder ähnlich verfahren und methodisch bzw. handwerklich sorgfältiger, kurz: professionell, vorgegangen (besonders bei der bibliographischen Recherche und hinsichtlich der Rezeption auch ihm sprachlich eher schwer zugänglicher Arbeiten: Wozu gibt es eigentlich eine annotierte Bibliographie wie die der *BZ?*), hätte ihm dies manche Irrtümer und Versehen erspart, aber auch seine Darstellung an nicht wenigen Stellen vom Ballast betulich wiederholender Ausbreitung mittlerweile oder sogar längst geklärter Forschungsprobleme entschlackt.

Wie auch immer: Nachdem G. zwischen 1999 und 2006 sechs Artikel zu Einzelaspekten seines Themas in drei Sammelbänden[9] sowie in den *Byzantiaka* 23 (2003)–25 (2006) veröffentlicht hatte, liegt seine Arbeit nun als Buch vor. Dafür gebührt ihm zunächst, trotz mancher kritischer Punkte, Anerkennung und Dank.

Der umfangreiche Band, versehen mit einem Vorwort des Herausgebers T. Kolias, den Danksagungen G.s sowie einem Geleitwort von K. Konstantinides (23–26), setzt sich, nach dem Abkürzungsverzeichnis[10] und der Einführung (mit 7 Abschnitten, 27–

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[9] In der Bibliographie ist sein Beitrag Η Δ′ σταυροφορία, η άλωση της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1204) και η συγκρότηση των κρατών της Τραπεζούντας, της Νίκαιας και της Ηπείρου. Διάλεξεις 2 (2004) 63–89 noch nicht mit angeführt.

[10] Mehrere Abkürzungen fehlen, die Aufnahmekriterien sind unklar, und es ist redaktionell irritierend und inkonsequent, dass auch zahlreiche Abkürzungen in den Fußnoten mitgeteilt

57), vor allem aus drei in sich noch weiter unterteilten großen Hauptteilen zusammen, in denen es um „Die Außenpolitik“ (59–185), „Die Innenpolitik des Kaisers“ (187–288) und die „Die kaiserliche Ideologie. Realitäten und Bilder“ (289–340) geht. Hierauf folgt ein zugleich als Ausblick bis hin zu Michael VIII. dienendes Nachwort (341–344). Den Schluss bilden eine englische Zusammenfassung (*Summary*, 345–350), ein Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis (351–386), ein allgemeiner Index (387–410) und eine auf die Zeit um 1214 bezogene Karte.

Die Einführung ist überwiegend prosopographisch angelegt und konzentriert sich auf Theodoros Laskaris sowie seine Familie, dies zeigen die Unterabschnitte „Genealogisches zu den Laskaris. Aufkommen und Entfaltung“ (29–33), „Prosopographisches zu Theodoros Komnenos Laskaris. Die konstantinopolitanische Periode (ca. 1174–1203)“ (33–46), „Erste bestimmte Schritte nach Kleinasien. Die Ausrufung und die Krönung“ (46–49) und „Die Eheschließungen und Kinder Theodoros’ I. Entwicklung, diplomatische Aktivitäten und Suche nach einem Nachfolger.“ Die in ihnen vermittelten Informationen sind reichhaltig, jedoch nicht konsequent auf den neuesten Stand gebracht. Ein Beispiel: Bei der Erörterung von Herkunft und Bedeutung des Namens Laskaris (30–32, vgl. auch 306) berücksichtig G. nur scheinbar den wohldokumentierten Artikel von D. THEODORIDIS, Die Herkunft des byzantinischen Familiennamens *Laskaris*, *REB* 62 (2004) 269–273, da er dessen Ergebnis gar nicht mitteilt. Vielmehr suggeriert G. durch die Anführung des Beitrags in einer Fußnote (31, Fußnote 15), die sich auf die im oberen Text behandelte Ableitung vom Persischen[11] bezieht, THEODORIDIS stütze letztere, obwohl er sie ja gerade verwirft. So führt dieser Argumente zur Ableitung aus dem Arabischen an, was ihn zur These führt, es sei keineswegs „abwegig zu behaupten, der Name … stamme aus dem arabischen Elativ *’ašqar* ‚blond (Haar)‘ bzw. ‚Fuchs (Pferd)‘ und gäbe in seiner Lautung die Agglutination des arabischen Artikels *al* wieder: *alašqar* > **lašqar* > Λάσκαρις“ (271). Vielmehr bereite diese „Etymologie des Familiennamens Λάσκαρις …, was die phonetische Entwicklung anbetrifft, keinerlei Schwierigkeiten. Der bäuerliche Hintergrund im Ursprung der Sippe bleibt erhalten. Lediglich müßte man in der Person des als Gründer der Familie geltenden Urahnen der Laskariden einen ‚Blonden‘ oder einen ‚Rothaarigen‘ sehen, und keinen aufstrebenden Karrieristen einer militärischen Hierarchie, womit der berechtigten Skepsis von A. Kazhdan und A. Cutler (s. o. [Th. verweist hier auf den von ihm zuvor (270) zitierten Artikel s. v. Laskaris im *ODB*, den G. übrigens nirgends anführt, G. P.]) Rechnung getragen ist“ (273).[12] Wie dem auch sei:

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werden, nämlich: Bartusis, *Late Army*; Cahen, *Turquie;* Dieten, *Niketas Choniates;* Ferjančić, *Despoti*; Harvey, Ανάπτυξη; Kolovou, Χωνιάτης; Papayanni, *Relationship* (vgl. aber 91 Fußnote 3); Lauer, Lettre; Prinzing, Der Brief (so zitiert 230, Fußnote 62, volle Titelangabe aber in 104, Fußnote 47, sie fehlt im Quellenverzeichnis); Ders., *Bedeutung Bulgariens*; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* I (fehlt auch im Quellenverzeichnis. Der dort enthaltene Eintrag zu den Kleinchroniken – ohne Hinweis auf die Dreibändigkeit – mit der Angabe „Wien 1977“ trifft nur für Bd. 2 [Kommentar] zu); Zafraka, Political Ideology; Zacos-Veglery, *Lead Seals.* Laurent, *Regestes*, steht zwar im Abkürzungsverzeichnis, wird aber 113 voll angeführt. Usw…

11 Sie wurde zuletzt noch, was G. hier übergeht, von A. WASSILIOU in ihrem Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Laskariden. *BZ* 90 (1997) 416–424, 420 vertreten, G. zitiert sie aber 35, Fußnote 33.

12 In dem ziterten *ODB*-Artikel verwiesen KAZHDAN/CUTLER auch bereits auf das Testament des Eustathios Boilas von 1059 für den frühesten Beleg des Namen Laskaris, den offenbar ein

Mitglieder der Laskaris-Familie werden erst gegen Ende des 12. Jh. in einem aristokratischen Umfeld greifbar (33), vor allem eben Theodoros, der noch sechs weitere Brüder hatte.

Im Abschnitt über die konstantinopolitanische Periode fällt auf, dass G. unter Hinweis auf die „erzählenden Quellen“, doch ohne genaue Prüfung ihrer Evidenz und entgegen mehren jüngeren Referenzwerken, Handbüchern und Kommentaren am Todesjahr des Kaisers 1222 statt 1221 festhält (so auch anfangs: 27, und später: 53, 55, 116, 141 usw.): Die Fußnoten (35, Fußnote 26, 27) sind diesbezüglich unzulänglich, weil G. hier die (anderswo von ihm durchaus zitierten) Kleinchroniken fast ganz außer acht ließ.[13] – Noch vor 1204 wurde Theodoros Komnenos (Laskaris) nach Ausweis schriftlicher Quellen und Siegel zunächst Protovestiarites und Sebastos, und zwar wohl bald nach seiner Vermählung 1199 mit Anna Angelina, der Tochter Kaiser Alexios' III. Angelos, und noch vor Juli 1203 Despotes. Diesbezüglich referiert G. korrekt den Forschungsstand unter Einbeziehung auch der Siegel (besonders 41; zumindest dort aber – und analog 227, Fußnote 56 – wäre nochmals auf den nur in 35, Fußnote 33 zitierten Artikel Wassiliou hinzuweisen gewesen).

Bauer (und sein Sohn Michael) trug. – Auch G. berücksichtigt das Testament, führt allerdings in den Angaben dazu (32, Fußnote 18–20) die bekannte Neuedition und Inhaltsanalyse von P. Lemerle, in: Ders., Cinque études sur le XI[e] siècle byzantin. Paris 1977, 15–63, hier 27 und 33 nicht mit an: Dort, ebenso wie aus der von G. (32, Fußnote 20) angeführten kommentierten englischen Übersetzung des Boilas-Testaments, wird übrigens deutlich, dass Laskaris und sein Sohn Michael zu den freigelassen bäuerlichen Sklaven des Boilas gehörten.

13 In Fußnote 26 verweist G. lediglich indirekt auf die Kleinchroniken mit Nennung der Rezension des Kommentarbandes durch J. Darrouzès, *REB* 36 (1978) 276 f., anscheinend ohne sich mit ihnen (vgl. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 173, Nr. 19, 2+3; lies hier in 3 statt ἐτελεύτησεν mit Darrouzès ἐβασίλευσεν) näher befasst und ohne wohl auch Darrouzès genau gelesen zu haben, der mit Bezug auf 19,3 (das ist die Notiz, die zum 1. März 1239 festhält, die bisherige Herrschaftsdauer Johannes III. betrage 18 Jahre und dreieinhalb Monate), feststellt: «De 1239 à la fin du règne de Theodore Laskaris on obtient en effet la dureée du règne de son successeur: 18 ans et trois mois et demi […]; ce règne commence vers le 15 décembre 1221.» Auch auf Schreiner, Kleinchroniken II, hätte G. hier näher eingehen müssen: Schreiner hatte darin als erster unter Hinweis auf das Todesdatum Johannes' III. Batatzes (3. November 1254) und dessen durch Akropolites und andere Quellen gesicherte 33-jährige Amtszeit das Todesdatum Theodoros' I. Laskaris zweifelsfrei auf November 1221 fixieren können: vgl. Kleinchroniken II, 187, aber auch 194 (wo jedoch die ganze Bemerkung zu 19,3 zu korrigieren ist aufgrund der o.a. Konjektur von Darrouzès) und 195 (wider besseres Wissen behielt Schreiner aber in seinem Lehrbuch „Byzanz“ durch alle drei Auflagen hindurch [1985, 1994, 2008] die alte Chronologie bei, nur sein Eintrag zu Johannes III. Vatatzes, *LMA* 5 [1991], 533 f. hat den korrekten Herrschaftsbeginn 1221). Für jüngere Referenzwerke, Handbücher oder Überblicksartikel vgl. neben dem von G. in 35, Fußnote 26 angeführten *ODB*-Artikel (2038 f., M. Angold), und *LMA* s. v. Theodoros I. Laskaris (8, 627, D. M. Nicol) auch die hier von G. ignorierten, von ihm aber an anderer Stelle registrierten Arbeiten: G. Prinzing, Das byzantinische Kaisertum im Umbruch, 1993, 143 und 161; W. T. Treadgold, History of the Byzantine State and Society, 1997, 719, 725 und 860; D. Abulafia (ed.), The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. V, c. 1198–c. 1300. 1999, 547 (Angold) und Macrides, George Akropolites 158 und 160.

Auch die folgenden, von der früheren Forschung bereits geklärten Ereignisse werden von G. weitgehend zutreffend geschildert:[14] Die vorübergehende Gefangenschaft des Theodoros unter Alexios IV., seine bald darauf (wohl im Herbst 1203) erfolgte Flucht nach Kleinasien mit der engsten Familie und die erst allmählich und nicht ohne Widerstände durchgesetzte Etablierung seiner Herrschaft im Raum Prusa/Nikaia. Letztere gipfelte in der Ausrufung des Theodoros Laskaris zum Kaiser (1205), die erst 1208 mit der von Patriarch Michael IV. Autoreianos vorgenommenen Krönung und Salbung ihren kirchlichen Abschluss fand. Allerdings blendet G. hier (46 ff.) die wohl Ende 1204 (spätestens Anfang 1205) erfolgte und bald auch Theodoros zu Ohren gekommene Gefangennahme von Alexios III. durch Bonifaz von Montferrat (mit anschließender Festsetzung des Exkaisers in Italien) völlig aus (er registriert sie nur Kap. V, 141), obwohl gerade sie dem von Theodoros erhobenen Herrschaftsanspruch den ersten, kräftigen Legitimationsschub verschafft hat: Theodoros brauchte nun auf den konkurrierenden Herrschaftsanspruch seines Schwiegervaters keine Rücksicht mehr zu nehmen.[15]

Nun zu den erwähnten drei Hauptteilen 1–3, deren römisch gezählte Kapitel öfter noch Unterabschnitte aufweisen. Zunächst ein Inhaltüberblick:

In **Teil 1** behandelt G. die Außenpolitik in sieben Kapiteln: Kap. I gilt den „Beziehungen des Kaiserreichs Nikaia zum seldschukischen Sultanat von Rum“ (59–89) und besteht aus fünf Unterabschnitten: Sie beleuchten und analysieren zunächst die personalen Verflechtungen des seldschukischen Herrscherhauses mit den Byzantinern („Das konstantinopolitanische ‚Depot‘: Personen und <Familien->Bande“), dann das „Bündnis Nikäas mit dem seldschukischen Sultanat“, „Die Periode der Spannung und des Konflikts“, „Die Schlacht von Antiocheia am Mäander (1211)“, und die „Festigung friedlicher Beziehungen“). In Kap. II untersucht G. „Die Beziehungen zu den Lateinern“ (90–116), genauer gesagt zum Lateinischen Kaiserreich. In Kapitel III richtet G. den Blick auf „Die Beziehungen und Kämpfe mit den Lokalherrschern [Toparchen] Kleinasiens“ (117–131). Dabei handelt es sich um die lokalen Machthaber bzw. (aus Sicht des späteren Siegers) Insurgenten, mit denen sich Theodoros Laskaris 1202–1206 im Kampf um die Macht auseinanderzusetzen hatte,[16] nämlich Theodoros Mankaphas, Manuel Marozomes und Sabbas Asidenos (jedem gilt ein eigener Unterabschnitt). In den beiden folgenden Kapiteln richtet G. den Blick wieder nach Westen, d. h. zunächst (in IV) auf „Die Beziehungen zu Venedig“ (131–139), danach (in V) auf „Die Beziehungen zum Staat von Epeiros“ (139–150, mit dem Unterabschnitt „Der Treueid und die Untreue“, den (zukünftigen) byzantinischen Konkurrenten Nikaias im Westen, der im betrachteten Zeitraum vor allem im kirchlichen Bereich mit Nikaia in Konflikt geriet. Die beiden letzten Kapitel thematisieren das Verhältnis Nikäas zu den christlichen Mächten im Osten, so Kap. VI „Die Beziehungen zum kilikischen Armenien“

[14] Die Dokumentation ist allerdings lückenhaft, z. B. scheint G. den im Lit.-Verzeichnis angeführten und oben Fußnote 13 erwähnten Beitrag von mir nicht wirklich gelesen zu haben, was auch aus anderen Kapiteln hervorgeht.

[15] Vgl. aber die entsprechenden Hinweise in Oikonomidès, Décomposition, 27, Prinzing, Kaisertum im Umbruch, 136 oder Angold, Byzantium in Exile (*NCMH*, 5), 544.

[16] Diese Vorgänge unter dem Begriff „Außenpolitik“ (Η εξωτερική πολιτική) abzuhandeln, ist problematisch. Sinnvoller wäre es m. E. gewesen, dieses Kapitel in das Einleitungskapitel einzubinden.

(150–162), also zum kleinarmenischen Königreich, und VII „Die Beziehungen zum Kaisertum Trapezunt“ (163–185), der mit Nikaia besonders in der Gründungsphase (bis 1214) stark konkurrierenden Macht.

Teil 2 über die Innenpolitik besteht aus fünf Kapiteln. In Kap. I geht es um „Die Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftspolitik“ (187–190, mit dem Unterabschnitt „Die Politik gegenüber den Flüchtlingen“), in Kap. II um „Wirtschaft. Produktion und Erzeugnisse“ (190–208, mit drei Unterabschnitten: „Landwirtschaftliche Produktion und die Pronoia“, „Gewerbe, Handel und andere Aktivitäten“, „Münzumlauf“). In Kap. III behandelt G. „Die Verwaltung des Kaiserreichs“ (209–232, mit dem Unterabschnitt „Heeresorganisation und -verwaltung“), in Kap. IV „Der Kaiser und die Kirche“ (232–277) die Rolle der Kirche, besonders unter dem Aspekt ihrer Zusammenarbeit mit Theodoros I. Es umfasst neun Unterabschnitte. Ihr erster beleuchtet die Lage und den Widerstand der Orthodoxen bei bzw. nach der Einnahme Konstantinopels 1204, der nächste behandelt die Lage des Patriarchen Ioannes X. Kamateros, der 1206 in seinem Fluchtort Didymoteichon verstarb, und in den folgenden fünf Unterabschnitten geht es um die Wiederbegründung des konstantinopolitanischen Patriarchats in Nikaia 1208 sowie die Kirchenpolitik und Rolle der Kirche unter den vier Patriarchen von Michael IV. Autoreianos bis Manuel I. Sarantenos. In den letzten beiden behandelt G. spezielle Aspekte kirchlich bedingter Außenbeziehungen,[17] nämlich „Die Beziehungen Nikaias zur Kirche Serbiens. Das Erzbistum Serbien und die Gewährung der Autokephalie“ und „Theodoros I. und die Bewohner der lateinisch beherrschten Gebiete. Der gelehrte Michael Choniates und sein Kreis“. In Kap. V stehen „Erziehung und Bildungspolitik“ (277–288, mit dem Unterabschnitt „Der Kaiser als Feldherr und die Gelehrten“) im Vordergrund.

Teil 3 zur Kaiserideologie umfasst nur zwei Kapitel: I „Die Formung des Bildes“ (289–296, mit zwei Unterabschnitten: „Der Spiegel und das Idol“ und „*Patriotisch* und *edel*“) und II „Die Erwählung des Kaisers von Gott her und die ideologische Perspektive des Kaisertums“ (296–340), mit den acht Unterabschnitten „Das Exil, die Vertreibung aus dem Paradies und die Vision der Rückkehr“, „Die Kaisermacht als Kampftrophäe“, „Weitblick, Frömmigkeit, Wohltätigkeit“, „Theodoros, *gottgeschenkter Kaiser*“, „Der ideologische Aspekt der politischen Auferstehung“, „Der Kaiser als Sonne“, „Die Titelgebung/Intitulatio und die Eigenschaften. Die ideologische Instrumentalisierung/Nutzbarmachung der Krönung und der Salbung“, „Die Bewältigung und ideologische Dimension des Krieges“.

Der Überblick über Struktur und Inhalt der Hauptteile lässt erkennen, dass die Gliederung in drei oder sogar vier Punkten in sich nicht stimmig ist. Auf zwei habe ich (in Fußnote 16 und 17) schon hingewiesen. Der dritte hängt zwar auch mit dem erstbenannten zusammen, betrifft aber die Trennung von „Lateinern“ und „Venezianern“. Anders gesagt: Neben der (in Fußnote 16) vorgeschlagenen Verschiebung von Teil 1/Kapitel III in die Einleitung wäre es m. E. sinnvoll gewesen, Kapitel II und IV zu einem einzigen Kapitel *II „Die Beziehungen des Kaiserreichs von Nikaia zum Lateinischen Kaiserreich von Konstantinopel (unter Einschluss Venedigs) 1205–1221“ zusammenzufassen. Dabei hätte man auch eventuell die von G. in seinem Kap. II mit untergebrachten Beziehungen zu den Bulgaren, die man in einem den „Lateinern“

[17] Hier wird wiederum deutlich, dass auch die Rubrik des Teils 2 „Die Innenpolitik des Kaisers“, der das Kapitel IV untergeordnet ist, inhaltlich nicht weit genug gefasst ist.

gewidmeten Kapiteln nicht ohne weiteres vermutet, in einem separaten, eher kurzen Kapitel *III. „Das Reich von Nikaia unter Theodoros I. Laskaris und seine Beziehungen zu den Bulgaren" abhandeln können. Ansonsten, d.h. bei der ja auch von G. praktizierten Einbeziehung in das Lateinerkapitel, wäre es an sich angebracht gewesen, die Bulgaren auch im Titel des Kapitels mit aufscheinen zu lassen oder ihnen einen Unterabschnitt zu widmen. Ein möglicher vierter Punkt bestünde in der Überlegung, dass G. das Kap. V an sich auch sehr gut gänzlich der Kirchenpolitik, also dem Teil 2/Kapitel IV hätte zuordnen können: Denn im Grunde lässt sich, wie er selbst erkannt hat (147), an (außen-)politischen oder diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Nikaia und Epeiros praktisch nichts anführen.

Inhaltlich erweist sich die Darstellung an verschiedenen Stellen als problematisch bzw. ergänzungsbedürftig, wie sich u.a. aus den folgenden Bemerkungen zu den **Hauptteilen 1–3** ergibt:

Teil 1, Kap. I: In den Abschnitten über den Konflikt mit den Seldschuken bzw. die Schlacht von Antiocheia am Mäander (69–79) übergeht bzw. verschweigt G., dass auch der von mir in *Byz* 43 (1973) erstmals kritisch edierte Brief des lateinischen Kaisers Heinrich vom 13. Januar 1212 auf dieses Ereignis zu sprechen kommt, somit ein genuines, erstrangiges Zeugnis hierzu abgibt: So nimmt nicht nur dessen Datierung und innere Chronologie im Datierungs-Koordinaten der Schlacht (und des folgenden Waffenstillstands) eine wichtige Stellung ein,[18] sondern der Kontext des Briefes enthält auch interessante Details zur Schlacht selbst,[19] darunter den wichtigen Hinweis auf ein Selbstzeugnis des Theodoros nach seinem Sieg (vgl. dazu sowie zum Brief näherhin auch hier weiter unten). Auf den Sieg des Theodoros am Mäander hat Michael Choniates in einem Brief an Kaiser Theodoros überschwenglich reagiert und ihn dabei mit den Kaisern Basileios II. Bulgaroktonos und Herakleios auf eine Stufe gestellt, was auch von G. (81) hervorgehoben wird: Warum aber zitiert G. hier den entsprechenden Brief nur nach der alten Ausgabe von Lampros, obwohl die kritische Neuausgabe von F. Kolovou in *CFHB* 41 seit 2001 vorliegt? Für eine vertiefende Interpretation der Stelle hätte G. auch hier (und nicht nur 295) P. Stephenson, The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer. Cambridge 2003, 94 heranziehen können.

Kap. II (Lateiner): In ihm besonders (doch stellenweise auch in anderen Kapiteln von Teil 1) wäre generell auch das Regestenwerk von B. Hendrickx, Régestes [sic] des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272), *Byzantina* 14 (1988) 7–222 (kritisch) mit heranzuziehen gewesen, doch blieb es G. offenbar unbekannt. – Bei seiner mageren Interpretation der Korrespondenz zwischen Theodoros I. und Papst Innozenz III. 1207/08 übergeht G. (101) auch die päpstliche Titulatur des Kaisers (*nobilis vir*), vgl. G. Prinzing, Das Papsttum und der orthodox geprägte Südosten Europas 1180–1216, in E.-D. Hehl/I.H. Ringel/H. Seibert (Hrsg.), Das Papsttum in

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[18] Was bereits dem von G. (83, Fußnote 99) zum Waffenstillstand 1211 angeführten Regest Dölger/Wirth, Nr. 1682 klar zu entnehmen gewesen wäre …

[19] Das wiederum ist partiell berücksichtigt durch einen (bei G. 230, Fußnote 62 nach meiner Edition; aber 336, Fußnote 147, mit Zitat aus der Edition von Buchon von 1840) angeführten Beleg aus dem Brief Kaiser Heinrichs für die Anwesenheit lateinischer Söldner im Heer Theodoros' I. Dieser Beleg ist aber kein Beweis dafür, dass G. die Stelle in der Edition von 1973 auch selbst gefunden hat, vgl. seinen sonstigen, unten erläuterten Umgang mit dieser Quelle, vielmehr dürfte G. die Kenntnis der Stelle „sekundärer" Vermittlung entnommen haben.

der Welt des 12. Jh.s, Stuttgart 2002, 176 f. – 103 ff. bezieht sich G. wiederholt den oben erwähnten Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von 1212, wobei er zwar auch die kritische Edition wenigstens dem Titel nach kennt (104, Fußnote 47 mit versehentlich reduzierter Tagesangabe [3. statt 13. Januar] im Titel), sich bei der sonstigen Zitierung dieses Briefes aber abwechselnd (!) auf die älteren Editionen von D. Brial (1822) und J. Buchon (1840) stützt (vgl. 104, Fußnote 47; 106, Fußnote 51; 107 Fußnote 54; s. auch oben Fußnote 19!). Allerdings wird nirgends erkennbar, dass G. die Neu-Edition tatsächlich benutzt, also den Text samt Einleitung und Kommentar auch rezipiert hat. Denn für Paraphrasen und kommentierende Bemerkungen stützt sich G. allenthalben auf einen Artikel von Ph. Lauer in der FS Schlumberger von 1924.[20] Darin hatte Lauer zunächst den damaligen Kenntnisstand über Kaiser Heinrichs Briefe, so auch über den historisch so wichtigen vom 13. Januar 1212,[21] kundig referiert, um am Ende auch einen nur unvollständig überlieferten Brief Heinrichs von ca. 1213 an die italienischen Prälaten erstmals zu edieren.[22] Der Beweis dafür, dass G. die Edition von 1973[23] weitgehend ignoriert hat, findet sich 106, Fußnote 51, weil er hier (ohne es zu merken!)[24] aus der im Heinrich-Brief vom 13. 1. 1212 enthaltenen Paraphrase des von Theodoros Laskaris nach seinem Sieg von 1211 versandten Briefes wörtlich (nach Brials Edition) einen Passus zitiert, der am Ende lautet: „*cito terram de Latinis canibus liberaret*", in meiner Ausgabe jedoch: „*cito Greciam totam de Latinis canibus liberaret*" (415, Z. 93–94, dazu mein Kommentar 428 f.). Dieser kapitale Fehler im Umgang mit einer zentralen Quelle wäre G. wohl kaum unterlaufen, hätte er auch das Regest (Dölger-Wirth Nr. 1683) zu dem eben angeführten Brief Theodoros' I. nicht gänzlich (und das oben Fußnote 18 angeführte Regest 1682 nicht partiell) außer acht gelassen.

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20 Wie sehr G. (105) in seinen Bemerkungen zum Brief Heinrichs am Text Lauers klebt, zeigt sich u. a. an der Verwendung der längst als falsch erkannten Namensform „Dobromir Strez" (vgl. dazu außer meiner von G. öfter angeführten Dissertation [Bedeutung Bulgariens …, 1972, 117, Fußnote 1] auch den Kommentar zur Edition des Briefes vom Jan. 1212 (431, zu *Sclavo* [lies dort 423 statt 474]).

21 Doch hat Lauer, was von G. auf 104 f. dem Leser nicht vermittelt wird, diesen Brief anhand der älteren o. a. Editionen dem 13. Januar 1213 zugewiesen.

22 Diesen ohne Datum überlieferten Brief datierte Lauer wegen seiner partiellen inhaltlichen Nähe zu dem großen Brief vom Januar 1213 [1212] ebenfalls, aber mit Fragezeichen ins Jahr 1213. G. hat zu Recht bemerkt (104, Fußnote 48), dass die Datierung des großen Januar-Briefes auf 1212 (statt 1213) auch die Umdatierung des fragmentatischen Briefes an die Prälaten auf 1212 nach sich ziehen muß. Vgl. aber unten Fußnote 15.

23 Der (von G. übersehene) umfangreiche Aufsatz über die Außenpolitik Kaiser Heinrichs 1210–1216: F. Van Tricht, La politique étrangère de l'empire de Constantinople, de 1210 à 1216. Sa position en Méditerranée orientale: problèmes de chronologie et d'interprétation, *Le Moyen Âge* 107 (2001) 220–238 und 409–438, lässt u. a. wegen der darin mit unterschiedlich stichhaltigen Argumenten vertretenen These, der besagte Brief Heinrichs sei nicht auf 1212, sondern auf 1213 zu datieren, eine nochmalige Überprüfung meiner Edition (samt Kommentar) von 1973 wünschenswert erscheinen. Ich beabsichtige, sie bald in Angriff zu nehmen.

24 Dies wird daran deutlich, dass sich G. (106) zwar unmißverständlich auf den Brief an die Prälaten bezieht, aber gleichzeitig die Datierung (13 Ιουνίου [sic, Lapsus für Ιανουαρίου] 1213) anführt sowie die sich nur im Brief vom 13. Januar 1212 (1213) findende ausdrückliche Erwähnung des Theodoros Laskaris im Zusammenhang mit der Verunglimpfung der Lateiner als Hunde. Der Brief an die Prälaten (ed. Lauer, 201) spricht indes nur allgemein ohne jede Nennung des Theodoros von dieser Verunglimpfung der Lateiner seitens der Griechen.

In **Kap. IV** geht es vor allem um das von Theodoros I. im August 1219 erlassene Chrysobull für die venezianische Kolonie in Konstantinopel (Dölger-Wirth, Nr. 1703),[25] dessen lateinischer Text jüngst durch L. Pieralli, La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204–1282). Vatikanstadt 2006, no. 1, 115–118 kritisch ediert wurde (vgl. auch dort 40 f. zu der Urkunde als Auslandsbrief an die Republik Venedig). Dieses in der *BZ* bislang m. W. noch nicht angezeigte Werk konnte G. noch nicht kennen, im Gegensatz zu dem Artikel von D. Jacoby, The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261, den G. in dem von ihm auch sonst benutzten Sammelband A. Laiou (ed.), Urbs Capta, Paris 2005, 197–214 leider übersehen hat. Jacoby geht dort (206) zwar weniger ausführlich auf den Vertrag ein als G., hebt aber neben den wirtschaftlichen Vorteilen für die Venezianer deutlicher als G. die für die (Nikäno-)Byzantiner diskriminierenden Bestimmungen des Vertrages hervor.

Zu **Kap. V** (Epeiros) nur soviel: Über das oben (zur Gliederung) Angeführte hinaus ist die Darstellung zwar weitgehend zutreffend, in manchen Punkten aber (wie übrigens auch im teilweise analogen kirchengeschichtlichen Kap. IV des Hauptteils 2 auf S. 270–272) wegen der Unzulänglichkeiten in der Dokumentation teils veraltet oder unvollständig,[26] teils auch ungenau. Zur Treueidproblematik des Theodoros Dukas (142 f.) vgl. neben *Epeirotika Chronika* 25 (1983) 38 f., auch Stavridou-Zafraka, Political ideology, 314. Der Bardanes-Brief von „vielleicht zwischen 1227 und 1229" (143) gehört in die 1. Hälfte 1228, vgl. *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 3 (1984) 50 (Nr. 19), 55 und 58. Zum Brief des Chomatenos an Sava vgl. im *CFHB* 38 die Einleitung (18* f.), das Regest (179*–182*) sowie den Text Nr. 86.

Das folgende **Kap. VI** zu Kleinarmenien ist hauptsächlich auf die Gründe und Umstände der um 1214 geschlossenen politischen Ehe Theodoros' I. mit Philippa, der Tochter des Rubeniden-Fürsten Leon II., gerichtet. Aus der Ehe ging ein Sohn (Konstantin) hervor, der bald nach seinem Vater, erst sieben oder acht Jahre alt, starb. – Das eingangs von G. (150) genannte Krönungsjahr Fürst Leons II. (= König Leon I.) 1198 sollte in 1199 geändert werden, vgl. dazu B.L. Zekiyan, Rez. zu G. Prinzing/A. Schmidt (Hrsg.), Das Lemberger Evangeliar. Wiesbaden 1997, *BZ* 93 (2000) 232, und Prinzing, Das Papsttum 163, mit weiteren Nachweisen.

Dass G. schon im Titel des **Kap. VII** vom „Kaisertum Trapezunt" (αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας) spricht, ist, auch wenn er damit gängiger Praxis im Fach folgt, in diesem Fall problematisch, weil sich das Herrschaftsgebiet des späteren Kaiserreichs von Trapezunt damals noch, mindestens aber bis 1214, in seiner herrschaftsterminologisch unklaren Gründungsphase befand. Entsprechend bezeichnet G. selbst das von Alexios und David Komnenos ab ca. (1203) beherrschte Gebiet anfangs noch vorsichtig (163) als „staatliches Gebilde" (κρατικό μόρφωμα) mit Trapezunt als Hauptstadt oder als

[25] Merkwürdig, dass das Regest bei G. erst 135, Fußnote 10, und nicht schon 133, Fußnote 7 (hier die Editions- und Literaturbelege) angeführt wird, zumal im Regest mehr diesbezügliche Informationen geboten werden als bei G.

[26] Zumeist wegen mangelnder Berücksichtigung einiger meiner Artikel – gemeint sind u. a. die freilich auf deutsch, aber mit griechischen Zusammenfassungen versehenen in *Epeirotika Chronika* 24 (1982) und 25 (1983), in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 3 (1984) oder auf Englisch im *ZRVI* 41 (2004) publizierten – sowie die Chomatenos-Ausgabe samt ihrer Einleitung (*CFHB*, 38. 2002). Vgl. diesbezüglich auch G. 264 f. und 269–272.

„Staat, Herrschaftsbereich (κράτος) von Trapezunt“ (164). Aber dann geht G. unreflektiert, ohne weitere Problematisierung seiner Terminologie, dazu über (165 ff.), diese neue, noch im Werden begriffene politische Struktur schon ab 1204 durchgehend als Kaisertum zu bezeichnen, entsprechend auch Alexios I. als Kaiser (163, 165). Wäre dies auch aus Sicht späterer trapezuntischer Quellen gedeckt, so bleibt doch festzuhalten, dass es keine gesicherten zeitgenössischen Belege für den Kaisertitel der Gründer und „Großkomnenen“ des trapezuntischen Staates, Alexios und David Komnenos, gibt, da er erst für Manuel I. (1238–1263) und seine Nachfolger wirklich gesichert ist.[27] Mit diesem Befund wird zugleich auch ein wichtiges Element im Vergleich der Entwicklung der drei Nachfolgestaaten, das Trapezunt mit Epeiros verbindet, erkennbar. – Sinnvollerweise untersucht G. in diesem Kapitel neben den militärisch-politischen Auseinandersetzungen mit Nikaia auch die Frage der Bemühungen der Herrscher Trapezunts um kirchliche Autonomie gegenüber dem Patriarchat (180 ff.). Es zeigt sich, dass hierin ein weiterer, mit Epeiros gemeinsamer Punkt in der Entwicklung der Eigenstaatlichkeit Trapezunts gegenüber Nikaia liegt, also im Mitsprache-, bzw. Bestätigungsrecht des Herrschers bei der Besetzung von Bistümern. (Die enge Verzahnung „rein“ profaner Politik mit der Kirchenpolitik verdeutlicht erneut die Schwierigkeit, unter diesen Umständen „Innen-“ von „Außenpolitik“ trennen zu wollen.)

Auch in Bezug auf die Kapitel in den **Teilen 2–3** bestätigt sich das bisher gewonnene Bild über die unterschiedlich ausgefallene Qualität der Arbeit. Nur wenige Belege seien genannt: In Teil 2, Kap. III, 218, Fußnote 26 und 29 zum Mesazon bzw. οἰκονόμος τῶν κοινῶν Demetrios Tornikos fehlt neben dem Hinweis auf Verpeaux bzw. Loenertz auch jeweils der auf Beck, Ministerpräsident (wie von G. zuvor, 210 Fußnote 4, neben Verpeaux zitiert), 320 f. – G. bezeichnet (223 Fußnote 45) den Artikel über die Sebastokratoren von B. Ferjančić im *ZRVI* 11 (1968) als grundlegend, übergeht aber den darin (172 f.), wie auch schon bei Angold (1974, 61) genannten Nikephoros Kontostephanos, belegt durch Dölger/Wirth, Regesten, Nr. 1694 und 1695 (von vor 1216); s. auch Macrides, Akropolites, 218. Auf 223–224 hätte G. auch nochmals auf den von ihm schon vorher (128–131) behandelten Sabas Asidenos zurückkommen müssen, da ja auch er, was G. (131) selbst registriert hat, von Theodor Laskaris den Sebastokrator-Titel erhalten hatte (vgl. Ferjančić, wie oben, 172, 192, der von G. [131] nicht mit angeführt wird).

Für **Kap. IV** (über die Kirche), geht es naturgemäß wegen der weit über das Reich Nikaia hinaus ausgreifenden Kirchenprovinzen des Patriarchats Konstantinopel/Nikaia u. a. auch um die kirchlichen Beziehungen zu Zypern. Sofern G. dann die Beziehungen zum Papsttum streift, wirkt es sich nachteilig aus, dass G. auch hier meinen oben erwähnten Beitrag (Das Papsttum …) nicht zur Kenntnis genommen hat, der auch die Beziehungen der Bulgaren und Serben sowie des Athos zum Papsttum bis

[27] Vgl. etwa Prinzing, Kaisertum im Umbruch, 171–173, mit weiteren Nachweisen, und jetzt auch S. P. Karpov, Istorija Trapezundskoj imperii. St. Petersburg 2007, 93, 97 und (zusammenfassend) 495: Als Gründungsphase sieht er den Zeitraum 1204–1214 an, als Phase der Herausbildung des lokalen pontischen Staates zum Kaisertum die Jahre 1214–1280.

1216 einschließt.[28] Zu den auch hier öfter genannten Chomatenos-Akten (G. 239, 263, 270 f.) bzw. zum Briefcorpus des Michael Choniates (G. 274 ff., dann auch Teil 3, Kap. II [300, 303 passim]) gilt ebenfalls, was oben zu Teil 1/Kap. I bzw. V gesagt wurde).

In **Kap. V** irritiert es, dass G. (281, 285 ff.) Blemmydes' Autobiographie teils nach der neuen Edition von J. Munitiz, teils nach der alten von A. Heisenberg zitiert.

Um abzubrechen und abzuschließen: Die Arbeit erweckt zunächst den Anschein, als würde sie alle Aspekte der Errichtung, Sicherung und Entwicklung des Exilreiches in Kleinasien unter Theodoros I. Laskaris umfassend und nach den neuesten Wissenstand untersuchen. Es ist dem vorliegenden Buch aber bei näherer Betrachtung an vielen Stellen (auch über die genannten hinaus) zu entnehmen, dass sich G. bei der bibliographischen Recherche, im Umgang mit den Quellen und bei ihrer kritischen Auswertung, wie auch im Umgang mit der von ihm nur lückenhaft erfassten Sekundärliteratur öfter mit Problemen konfrontiert sah, deren Bewältigung ihm zum Teil wohl auch wegen begrenzter Sprachkenntnisse größere Schwierigkeiten bereitet hat.[29] Dieser Umstand hinderte ihn letztlich daran, auch tatsächlich eine auf dem neuesten Forschungsstand basierende Synthese methodisch stringent zu erarbeiten: eine Synthese, deren neue Ergebnisse, konzis formuliert und deutlich gegenüber dem bisher bekannten, älteren Forschungsstand abgesetzt, den Lesern am Ende ein klar konturiertes, differenziertes, gleichsam neu justiertes Bild dieses Kaisers sowie des von ihm beherrschten nikänischen Reiches vermitteln, ohne dabei die Beziehungen zu seinen Nachbarn oder die weltlichen und kirchlichen Wirkkräfte im Inneren auszuklammern. Sein selbst gestecktes Ziel hat er daher nur bedingt erreicht. So ist es kein Zufall, dass trotz der mit vielen Quellen-Zitaten versehenen, durchaus materialreichen Darstellung auch die nicht besonders sorgfältig erstellte[30] und in Bezug auf die Kapitelabfolge stellenweise lückenhafte englische Zusammenfassung eher blass und farblos ausfällt.

Mainz *Günter Prinzing*

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[28] Vgl. z.B. Papsttum, 168 (mit Fußnote 109), sowie Prinzing, Bedeutung Bulgariens, 5 f. zu G. 239, Fußnote 32; oder Papsttum, 181 zum Todesdatum des Michaels IV. Autoreianos: nicht August 1214 (G. 254), sondern 13. Nov. 1213.

[29] Einige kleinere Versehen: 85, Fußnote 106 lies: Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, S. 190 (statt 90). 104 Fußnote 47: Lies im Zitat aus dem Brief Ks. Heinrichs „pervenerit" statt „pervenerir." 105 Fußnote 50: Aus Lauer, Lettre, 199 ist auch das dort angeführte Zitat des Robert de Clari (aus Hopfs veralteter, statt nach Lauers Ausgabe von 1924) übernommen. In der Bibliographie lies Haluščynskyj statt Haluscynsyj; Peschlow statt Preschlow; Weigand statt Weingand; die in der Bibliographie registrierten Arbeiten K. Rheidt, Byzantinische Wohnhäuser des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Pergamon. *DOP* 44 (1990) 195–204 und K.M. Setton, The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571), I–II, Philadelphia 1976 sind, wenn ich richtig sehe, nirgends im Buch sonst zitiert. – Fast alle russischen, aber auch einige andere slavischen, kyrillisch geschriebenen Titel sind von G. mehr oder weniger fehlerhaft transkribiert worden, und zwar nicht nur wegen der ebenfalls fast immer (warum?) fehlenden diakritischen Zeichen.

[30] S. 346 lies „In 1205 Theodoros was proclaimed emperor" statt „…crowned emperor".

B. Jokisch, Islamic Imperial Law. Harun-Al-Rashid's Codification Project. *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, NF* 19. Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2007. 757 S. ISBN 3-11-019048-6.

Eine kürzlich erschienene Hamburger (arabistische) Habilitation wirft verschiedene – z. T. zentrale – Fragen der byzantinischen wie auch der arabischen Geschichte des 7. bis 9. (teilweise auch des 10.) Jh.s auf, denen von byzantinistischer Seite nachgegangen werden muß.

Vorliegendes Buch möchte gleich zwei Disziplinen revolutionieren: die islamische Rechtsgeschichte (hier in einem so breiten Kontext behandelt, daß man eigentlich von islamischer Kulturgeschichte sprechen müßte) und die Geschichte der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit (6.–10. Jh.). Das ist ein kühnes Unterfangen, und es ist weitgehend gescheitert, zumindest was den byzantinistischen Anteil dieses umfangreichen Werkes (757 S.) angeht. Aber auch der im engeren Sinne islamisch-rechtsgeschichtliche Anteil, eigentlich der Kern der Abhandlung, erweckt in zahlreichen Vorstellungen und Behauptungen erhebliche Zweifel.

Ein sehr schneller Rezensent schloß seine (wohlwollende, aber auch vorsichtige) Besprechung mit dem Satz: „Man darf gespannt sein, inwieweit seine (scil. die des Verf.) ebenso weitreichenden wie eingehend begründeten, auf einem breiten Überblick beruhenden Thesen von anderen Islamwissenschaftlern, vor allem aber von Historikern, Byzantinisten und Rechtshistorikern zur Kenntnis genommen und bestätigt, oder ihrerseits infrage gestellt werden.“[31] Hier kann die arabistische bzw. islamwissenschaftliche Dimension des Buches bestenfalls gestreift werden. Einige byzantinistische Aspekte hingegen sollen im Mittelpunkt stehen.

Jokisch (= J.) meint nachweisen zu können, daß im ausgehenden 8. Jh. – unter der Ägide des Kalifen Hārūn ar-Rashīd bzw. der Barmekiden[32] – eine griechische Digestenparaphrase nebst Kommentar(en) ins Arabische übersetzt worden ist und die Grundlage für einige wichtige arabische Rechtsbücher (insbesondere des *Mabsūṭ* [bzw. *Aṣl*] des Shaybānī) darstellte. Die Abbasiden hätten ab ca. 750 versucht, ein Staatssystem zu etablieren, das dem „centralist absolutism in Byzantium“ entspräche. Dazu habe auch die Kodifikation des Rechts nach byzantinischem Vorbild gehört. Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809) bzw. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, der Tutor des Hārūn, hätten dann diese Kodifikation in entscheidender Weise vorangetrieben.

In dieser Zeit (ausgehendes 8. Jh.) begann die arabische Rezeption griechischer wissenschaftlicher Texte, die die Grundlage für die spätere Blüte der arabischen Philosophie, Medizin usw. darstellte. Dieser höchst wichtige historische Vorgang wurde und wird umfangreich erforscht. Bisher allerdings hat man – so weit ich sehe – keine Spur von übersetzten griechischen Rechtstexten gefunden.[33]

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31 R. Zimmermann, *Zeitschrift für Europäisches Privatrecht* 2008/3, 655–656. Inzwischen erschien eine kritische Rezension von arabistischer Seite: M. Tillier, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 125 (2009) 308–315.

32 Zu dieser bedeutenden Familie der frühen Abbasidenzeit siehe etwa D. Sourdel, *EI*^{2} I (1986) 1033–1036 (s. n. al-Barāmika).

33 Siehe etwa den Überblick der ins Arabische übersetzten griechischen Werke (geordnet nach wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen) bei D. Gutas, Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries). London 1998, 193–196.

Diese Übersetzungsbewegung, gefördert und forciert von den abbasidischen Kalifen, wird im Kontext der Etablierung einer "imperial ideology" gesehen, verbunden mit einer Zentralisierung der Herrschaftsstrukturen im Kalifat.[34] Bisher sah man hier die Wirkung persischer (zoroastrischer) Vorstellungen, wie sie das sassanidische Herrscherhaus in vorislamischer Zeit entwickelt hatte.[35] Entsprechend gering stufte man den Einfluß der zeitgenössischen (christlichen) Herrschaftsideologien des Byzantinischen Reiches ein. Die Rezeption griechischen Wissens betraf fast ausschließlich „antike" Texte (Philosophie, Medizin usw.), man denke nur an Aristoteles oder Galen. Die vorliegende Untersuchung widerspricht dieser Vorstellung mit allem Nachdruck. Dabei kann sich der Leser nicht dem Eindruck entziehen, daß J. sich offenbar seiner Ergebnisse bezüglich der von ihm angenommenen arabischen Übersetzung des griechischen Digestentextes nicht so ganz sicher war und entsprechend zusätzliche Argumente für seine These in einem allgemein historischen Kontext suchte.

Hinzu kommt der Umstand, daß ich nicht einen nachvollziehbaren Gedanken finde, der bezeugen könnte, daß auch nur ein einziger, von wem auch immer verfaßter griechischer Kommentar zu den Digesten eine Spur in arabischen Rechtstexten hinterlassen hat. Es gibt in dieser Hinsicht zwar zahlreiche Behauptungen, die aber kaum Plausibilität beanspruchen können.

J. versucht zu zeigen, daß die Intensität der "cultural interaction" zwischen Byzanz und dem arabischen Kalifat im 7.–9. Jh. "goes far beyond what has been supposed" (S. 5). Die angebliche gegenseitige Beeinflussung der arabischen und der byzantinischen Geschichte bringt der Verf. auf den S. 440–442 in Tabellenform. Dafür muß man ihm dankbar sein, denn so kann man ohne große Mühe sehen, daß wir es mit einer Ansammlung von Fehlern, Zufällen und Mißverständnissen zu tun haben. Ich verzichte auf eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung. Einige Beispiele werden weiter unten behandelt.

Auf den S. 97–259 wird der rechtshistorische Kern der Abhandlung behandelt. J. versucht hier möglichst eindeutige Parallelen zwischen dem islamischen Recht (insbesondere bei Shaybānī) und dem römischen Recht zu präsentieren – mit dem Ziel, über eine inhaltliche Analyse eine direkte Abhängigkeit der arabischen Juristen um 800 a.D. von den Digesten zu beweisen.

Hätte der Verf. sich auf diesen Themenkomplex beschränkt, und wäre er vielleicht noch intensiver den Übereinstimmungen nachgegangen, hätte dies ein wichtiges Buch werden können. Leider aber muß man feststellen, daß seine Quellenbasis ausgesprochen schmal ist. Die herangezogenen Stellen reduzieren sich auf nur wenige Bücher der Digesten bzw. der Basiliken. Da J. seinem umfangreichen Band keine ordentlichen Register beigegeben hat, ist eine genaue Kontrolle der behandelten Bereiche des römischen Digestenrechts sehr schwierig. Der offenbar elektronisch generierte "index of persons" ist ein dürftiger Ersatz für ordentliche Register. Insbesondere ein Stellenregister, wie eigentlich bei rechtshistorischen Arbeiten üblich, fehlt. Und so ist man – will man sehen, welche Digestenstellen nun wirklich von Relevanz sind – genötigt, sich selbst daran zu machen, lange Listen zu erstellen. Unterzieht man sich dieser höchst mühsamen Aufgabe, stößt man auf ein ernüchterndes Ergebnis: Im Kern geht es um

34 Vgl. Gutas a. a. O.

35 Gutas a. a. O. bes. S. 28–45 – mit einleuchtender (und nachvollziehbarer) Begründung.

Stellen aus dem 21. Buch der Digesten (das 18. Buch sowie das 19. sind schon wesentlich weniger vertreten; geschätzte 80–90% des Digestentextes gar nicht). Das 21. Buch der Digesten handelt von den Mängeln beim Verkauf, wobei insbesondere der Sklavenhandel im Vordergrund steht.

Benutzt wurde die englische Digestenübersetzung von Alan WATSON, die parallel den Text der „großen" Digestenedition von Theodor MOMMSEN und Paul KRUEGER abdruckt.[36] Hier werden auch die entsprechenden Stellen in den Basiliken angegeben, der großen byzantinischen Kodifikation des ausgehenden 9. Jh.s.[37] Allerdings beziehen sich diese Angaben auf die alte (und weitgehend veraltete) Basilikenedition der Brüder HEIMBACH, die zwischen 1833 und 1870 erschien.[38] Dem 21. Buch der Digesten entspricht der Titel des 19. Buches der Basiliken. Und gerade dieser Titel ist, wie sehr leicht der neuen (und maßgebenden) Ausgabe von Herman J. SCHELTEMA und Nicolaas VAN DER WAL entnommen werden kann, *restitutus*. Dieser Titel ist also nicht direkt überliefert, sondern „nur" in anderen byzantinischen Rechtsbüchern (etwa in der sog. Peira und der Synopsis maior Basilicorum) in Auszügen zitiert worden. All das hat der Verf. nicht beachtet; und obwohl die Ausgabe von SCHELTEMA und VAN DER WAL im Quellenverzeichnis auftaucht, finden sich keine Spuren ihrer Benutzung. Das ist kein simpler Schönheitsfehler, denn die Zählung der einzelnen Abschnitte und oft auch der Wortlaut differieren mitunter.

Schon allein dieser Umsttand zeigt, daß J. offenbar Probleme beim Umgang mit byzantinischen Rechtsquellen hat. In naiver Weise behandelt er den restituierten Text von Bas. 19.1, als habe man hier den Originaltext einer der griechischen Digestenparaphrasen des 6. Jh.s vor Augen. Höchste Vorsicht bei Interpretationen, auf die weitreichende Schlußfolgerungen gegründet werden, hätte beobachtet werden müssen. Da Bas. 19 nur indirekt überliefert ist, gibt es zu diesem Titel auch keine Scholien! Wenn der Verf. dennoch davon ausgeht, bewiesen zu haben, daß nicht nur eine griechische Digestenparaphrase sondern auch noch Kommentare (Scholien) mit ins Arabische übersetzt wurden, ist das nicht nachvollziehbar.

Im Jahre 1960 erschien die Bonner Dissertation von Günter WIEDENSOHLER, Mängel beim Kauf nach Islamischem Recht. Hier findet sich eine deutsche Übersetzung (S. 40–73) des Abschnitts „Über die Mängel bei sämtlichen Verkäufen" aus Shaybānīs *Aṣl*, was den Vergleich mit den Ausführungen des Verf. erleichtert. Er erwähnt dieses Buch zwar gelegentlich (143 Fußnote 307, 167 Fußnote 466), doch derart versteckt,[39] daß man sich nach den Gründen dafür fragen mag … Denn schaut man sich die Stellen an, wo einzelne Passagen aus Dig. 21 mit dem eben genannten Abschnitt aus dem *Aṣl* des Shaybānī verglichen werden, sieht man sich immer wieder an Wiedensohlers Dissertation erinnert. Hat die Konzentration auf Dig. 21 bzw. das Mängelrecht hier ihre Ursache?

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36 The Digest of Justinian. Latin text ed. by TH. MOMMSEN with the aid of P. KRUEGER, English transl. ed. by A. WATSON, I–IV. Philadelphia 1985.

37 Siehe A. SCHMINCK/A. KAZHDAN, in *ODB* 295 f.; S. TROIANOS, Οι πηγές του Βυζαντινού δικαίου. Athen/Komotini ^{2}1999, 181–189. Beide grundlegende Referenzwerke wurden vom Verf. nicht benutzt.

38 Basilicorum Libri LX, ed. G. E. HEIMBACH … I–VI. Leipzig 1833/1870.

39 Jedenfalls taucht WIEDENSOHLER weder im Quellen- noch im Literaturverzeichnis auf.

Dieses wirklich ernüchternde Ergebnis (einige Beispiele werden gleich angeführt) bringt das gesamte (keineswegs kunstvoll) errichtete Ideengebäude des Verf. zum Einsturz. Entweder lagen den behandelten arabischen Juristen nur Auszüge aus den Digesten vor – was vielleicht möglich (m. E. aber eher unwahrscheinlich) ist – oder aber, J. hat nur einen (zu) kleinen Ausschnitt aus einem viel größerem Spektrum möglicher Parallelen zwischen arabischem und römischen Recht behandelt. Wäre das der Fall, hätte man eigentlich eine Begründung für eine derartige Beschränkung erwarten dürfen. Ich finde sie im vorliegenden Buch jedoch nicht. Das mag an mir liegen – ein ordentlicher Sachindex hätte da Sicherheit schaffen können.

Die behandelten Rechtsfälle sind oft von einer ernüchternden Allgemeinheit, will sagen, es geht (zu) oft um Fälle, für die es so oder so ähnliche Parallelen in allen möglichen Rechtskulturen gibt, die Sklavenhandel kannten – also fast alle. Muß man gleich eine umfassende und vollständige Rezeption der Digesten (resp. eine griechischen Digestenparaphrase nebst Kommentaren) unterstellen, um bestimmte – oft sehr allgemeine oder auch nur scheinbare – Parallelen zwischen römischem und arabischem Recht erklären zu können?

Mit dieser Feststellung will ich nicht behaupten, daß es keine mittelbare oder indirekte Beeinflussung der vom Verf. untersuchten arabischen Rechtsbücher durch römisches Recht gegeben haben könnte. Angesichts des Umstandes, daß die arabische Halbinsel mit Mekka lange vor Muḥammad in den spätantiken Wirtschafts- und Kulturraum integriert war, sind Kenntnisse bestimmter (auch zentraler) Aspekte des römischen Handelsrechts grundsätzlich vorauszusetzen. Wie Patricia Crone kürzlich zeigte,[40] war gerade der führende Stamm der Quraysh in Mekka über längere Zeit (vor der Entstehung des Islam) als römischer Heereslieferant aktiv, was auch Kontakte zum römischen Handelsrecht (in welcher Form auch immer) mehr als wahrscheinlich erscheinen läßt.

Es ist wohl notwendig, daß von arabistischer Seite diese Problematik geprüft wird. Aber aus der Sicht des Byzantinisten, der sich mit der (griechischen) handschriftlichen Überlieferung des sog. griechisch-römischen Rechts lange Jahre befaßt hat, sind diverse Zweifel zu formulieren. Hat der Verf. wirklich eine Vorstellung vom Umfang der von ihm postulierten Handschrift (eines Pergamentkodex) mit einer umfassenden Digestenparaphrase nebst Kommentar bzw. Glossen? Es müßten mehrere Volumina gewesen sein, mit Tausenden von Seiten. Und wieso wurden in erster Linie juristische Inhalte des Buches 21 der Digesten rezipiert (d. h. ins Arabische übersetzt), andere jedoch kaum? Solange keine eindeutigen Beweise vorgelegt werden, daß auch andere Bereiche des römischen Rechts einen Widerhall in den untersuchten arabischen Rechtsbüchern fanden, kann die These J.s bestenfalls als interessante Möglichkeit angesehen werden.

An zahllosen Stellen erweckt die „Methodik" des Verf.s erhebliche Bedenken. Das betrifft z. B. auch seine selektive Benutzung der Sekundärliteratur. Kurz gesagt: Aussagen usw., die seinen Konstrukten entgegenstehen, werden ignoriert oder mit lapidaren Bemerkungen beiseite geschoben. Dies betrifft aber nicht nur die byzantinistische Seite dieses Buches (dazu gleich einige typische Fälle), auch Ergebnisse der arabistischen Forschung, die nicht „passen", werden übergangen. Am deutlichsten

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[40] P. Crone, Quraysh and the Roman Army. Making Sense of the Meccan Leather Trade. *BSOAS* 70 (2007) 63–88.

zeigt sich dies – um ein prägnantes Beispiel zu nennen – bei der Behandlung einer seiner arabischen Hauptquellen, des *Mabsūṭ* (bzw. *Aṣl*) genannten juristischen Werkes des Shaybānī. Einige Arabisten haben in der jüngsten Zeit die Authentizität der Verfasserschaft angezweifelt bzw. eine „Entstehung" dieser Schrift lange nach Shaybānī behauptet.[41] Éric Chaumont bemerkte in seinem Artikel „al-Shaybānī" in der *Encyclopaedia of Islam* lapidar, daß das *Mabsūṭ* "is in fact a compilation of forty-seven short texts of *fiḳh*, considerably adapted over years".[42] J. erwähnt diese aktuelle Forschungssituation zwar (z. B. S. 38 f. mit Fußnote 135 und S. 98), wischt sie jedoch mit wenigen lapidaren Bemerkungen beiseite. Insbesondere verweist er auf seine Ergebnisse im vorliegenden Band, die dem widersprächen. Eine wirkliche Auseinandersetzung mit den genannten kontroversen Forschungsmeinungen vermißt man hingegen. Da an zahlreichen anderen Stellen ebenso verfahren wird, könnte man hier einen Grundzug des vorliegenden Werkes vermuten: Widersprechende Forschungsmeinungen werden schlicht ignoriert bzw. *en passant* abgelehnt.

S. 168 f. (Case 2) meint der Verf. eine Stelle im *Mabsūṭ* über die Definition von Krankheit (bezogen auf den Sklavenverkauf) auf Bas. 19.10.1.7 (bzw. Dig. 21.1.1.1) zurückführen zu können. Da die Unterschiede jedoch eklatant sind, postuliert er einen Übersetzungsfehler. Blindheit, griech. τύφλωσις, sei ein "ambiguous term", der nicht nur Blindheit, sondern auch "interior" bedeuten könne. Das ist irrig (ähnlich falsch S. 218: τυφλός), denn τύφλωσις hat nicht diese postulierte Nebenbedeutung. Außerdem zeigt sich auch an dieser Stelle, daß die Benutzung der alten Heimbachschen Ausgabe (1840) problematisch sein kann. Die vom Verf. als "important" bezeichnete Passage … κατὰ μέρος τοῦ σώματος … findet sich nur bei Heimbach und nicht in der neuen Ausgabe von Scheltema und van der Wal.[43] Zahllose weitere derartige Fehler durchziehen das Buch.

S. 236–241 werden *ḥadīth*-Traditionen, "which no doubt contain material borrowed from Roman law" (S. 237) behandelt. Alles dreht sich wieder um Dig. 21.1 und da insbesondere um Probleme beim Verkauf (Mängel etc.). Oft sind die behaupteten Abhängigkeiten von einer derart allgemeinen Natur, daß man – wie schon angemerkt – davon ausgehen kann, in jedem entwickelten Rechtssystem Parallelen finden zu können. Ein Beispiel: Der Prophet kaufte einen Sklaven – "He bought from him a slave or a girl slave which is free of physical, mental and legal defects and which is sold by a Muslim to a Muslim." Dies soll auf Dig. 21.1.1.1. (siehe auch Bas. 19.10.1) basieren: „Diejenigen, die Sklaven verkaufen, müssen die Käufer darüber aufklären, was jeder Sklave an Krankheiten oder Mängeln hat, wer zur Flucht neigt oder ein Herumtreiber ist oder von einer Schadenstat nicht befreit ist."[44]

Keineswegs immer wird die behauptete Übereinstimmung auch nur im Ansatz deutlich; z. B. auf S. 241, wo eine angeblich auf den Propheten zurückgehende Tradition – "He who deceives us does not belong to us" – auf Dig. 21.1.1.2 („Der Grund für den Erlaß dieses Edikts ist, Betrügereien von Verkäufern vorzubeugen und allen

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41 N. Calder, Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence. Oxford 1993, bes. 39–66.

42 É. Chaumont, *EI*^{2} IX (1997) 392–394 (s. n. al- Shaybānī), Zitat S. 393.

43 Vgl. Basilicorum Libri LX, ed. G. E. Heimbach … II. Leipzig 1840, 301 mit Basilicorum Libri LX, edd. H. J. Scheltema / N. van der Wal, ser. A, III. Groningen 1960, 952 f.

44 Übersetzung nach R. Knüttel / B. Kupisch / H. H. Seiler / O. Behrends, Corpus Iuris Civilis. Text und Übersetzung IV: Digesten 21–27. Heidelberg 2005, 1.

Käufern zu Hilfe zu kommen, die von ihren Verkäufern getäuscht worden sind …“[45]) bezogen wird. Noch ein Beispiel: der Prophet habe gesagt: “Don't sell fishes in the water, for this risk” (S. 242). Dieser Satz soll nun Dig. 18.1.8.1 entsprechen („Manchmal kann jedoch ein Kauf auch ohne eine Sache angenommen werden, zum Beispiel wenn man gewissermaßen Würfelglück [eine Chance] kauft. Dies ist der Fall, wenn ein künftiger Fang von Fischen oder Vögeln gekauft wird oder das, was jemand von den unter das Volk geworfenen Geschenken erlangt“[46]).

Besonders fragwürdig sind die Ausführungen des Verf.s über Byzanz. Wie erwähnt, versuchte er, die Interdependenzen zwischen den Entwicklungen im Kalifat und im Byzantinischen Reich zu betonen bzw. bestimmte historische Phänomene in diesem Sinne neu zu deuten. Das ist eine legitime und interessante Fragestellung. Denn es lassen sich tatsächlich gegenseitige Beeinflussungen feststellen oder doch wenigstens annehmen.[47]

Beginnend mit der Frühzeit des Ommayadenkalifats im 7. Jh. bis weit ins 9. Jh. hinein werden Ereignisse und Strukturen beider Reiche simpel als Reaktionen auf Vorgänge im jeweils anderen Staat gedeutet. Das geht aber nur, wenn man die von der Forschung gesicherten Vorgänge ignoriert und an ihre Stelle Konstrukte setzt, deren Existenzberechtigung offenbar allein in der vermeintlichen Stützung der Thesen des Verfs. zu finden sind. Hinzu kommt ein verheerender Umstand: Der Verf. hat offensichtlich Probleme, mit griechischen Quellentexten umzugehen. Zwar ist der Text des Buches mit zahllosen griechischen Wörtern gespickt, doch ist eine inakzeptabel hohe Zahl davon falsch geschrieben. Hinzu kommen abenteuerliche (oft auch völlig absurde) Übersetzungen dieser griechischen Begriffe. Obwohl die wichtigsten Lexika im Literaturverzeichnis auftauchen, wurden sie wohl nur in wenigen Ausnahmefällen auch benutzt.

Ähnlich verhält es sich mit der verwendeten Sekundärliteratur. Das Literaturverzeichnis ist von einer beeindruckenden Länge. Geht man aber ins Detail, dann zeigt sich, daß diese Menge an Literatur bestenfalls selektiv benutzt wurde. Und das vorrangigste Selektionskriterium waren die Thesen des Verfassers. Ohne wirkliche Kenntnis der byzantinischen Quellen und damit der Fähigkeit, die Sekundärliteratur richtig einordnen zu können, suchte und fand J. immer nur das, was er brauchte. Oft wurden Aussagen einzelner Autoren völlig aus dem Zusammenhang gerissen und sogar in ihr Gegenteil verkehrt. Sehr oft wird völlig veraltete Literatur benutzt und die heute relevanten Arbeiten werden ignoriert. Das Ergebnis sind derart irritierende Behauptungen über die byzantinische Geschichte, über einzelne byzantinische historische Personen und Prozesse, daß man mehr als erstaunt ist.

Es ist heute – angesichts des Internets und der Existenz diverser bibliographischer CD-ROMs[48] – eigentlich nicht mehr schwer, die aktuelle Literatur zur byzantinischen

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[45] Ebd. 2.

[46] Übersetzung nach R. Knüttel/B. Kupisch/H.H. Seiler/O. Behrends, Corpus Iuris Civilis. Text und Übersetzung III: Digesten 11–20. Heidelberg 1999, 443.

[47] Siehe z.B. C. Zuckerman, Learning from the Enemy and More. Studies in the “Dark Centuries” of Byzantium. *Millennium* 2 (2005) 79–135, der mit der gebotenen Vorsicht einen arabischem Einfluß auf bestimmte Aspekte des byzantinischen Steuersystems im 7./8. Jh. herausstellt.

[48] Etwa der CD-ROM der Bibliographie der *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift*, die sich wohl in jeder größeren Bibliothek findet und die inzwischen auch online zugänglich ist.

Geschichte des 7. und 8. Jh.s zu ermitteln. Anders als andere Wissenschaften verfügt die internationale Byzantinistik immer noch über ein „Zentralorgan": die *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* mit ihrer umfassenden Bibliographie. Sich hier kundig zu machen, ist eine billige Forderung.

An dieser Stelle können nicht alle fragwürdigen Darstellungen byzantinischer Vorgänge und Phänomene behandelt werden. Einige zentrale Irrtümer müssen dennoch etwas eingehender dargestellt werden.

Eine eigenartige Rolle spielen im vorliegenden Buch die byzantinischen Zirkusparteien (siehe bes. S. 19 f., 38–41, 224, 338–342 und passim). Bekanntlich spielten diese im Dunstkreis der Zirkusspiele (insbesondere der Wagenrennen) agierenden Verbände, die mitunter erheblich in die Politik eingriffen (oft auf eine ausgesprochen destruktive Weise), bis ins beginnende 7. Jh. eine Rolle in der häufig chaotischen Innenpolitik im Byzantinischen Reich. Obwohl der Verf. das Standardwerk von Alan Cameron[49] kennt und zitiert, unterstellt er den „Parteien" der Blauen und Grünen Eigenschaften, die sie nie hatten. Er bringt sie mit der Azāriḳa[50] genannten Gruppe zusammen, die eine Hauptströmung der sog. Khāridjiten darstellte, der ersten islamischen „Sekte",[51] die nach der Schlacht von Ṣiffin zwischen ʿAli und Muʿāwiyah (Juli 657) im arabischen Kalifat entstand. Die Azāriḳa stellten den radikalen Flügel der Khāridjiten dar. Sie repräsentierten – so der Verf. – angeblich einen Teil der Zirkusparteien, die nach der arabischen Eroberung des Vorderen Orients zum Islam konvertiert seien und als politisch-religiöse Gruppe (unter neuem Namen) weiterexistierten. Als Gründer (und Namensgeber) dieser Bewegung gilt Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq[52] († 685). Ihn erklärt J. zu einem Anhänger der Blauen (S. 41). Er habe nach seiner Konversion eine fundamentalistische Gruppe, eben die Azāriḳa, gegründet, die den Lehren des bedeutrenden byzantinischen Theologen Maximos Homologetes angehangen habe ("strongly inspired by the fundamentalist movement of Maximus Confessor"). Dafür sehe ich nicht den kleinsten Anhalt in den Quellen, insbesondere nicht in den Schriften des Maximos.

An anderer Stelle (S. 337) heißt es, daß der arabische Name Nāfiʿ dem griechischen Namen Ὠφέλιμος entspräche. Ob das stimmt, kann ich nicht beurteilen. Anzumerken ist jedoch, daß dieser Name im 7. bis 9. Jh. in Byzanz nicht belegt ist, wie ein Blick in die *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen* Zeit zeigt.[53] Die ältere Forschung meinte, bestimmte theologische Unterschiede der byzantinischen Zirkusparteien entdecken zu können. Mit dieser Meinung hat der erwähnte Alan Cameron 1976 grundlegend aufgeräumt. Es gibt keine eindeutigen Quellenbelege, die das begründen könnten. Der Verf. jedoch, obwohl er Cameron in diversen Zusammenhängen zitiert, ignoriert dieses Hauptverdienst seines Buchs und konstruiert stattdessen ein Bild, nachdem die Blauen (Βένετοι) den „radikalen Flügel" der byzantinischen „Orthodoxie" repräsentierten – wie die Azāriḳa im frühen Islam (S. 341). Hier greift er auf die ältere Forschung, die

49 A. Cameron, Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium. Oxford 1976.

50 Siehe R. Rubinacci, *EI*² I (1986) 810–811 (s. v. Azāriḳa).

51 Siehe G. Levi della Vida, *EI*² IV (1997) 1074–1077 (s. v. Khāridjites).

52 A. J. Wensinck, *EI*² VII (1993) 877–878.

53 Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit I–VI. Berlin/New York 1999/2002 (weiter als *PmbZ* zitiert). Auch J. Martindale, Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, III (A. D. 527–641). Cambridge 1992 verzeichnet keinen Träger dieses Namens.

Cameron widerlegt hat, zurück. Abgesehen davon, daß J. hier wie an anderen Stellen des Buches (siehe etwa S. 4 mit Fußnote 14, 7 f. [besonders absurd] und 37) einen ahistorischen und falschen Orthodoxiebegriff verwendet,[54] ist eine von ihm postulierte Beteiligung der Zirkusparteien am sog. monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streit im 7. Jh. – eine Fiktion, die durch keinen Quellenbeleg gestützt werden könnte.[55] Besonders kurios erscheinen dann Ausführungen, die besagen, daß gerade die Zirkusparteien bzw. deren angeblich konvertierten Vertreter auch die islamischen Wissenschaften stark beeinflußt hätten. Als Beispiele werden – neben der Theologie – Grammatik, Lexikographie, Poetik, Exegese usw. genannt (S. 20). Über die byzantinischen Zirkusparteien ist schon viel geschrieben worden, sie jedoch als aktive Träger von wissenschaftlicher Bildung zu sehen, ist noch niemanden eingefallen. Der erwähnte Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq war wahrscheinlich wirklich griechischer Herkunft. Das ist der einzige wirklich verifizierbare Ausgangspunkt der Phantasien des Verfs.

Anstößig ist der Versuch, wie eben schon angedeutet, den monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streit mit Maximos Homologetes als zentraler Figur auf der Seite der Dyotheleten in einen islamischen Kontext zu bringen bzw. Reflexe desselben in der innerislamischen (theologischen und politischen) Entwicklung zu postulieren. Der Irrtum beginnt schon im Grundsätzlichen. J. meint, daß diese theologische Auseinandersetzung um "free will *versus* predestination" (S. 7, 34, 429, 452, 460, 464, 467 und *passim*[56]) gegangen sei. Doch kann davon nicht die Rede sein, und die unreflektierte Wiederholung dieser Behauptung macht sie nicht richtig. Es geht einzig und allein um das Verständnis der Person Christi, um das Verhältnis von menschlicher und göttlicher „Wirkmacht", um das Verhältnis von menschlichem und göttlichem Willen bzw. um ihr Zusammenwirken. Der Begriff der Prädestination – wie der des „freien Willen" – findet in diesem Kontext keinen Platz.[57] Ähnlich verhält es sich mit einer angeblichen heftigen Debatte um das sog. *filioque* (S. 466 und an anderen Stellen). Die Monotheleten hätten "vehemently" das *filioque* zurückgewiesen. Da er Verlauf und wesentliche Argumente der Debatte nicht kennt, weist er der *filioque*-Problematik eine Bedeutung zu, die sie im 7. Jh. keineswegs hatte![58] Zwar findet sich bei Maximos Homologetes eine (häufig debattierte Stelle)[59], die zu dieser Problematik gehört, doch ist dies im Kontext der Auseinandersetzungen des 7. Jh.s absolut peripher. Hier einen

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54 Vgl. W. Brandes, Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Seventh Century: Prosopographical Observations on Monotheletism, in: A. Cameron (ed.), Fifty Years of Prosopography. The Later Roman Empire and Beyond. Oxford 2003, 103–118.

55 Siehe dazu zuletzt (und umfassend) F. Winkelmann, Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit. Frankfurt a. M. 2001. J. hat diese zentrale Monographie, deren Lektüre ihn vor zahlreichen Fehlern bewahrt hätte, schlicht ignoriert!

56 Leider fehlt auch ein Sachregister, so daß es schwierig ist, alle relevanten Stellen zu benennen.

57 Siehe C. Hovorun, Will, Action and Freedom. Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century. Leiden / Boston 2008; vgl. auch die gut verständliche Einführung in die Theologie des Monotheletenstreits bei Winkelmann, Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit (wie oben Fußnote 55).

58 Siehe Hovorun a. a. O.

59 Dazu siehe jetzt A. E. Siecienski, The Authenticity of Maximus the Confessor's *Letter to Marinus:* The Argument from Theological Consistency. *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007) 189–227.

Einfluß auf arabisches theologisches Denken zu unterstellen, mögen Islamwissenschaftler beurteilen.

Um seine These von der arabischen Übersetzung einer griechischen Digestenparaphrase (nebst Kommentar/Glossen) abzustützen, versucht J. Personen namhaft zu machen, die kurz vor 800 in Bagdad wirkten und der griechischen Sprache mächtig waren (siehe bes. S. 81–83). Er nennt die Reihe der bekannten Übersetzer (Biṭrīq, Yaḥyā [oder Yuhannā] b. Biṭrīq, Ustāth, Ibn Fatīla, Abū Qurra, Jābir b. Ḥayyān, Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī [?][60], Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar sowie Politianos, der melkitische Patriarch von Alexandreia [768–813]). Einige von ihnen (nämlich Biṭrīq, Yaḥyā b. Biṭrīq, Ustāth und wahrscheinlich Jābir b. Ḥayyān) "must (sic!) have belonged to a group of Greek prisoners who were settled at the gate of Shammāsiyya in the Nort-East of Baghdad." "This is confirmed by several facts."

Am Shammāsiyya-Tor von Bagdad gab es eine griechische Kolonie, die gut bezeugt ist. Nach dem arabischen Historiker al-Balāḏurī († 892)[61] kapitulierte im Jahr der Hedschra 163 (17. 9. 779–5. 9. 780) das byzantinische Kastell Semalous (arabisch Samālū). Der Kapitulationsvertrag bestimmte u. a., daß "ten of their nobility including the Comes (arab. *al-Ḳūmis*)" Sicherheit gewährt wurde, und sie nicht getrennt werden sollten. "Therefore they were settled in Baghdâdh near Bâb ash-Shammâsiyah. Their quarter they called Samâlu, and it is still known as such."[62] Andere Quellen bestätigen die Eroberung, geben jedoch differierende Angaben zu den Kapitulationsbedingungen.[63] Mit dieser unbestrittenen Feststellung hätte es der Verf. gut sein lassen können. Er versuchte hingegen nun insbesondere den bekannten Übersetzer Biṭrīq und dessen Sohn Yaḥyā b. Biṭrīq mit diesen Vorgängen zusammen zu bringen. N. b.: „Biṭrīq“ ist die arabische Übersetzung des byzantinischen Titels *patrikios*, wobei zu betonen ist, daß arabische Autoren die Tendenz zeigen, alle hochgestellten Byzantiner so zu benennen.[64] Was J. nicht weiß, ist der Umstand, daß „Patrikios“ auch ein geläufiger Personenname war.[65] Außerdem könnte man an einen „Spitznamen“ denken, so daß der fragliche Biṭrīq nicht unbedingt ein wirklicher *patrikios* (ein Titel, den allein der byzantinische Kaiser verleihen konnte) gewesen sein muß.

Dem Verf. hat es aber der genannte *Komes* angetan (was auch immer al-Balāḏurī konkret unter diesem Titel verstanden haben mag[66]). "Starting from the premise that

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60 Nach J. M. Fiey, Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbasides surtot à Bagdad (749–1258). Louvain 1980, 124 ist das Ioannes Philoponos, der im 6. Jh. wirkte!

61 F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, I. Leiden 1967, 320 f.

62 Al-Balâdhuri, Kitâb futûh al-buldân. The Origins of the Islamic State, transl. by Ph. Kh. Hitti. New York 1916, 263 f.

63 The History of al-Ṭabarī, XXIX: Al-Mansūr and al-Mahdī, transl. and annot. by H. Kennedy. New York 1990, 213, bes. 215; Theophanis Chronographia, rec. C. de Boor, I. Leipzig 1883, 453, 20–22; vgl. I. Rochow, Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes. Berlin 1991, 227 u. a. zu den Differenzen bei der Nennung der Vertragsbedingungen; A. D. Beihammer, Nachrichten zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen in arabischen Quellen (565–811). Bonn 2000, 417 f. (Nr. 344); E. W. Brooks, Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids. *English Historical Review* 15 (1900) 728–745, hier 736 f.

64 Siehe z. B. I. Kawar (Shahid), *EI*^{2} I (1986) 1249–1250 (s.b. Biṭrīḳ).

65 Siehe *PmbZ* Nr. 5751–5760.

66 *Komites* gab es in dieser Zeit in verschiedenen administrativen Zusammenhängen, der erwähnte *komes* muß also keinesfalls ein *komes* des Opsikion gewesen sein. Siehe N. Oiko-

the *Comes* of Samālū and Biṭrīq were one and the same person we may conclude that the Greek name of Biṭrīq was Gregorios Musulakios" (S. 86). Da der Verf. hier ausnahmsweise die *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* verwendete und da sah, daß dieser Gregorios Musulakios auch im Jahre 802 bezeugt ist, muß dieser nach seinem Aufenthalt im Kalifat wieder nach Byzanz zurückgekehrt sein (S. 86 Fußnote 63). Auf den armen Gregorios kam der Verf. durch seine Erwähnung zum Jahre 778 in der *Chronographia* des Theophanes.[67] Hier wird ein Feldzug gegen das arabische Syrien erwähnt, an dem u. a. auch Gregorios Musulakios, *komes* des Opsikion, mit seinen Truppen teilnahm. Der Feldzug war sehr erfolgreich.[68] J. meint nun, daß allein der *komes* Gregorios den Titel eines *patrikios* getragen habe (S. 87). Dies ist schlicht falsch, denn wenigstens zwei seiner Mitgenerale, der berühmte Michael Lachanodrakon, *strategos* des Themas Thrakesion[69] und Tatzates, *strategos* des Themas Bukellarion[70], führten ebenfalls diesen Titel. Gregorios und die anderen Generäle führten also 778 einen Feldzug in Syrien. Was aber sollte ein *komes* des Opsikion zwei Jahre lang in einer kleinen Provinzfestung auf einem Berggipfel (60 × 30 m)[71] gemacht haben? Der gängigen Praxis gemäß kehrte er umgehend 778 in seinen Befehlsbereich (Opsikion) zurück – und der lag sehr weit von der Festung Semalous entfernt. Wieso er der *komes* gewesen sein soll, der 780 von den Arabern gefangen wurde, ist nicht ersichtlich. Hinzu kommt ein weiterer Umstand: Gregorios war ein Armenier aus der Familie Mamikonian.[72] Es ist mehr als unwahrscheinlich, daß dieser nichtgriechische Militär so gebildet war, daß er dann im fernen Bagdad als Übersetzer aktiv werden konnte. Für die Bildungsgeschichte der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit wäre das eine Sensation.

Doch J. weiß es besser: "All these facts clearly correspond to the reports concerning the *Comes* in Semālū" (S. 87). Aber es geht noch weiter: Da er in der Sekundärliteratur gelesen hat, daß bis zum ausgehenden 9. Jh. byzantinische Rechtstexte in noch nicht exhellenisierter Form (also der Ersetzung der zahllosen lateinischen *termini* durch griechische Begriffe) vorlagen, mußte der fiktive Übersetzer in Bagdad „mit Notwendigkeit" auch noch die lateinische Sprache beherrscht haben. Gregorios hätte also eine zeitlang im byzantinischen Süditalien gelebt haben müssen, wo er Latein erlernte (so S. 89 f.). Dafür gibt es nicht den Hauch eines Hinweises in den Quellen.

NOMIDÈS, Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles. Paris 1972, 380 (Register); J. HALDON, Byzantine Praetorians. Bonn 1984, 641 f. (Register – 18 verschiedene Funktionen mit *Comes*-Titel!); siehe auch den Registerband der *PmbZ* VI, 273 f.

67 Offenbar wurde allein die englische Übersetzung von C. MANGO/R. SCOTT, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813. Oxford 1997 verwendet, nicht der griechische Text, den de Boor edierte (siehe Fußnote 64).

68 Theophanes 451 DE BOOR.

69 *PmbZ* 5027; zum Namen siehe W. BRANDES, Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes, in L. HOFFMANN/A. MONCHIZADEH (Hrsg.), Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Wiesbaden 2005, 93–125, hier bes. 103–108.

70 *PmbZ* 7241.

71 F. HILD/M. RESTLE, Kappadokien. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, 2. Wien 1981, 276 f.

72 Vgl. ROCHOW, Theophanes (wie oben Fußnote 64) 223.

In seiner "Introduction" (hier S. 8–11) strapaziert J. die von ihm angewandte "prosopographical analysis". Angesichts dieses Beispiels wird aber klar, daß er mit den byzantinischen Spezifika prosopographischer Forschung nicht vertraut ist.[73]

Besonders schmerzhaft für den Byzantinisten ist die Behandlung dreier herausragender Persönlichkeiten, die für den unerhörten Aufschwung der byzantinischen Kultur im 9. Jh., die in die sog. „Makedonische Renaissance" mündete, standen. Der Verf. sieht diesen Vorgang als einen Reflex der kulturellen Blüte. In historischer Sicht ist dies eine arge Verkürzung, reduziert sie doch einen umfassenden Vorgang – der sich nicht auf Kultur und Wissenschaften einschränken läßt – auf Übernahme kultureller „Güter" aus einer anderen Kultur bzw. auf eine Nachahmung. Daß Byzanz seit dem 8. Jh. (nach dem riesigen Schock der islamischen Eroberungen im 7. Jh.) in erheblichem Maße wirtschaftlich gesundete, die Staatsfinanzen saniert werden konnten und mithin spätestens im 9. Jh. auch die materiellen Voraussetzungen für eine erneute Blüte von Kultur und Wissenschaften gegeben waren,[74] ignoriert J. vollständig. Die allgemeine Kulturgeschichte einer komplexen Zivilisation wie der byzantinischen läßt sich eben nicht auf den Kulturtransfer, den einzelne Personen vermittelt haben sollen, reduzieren.

Zunächst der berühmte Photios (siehe bes. S. 364 ff.): Um seine „Entdeckungen" abzusichern bzw. zu erklären, griff J. auf eine in der wissenschaftlichen Byzantinistik längst als abwegig erkannte (und entsprechend seit Jahrzehnten vergessene) Theorie zurück, die einst Bertrand Hemmerdinger in die Welt gesetzt hatte.[75] Photios, der bedeutende Patriarch (858–867, 877–886), Theologe, Wissenschaftler usw. habe seine bekannte *Bibliotheke*, die seine erstaunlichen Lesefrüchte von 386 Büchern (präsentiert in 280 sog. Codices), in Bagdad verfaßt! Dies nimmt J. als gegeben und konstruiert so eine riesige griechische Bibliothek in der Hauptstadt des arabischen Kalifats, die es so auf jeden Fall nicht gegeben hat. Dies wurde schon vor Jahren von Paul Lemerle schlagend gezeigt.[76] Der Verf. kennt dessen Buch «Le premier humanisme», meint aber mit nichtigen Bemerkungen die Erkenntnisse eines der besten Kenner von Byzanz im 20. Jh.s hinwegwischen zu können.

Der angeblich lange Aufenthalt des Photios in Bagdad ist heute eine abwegige Vorstellung. Erst kürzlich wurden die bekannten Daten seiner Biographie erneut untersucht – es blieb kein zeitlicher Raum für die angebliche „arabische Phase" der

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[73] Siehe hingegen die Prolegomena der *PmbZ* zu den Problemen der prosopographischen Methode im 8.–9. Jh.

[74] Siehe zusammenfassend W. Brandes, Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt am Main 2002.

[75] B. Hemmerdinger, Les ‚notices et extraits' des Bibliothèques Grecques de Bagdad par Photios. *RÉG* 9 (1956) 101–103; Ders., Une mission scientifique Arabe à l'origine de la renaissance iconoclaste. *BZ* 55 (1962) 66–67; Ders., Photios à Bagdad. *BZ* 64 (1971) 37.

[76] P. Lemerle, Byzantine Humanism, transl. by H. Lindsay/A. Moffatt. Canberra 1986. Das Buch ist nach dieser Ausgabe (und nicht – wie vom Verf. praktiziert – nach der Ausgabe Paris 1971) zu zitieren, da es von Lemerle selbst überarbeitet und wesentlich ergänzt wurde. Siehe auch K. Alpers, Klassische Philologie in Byzanz. *Classical Philology* 83 (1988) 342–360, hier bes. 358 mit weiteren Literaturangaben zur Widerlegung der Thesen Hemmerdingers. N. b.: Auch Alpers' wichtiger Artikel wurde nicht benutzt!

Biographie des großen byzantinischen Gelehrten.[77] Auch der vom Verf. mehrfach (aber eben nur da, wo ihm einige aus dem Zusammenhang gerissene Worte nützlich erschienen) zitierte Gotthard Strohmaier, dessen intime Kenntnis der relevanten arabischen wie griechischen Texte seinem Urteil großes Gewicht verleiht, bemerkte zu den Theorien Hemmerdingers über Photios' angebliche Lektüre griechischer Handschriften in Bagdad: „Der Einfall hat unter den Byzantinisten wenig Gegenliebe gefunden. Dem Arabisten muß er ebenfalls bizarr vorkommen. Denn die Auswahl, welche die *Bibliotheke* bietet, unterscheidet sich bis auf wenige medizinische Schriften so grundlegend von dem, was die Araber rezipiert haben und wovon wir etwa in dem ‚Fihrist', der Bücherliste des Ibn an-Nadīn (verfaßt 987), und bei anderen Bibliographen eine erschöpfende Aufzählung besitzen."[78] Ausgesprochen absurd ist also die Schlußfolgerung, daß alle von Photios aufgelisteten Werke in Bagdad um 800 auf Griechisch vorhanden gewesen seien. Entsprechend sind die zahlreichen Schlußfolgerungen, die auf dieser Annahmen basieren, zurückzuweisen.

Der Verf. meinte, in einem um 800 im Kalifat bezeugten „Fathyūn" den jungen Photios sehen zu können. Dies wird an zahlreichen Stellen im vorliegenden Werk in unterschiedlichen Zusammenhängen und in Beziehung zu einigen schwerwiegenden Schlußfolgerungen wiederholt und als unwiderrufliche Tatsache behandelt!

Schon zu Beginn des Werkes, wo in apodiktischer Form die „Ergebnisse" der Untersuchung präsentiert werden, erfährt der Leser (in einem Abschnitt, der mit "Prosopographical Analysis" überschrieben ist, S. 8–11), daß der bedeutende arabische Theologe Ibn Kullāb († ca. 855)[79] eigentlich ein Byzantiner gewesen war, der zusammen mit Fathyūn (also mit Photios), von dem arabische Quellen berichten, daß er eng mit Ibn Kullāb zusammengearbeitet habe, im Jahre 815 aus Byzanz nach der Wiedereinführung des Ikonoklasmus geflohen sei. Und da Fathyūn der berühmte Photios gewesen sei, müßte mithin auch die Biographie des Ibn Kullāb neu geschrieben werden. Dies mögen Arabisten beurteilen. Auf Photios dürfen sie sich dabei allerdings nicht berufen! Man wird zur Begründung auf die S. 362 verwiesen. Und hier erfährt man nur, daß auch schon die ältere Literatur (van Ess) bei Ibn Kullāb christliche Einflüsse festgestellt hat. Belastbare „Belege" für die Identität des nebulösen Fathyūn mit Photios findet man in diesem Buch nicht. Es sei *en passant* noch darauf hingewiesen, daß sich in dem umfangreichen Schrifttum, das Photios hinterlassen hat, nicht die Spur von Kenntnissen arabischer Wissenschaft findet. Auch sollte man bedenken, daß dem in heftigste kirchenpolitische Auseinandersetzungen involvierte Photios alles Mögliche vorgeworfen wurde, nie jedoch eine enge Beziehung zum Islam.

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77 Siehe zuletzt W.T. Treadgold, Photius before his Patriarchate. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002) 1–17, der zeigt, daß – abgesehen von der Teilnahme an einer Gesandtschaft im Jahre 845 – Photios keineswegs lange Jahre in Bagdad verbracht haben kann. Vom Verf. nicht benutzt!

78 G. Strohmaier, Byzantinisch-arabische Wissenschaftsbeziehungen in der Zeit des Ikonoklasmus, in H. Köpstein/F. Winkelmann (Hrsg.), Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz. Berlin 1983, 178–183, Zitat auf S. 182 f.

79 Siehe Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums (wie oben Fußnote 32) I, 599.

Ein ähnliches „Schicksal“ mußte Leon der Mathematiker,[80] eine weitere herausragende Figur der beginnenden kulturellen Renaissance im 9. Jh., erleiden. Leon, so erfährt man (etwa auf S. 94) sei identisch mit Jābir b. Ḥayyān gewesen. Dieser Jābir, der berühmte und mysteriöse „Geber“ des lateinischen Mittelalters, wird gewöhnlich nach der Mitte des 9. Jh. datiert. Allein Fuat SEZGIN setzt ihn früher an.[81] Das griff J. auf, um diesen nebulösen Autor, unter dessen Namen eine riesige Anzahl von Werken überliefert ist, mit Leon Mathematikos zu identifizieren (bes. S. 347 ff.). Daß die arabistische Forschung dies anders sieht, erstaunt schon nicht mehr.[82]

Es sei möglich, daß Jābir b. Ḥayyān zusammen mit seinem Onkel, Ioannes Grammatikos – ein weiterer bedeutender byzantinischer Gelehrter der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jh.s –, 780 nach Bagdad kam. Jābir b. Ḥayyān habe also keinen Übersetzer nötig gehabt, da er ja selbst Griechisch konnte. Ein „Argument“ für den angeblichen Bagdadaufenthalt der genannten bedeutenden byzantinischen Gelehrten, das oft wiederholt wird, ist die “obscurity of their lives”, besonders bezüglich ihrer Jugend und Ausbildung (so z.B. S. 348). Wenn dies als wissenschaftliches Kriterium gelten soll, müßte man fast allen bekannten Byzantinern des 8. und 9. Jh.s einige Jahre ihres Leben im arabischen Kalifat zusprechen.

Auch der bereits erwähnte Ioannes Grammatikos[83] (siehe S. 94, 330, bes. 353–355, 497, 506) zeige diverse Parallelen mit Leon Mathematikos, “which allow the suggestion that also John spent the first part of his life in Baghdad”! Dem folgt (S. 354) der höchst abenteuerlicher Versuch, einen Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, der in einem medizinischen Werk als Verfasser medizinischer Schriften auftaucht, mit Ioannes Grammatikos zu identifizieren! Wie bei Leon sei auch sein erster Lebensabschnitt unbekannt. Er sei also bis 813 (oder etwas früher) mit Leon in Bagdad gewesen und dann angesichts des ausbrechenden Bürgerkrieges nach Byzanz zurück gegangen. Auch hier erübrigt sich jeder Kommentar. Man könnte, das sei ausdrücklich angemerkt, noch zahlreiche derartige „Erkenntnisse“ und Konstruktionen auflisten und widerlegen. Etwa die höchst unsinnige Behauptung, daß das griechische Allerweltswort σκάνδαλον ein “current slogan in Byzantium applied to more or less violent politico-theological conflicts” (S. 36 f., 390) und “of great political importance” im 7.–9. Jh. gewesen sei (S. 390 f.; auch S. 346, 453, 455, 466 u.a.O.), könnte angeführt werden. An zahlreichen Stellen wird behauptet, der arab. Begriff *fitna*[84] entspräche dem griech. σκάνδαλον; *fitna* und σκάνδαλον hätten “similar historical events” beschrieben, so habe man auch den Prozeß gegen Maximos Homologetes *fitna* genannt (S. 453). Da man den Monotheletismus und den Hochverratsprozeß gegen Maximos σκάνδαλον genannt (S. 37, 346) habe, müßte das so sein.

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80 CH. ANGELIDI, Le séjour de Léon le Mathématicien à Andros: Réalité ou confusion? in: Εὐψυχία. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler, I. Paris 1998, 1–7; ALPERS, Klassische Philologie in Byzanz (wie oben Fußnote 47) 353 f.; *PmbZ* 4440.

81 F. SEZGIN, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, IV. Leiden 1971, 183.

82 Siehe etwa P. KRAUS/M. PLESSNER, *EI*[2] II (1991) 357–359 (s.n. Djābir b. Ḥayyān) oder M. ULLMANN, Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam. Leiden 1972, 198–208 – mit expliziter Kritik an SEZGIN (wie eben in Fußnote 51) 3–30 sowie 132–269.

83 Zu Ioannes siehe bes. ALPERS, Klassische Philologie in Byzanz (wie oben Fußnote 47); *PmbZ* 3199.

84 L. GARDET, *EI*[2] II (1991) S. 930–931 (s.v. fitna).

Diese abwegige Verquickung beider Begriffe, die absolut nichts miteinander zu tun haben, offenbart allerdings die eigenartige Arbeitsweise des Verfs., die man „assoziativ“ nennen kann. Die Bedeutung von σκάνδαλον reimte sich J. allein aus der Sekundärliteratur, die er mißverstand, zusammen. Ein Blick in die relevanten Quellen hätte dies verhindert. Erst auf S. 391 bzw. 454 f. findet man dann Hinweise auf eine genuin byzantinische Quelle, die diese Behauptung beweisen soll. S. 391 Fußnote 483 und S. 455 Fußnote 927 wird auf die sog. *Relatio motionis* verwiesen, hier allerdings nach der völlig veralteten Ausgabe in der Patrologia Graeca (Bd. 90) zitiert.[85] In diesem Text, der den Hochverratsprozeß gegen Maximus schildert,[86] taucht an einer (einzigen!) Stelle das Wort σκάνδαλον auf.[87] Maximos selbst benutzt das Wort, indem er Matth. 18,7 (Οὐαὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων) zitiert! Hier kommt σκάνδαλον vor (wie an weiteren Stellen im Neuen Testament auch). Ansonsten spielt σκάνδαλον keine bemerkenswerte Rolle im hier behandelten Zeitraum (7. bis 9. Jh.).

Eine Parallelisierung der ersten (und zweiten) *fitna* (im Sinne von innerislamischen Bürgerkriegen)[88] und des monenergetisch-monotheleitschen Streits ist in jeder Hinsicht abzulehnen. Daß sich beide z.T. zeitlich überschnitten, besagt gar nichts. Der Ermordung von Kalifen, Schlachten (Siffin usw.) und letztlich Tausenden von Opfern in heftigsten innerislamischen Auseinandersetzungen stehen in Byzanz Papst Martin I.[89] und Maximos Homologetes (nebst seinen zwei Schülern namens Anastasios) als Opfer gegenüber. Es gab keinen Bürgerkrieg, keine weiteren Opfer.[90] Und diese wurden wegen Hochverrats (im klassisch römisch-rechtlichen Sinne des Wortes und mit voller Berechtigung[91]) verurteilt – zum Exil!

Überhaupt scheint diese theologische Auseinandersetzung den byzantinischen Staat kaum tangiert zu haben – man hatte mit der Abwehr der Araber genug zu tun.

Es ist heute Mode geworden, transkulturell zu arbeiten – oder zumindest zu behaupten, man arbeite so. Daß auf diesem Gebiet bemerkenswerte Einsichten zu gewinnen sind, steht außer Frage. Daß aber offensichtlich dieser Forschungstrend auch verfehlte „Ergebnisse“ generiert, bezeugt dieses Buch. Die byzantinische Geschichte des 7. bis 9. Jh.s gehört zu den am schlechtesten erforschten Perioden der tausendjährigen Geschichte des Oströmischen Reiches. Die Forschung ist im Fluß. Ohne eingehende Kenntnisse der vorhandenen Quellen und der Quellensprachen ist man zum Scheitern verurteilt. J. hat viel Mühe und großen Fleiß in ein Unternehmen in-

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85 Zu zitieren ist: Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia, ed. P. Allen/B. Neil. Turnhout/Leuven 1999; dazu die zweisprachige (kommentierte) Ausgabe: Maximus the Confessor and his Companions, ed. and transl. by P. Allen/B. Neil. Oxford 2002.

86 Dazu in aller Ausführlichkeit W. Brandes, „Juristische“ Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Martin I. und Maximos Homologetes. *Fontes Minores* 10 (1998) 141–212.

87 Relatio motionis, ed. Allen/Neil (wie oben Fußnote 85), 50 (§ 2).

88 Siehe G. Rotter, Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680–692). Wiesbaden 1982.

89 Den der Verf. S. 451 in Palästina geboren werden läßt (S. 453 Fußnote 913: in Jerusalem). Er stammt natürlich aus Todi in Umbrien und konnte nicht einmal genügend Griechisch, um seinem Prozeß folgen zu können.

90 Siehe Brandes, Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Seventh Century: Prosopographical Observations on Monotheletism (wie Fußnote 54).

91 Brandes, „Juristische“ Krisenbewältigung (wie oben Fußnote 86); Ders., Konstantin der Große in den monotheletischen Streitigkeiten des 7. Jahrhunderts, in: The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th–9th c.). Athen 2001, 89–107.

vestiert, das gescheitert ist. Das ist sehr schade, denn die Erforschung der Interaktionen der griechisch-byzantinischen und der arabisch-islamischen Kulturen des 7. bis 9. Jh.s sind ein wichtiges Forschungsfeld, das bisher kaum beackert wurde.

Am 2. Februar 2009 erhielt der Verf. aus der Hand des iranischen Präsidenten Ahmadinejad den „World Prize for the Book of the Year of the Islamic Republic of Iran 2008“.

Frankfurt am Main *Wolfram Brandes*

Erich Lamberz (ed.), Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series Secunda, Volumen Tertium, Pars Prima: Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, Concilii Actiones I–III. Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2008. lxxiv, 281 p. ISBN 978-3-11-019002-1.

The appearance of a further volume of the *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, initiated by Eduard Schwartz in 1914, is an event to be celebrated, particularly in this case, since the Acts of the Second Nicene, Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787, which defined the status and character of religious art, have an interest for a range of readers extending well beyond church historians. They are at the same time of exceptional interest to Byzantinists, since this council, as celebrated in the annual solemnity of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, had an importance in Byzantine self-definition to which no other council could lay claim. At the same time the text is notorious for the critical problems it raises, partly over the various versions of the text and particularly regarding the authenticity of the documents and *testimonia* it cites. The main outlines of the discoveries made, and solutions proposed, by Dr Erich Lamberz (= L.) are already familiar, partly because of his preceding publications and partly in consequence of the generosity with which he has communicated his findings, in advance of publication, to fellow scholars; for example, H.G. Thümmel in the preface of his masterly *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 2005) acknowledges the receipt of substantial assistance from him. The appearance of the first instalment of L.'s *magnum opus*, containing a substantial introduction and the first three of the council's eight sessions, remains an historic moment. Two further instalments are to be expected over the next four or five years.

The seventy-page introduction to this volume is mainly dedicated, naturally enough, to a full presentation and evaluation of the manuscript tradition, as well as an analysis of the textual basis of the previous printed editions, dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, which referred to their manuscript sources with studied imprecision. We learn that the extant Greek manuscripts of the Acts of Nicaea II number seventeen, far more than we possess for any of the earlier councils. Of these seventeen manuscripts four are independent (H, M, V, T) and date between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. All printed editions to date of the Greek text have been based on derivatives of T, which is characterized by numerous emendations intended to make the text more comprehensible and more acceptable by the standards of classical Greek. H and V betray a close relation in that both add to the texts cited in the Fourth Session in favour of iconophilism (one in the margin and the other in the text) a number of citations from John of Damascus. It is a striking feature of the

council of 787 that, although it reversed John's condemnation at the Council of Hiereia in 754, it made no use of his writings – an omission that startles us, but is similar to the neglect of St Maximus the Confessor at the Sixth Ecumenical Council. A number of explanations are possible – the unavailability of the texts after decades of suppression, an embarrassment over churchmen who had directly defied the authority of the emperor, or possibly a sense that Maximus on the wills of Christ and John Damascene on icons were creative theologians who could not properly be cited as witnesses to long-standing tradition. The fourth of these primary manuscripts (M), dating to the late thirteenth century, has a distinguished provenance, in that it found its way into the library of Cardinal Bessarion. It stands apart from the other Greek manuscripts (if we set aside the two copies of itself) in omitting the so-called Eighth Session of the Council, a formal reception of the conciliar decrees supposedly held at Constantinople in the presence of the emperors, and in providing in its place the *Sermo Laudatorius* of Epiphanius of Catania. Since L. sees the Eighth Session as a late addition to the acts and is doubtful that it even took place, this gives the hitherto neglected M a unique status among the Greek manuscripts. L. is, however, the last scholar to adopt a favourite manuscript and neglect the rest: his aim is to provide the details not only of the variants within the conciliar manuscripts, but also of the readings in the canonical collections (Greek and Latin) and in the printed editions. As he explains (p. LXII), a full record even of clearly deviant readings and omissions in the Greek manuscripts is necessary to clarify the distinctive features of the different manuscript groups and to account for the readings in the printed editions.

The first Latin translation of the acts, made immediately after the council on the instructions of Pope Hadrian I, is lost, but is extensively cited in a number of sources, including both Hadrian's defence of the council and the attack on the council in the Frankish *Libri Carolini*; these citations are fully recorded in L.'s edition. Its infelicities contributed to Frankish misreading of the council's decrees as idolatrous, though even a more precise translation would doubtless have fallen foul of Frankish malignity. A new and vastly superior translation made in 873 by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, the papal archivist and librarian, survives in no fewer than fourteen manuscripts, the oldest dating from the ninth century. The contents of this edition of the acts coincide with those of the Greek manuscript M. The greater antiquity of the manuscript tradition of Anastasius' version and the comparative stability of the text make it possible to employ it as a means of deciding between variant readings in the Greek tradition, and even to emend the Greek text on its basis, though L. insists that this must be done "with the greatest prudence" (p. XXXV).

A comparison is invited with the Acts of Chalcedon, where three successive Latin editions made in the middle of the sixth century survive in numerous manuscripts of which the oldest is again ninth-century, and bring us as close as we can get to the Greek original, published a century before. In contrast, we have only two more or less complete Greek manuscripts, dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries and representing a revision of the text that may be dated to the seventh century. Not only do some parts of the original acts survive only in the Latin version, but the Latin tradition is generally more reliable than the Greek. Schwartz's editorial decision was to include important Latin readings in the Greek apparatus, while presenting the extant Greek edition as a text in its own right, with only occasional emendation on the basis of the Latin (the most important case being the version of the Nicene Creed given in the

Definition of the Faith). The position with the textual tradition of Nicaea II would be very much the same, were it not for the existence of M, and even so the Latin tradition remains more reliable than the Greek.

L. sets out clearly the principles of his printing of the text (p. LXII–IV). The comparative lateness of the Greek manuscripts, all of which are at least three centuries later than the council, makes it impossible to restore the original accentuation and punctuation in the way that many Byzantinists would like. But we have Latin manuscripts of Anastasius' translations either of this council or of the council of 869–870 that take up back almost to his lifetime. On their basis L. adopts an orthography that gives us *kanon* and *horthodoxus.* As an Englishman I cannot resist noting that L. explains that in punctuating the Latin text he follows, as more congenial to the Latin language, the rules of English rather than German punctuation, and that in this he is following a precedent set by Eduard Schwartz.

In his introduction (p. XLV–L and LIII–LIV) L. provides a brief but magisterial account of a textual problem that has received much discussion, the reading at the second session of the council and inclusion in its acts of the letter from Pope Hadrian I to the emperors Constantine and Irene at Constantinople (p. 118–173). The text in the Greek Acts is characterized by both omissions and alterations, while Anastasius provides the full text. That Anastasius' version is, in the main, Hadrian's original Latin and not a retroversion from Greek can be demonstrated by the wording of the biblical citations, and also by comparing it to half a dozen Latin documents that quote from the letter independently; L. provides full details of these parallels in his apparatus. The picture becomes particularly complicated when we turn to Hadrian's citations from the Greek Fathers. Here we have four versions to go by: the original Greek texts, the earlier Latin translations used by Hadrian, the retroversion of the Latin into Greek by the compilers of the Greek Acts, and finally the Latin version provided by Anastasius. As L. has shown in a study published previously (*DA* 53, 1997, 1–43), the sequence and rationale went as follows: the first Latin translator produced a clumsy version, at times neither intelligible nor grammatical; the author(s) of the Greek Acts did not hunt out the original Greek texts but performed retroversion from the Latin, paraphrasing freely when it made little sense; finally Anastasius, mistakenly supposing (we may presume) that the Greek Acts contained the original Greek texts, corrected Hadrian's Latin on the basis of the Greek. L.'s apparatus provides in each text all the relevant texts, enabling the reader to carry out with ease a full analysis of this curious case of the blind leading the blind.

To return to the letter as a whole, how are we to account for the omissions and alterations in the Greek version of Hadrian's long letter? The Greek waters down, for example, a clear statement that St Peter transmitted his full authority to his successors as bishops of the Roman see (compare the Greek at p. 122, 5–9 to the Latin original at p. 123, 11–17). Most glaringly, it omits the whole of the last quarter of the letter, which raised such controversial matters as the territories in Italy and the Balkans that Constantinople had removed from Roman jurisdiction, the use of the title "ecumenical patriarch" by the patriarch of Constantinople, and Tarasius' uncanonical elevation to the patriarchate. Since part of the final section of the letter is echoed in the *Libri Carolini* (p. XLVII), the full letter appears to have been included not only in Anastasius' edition, but in the original Latin translation as well. Anastasius himself offered an explanation of the Greek omission of the final part of the letter: Tarasius

suppressed it because it criticized his elevation to the patriarchate and was therefore open to exploitation by heretics who rejected the council; it must be remembered that, despite the appearance of unanimity maintained at the council, episcopal opposition to Tarasius' policy was strong, as is shown by the failure of the attempt to hold the council in the previous year. However, L. in a previously published study ("Falsata Graecorum more"?, in C. Sode / S. Takacs (eds.), Novum Millennium: Studies in Byzantine History and Culture. Aldershot 2001, 213–229) demonstrated that this plausible explanation falls to the ground, because in the version of Hadrian's letter to Tarasius, which was read out at the council immediately after his letter to the emperors, a parallel passage criticizing Tarasius' elevation to the patriarchate was not omitted; to this can be added the consideration that this criticism was made only briefly in the letter to the emperors and scarcely explains the excision of so large a part of the letter.

H. G. Thümmel in his monograph mentioned above (at p. 140–147) has the simplest explanation to offer, namely that the final part of the letter to the emperors was omitted not because it was critical of the Byzantines but simply because it was irrelevant for the debate over sacred images. We need to distinguish, however, between two different questions – the choice of passages to be read out at a conciliar session, and the fullness of the documentation to be included in the subsequently edited acts. Take the acts of the First Session of Chalcedon, which are of inordinate length, because they include the complete minutes of the First Session of the Second Council of Ephesus: the presumption must be that these minutes were substantially abbreviated during the actual reading, and the full text reserved for the published record. Similarly, it is wholly credible that Tarasius instructed the reader of Hadrian's letter at the council to omit dispensable passages, and one may agree with Thümmel that the Roman legates at the council may not have noticed, and even if they did, need not have resented it. But the irrelevance of part of the letter to the question in hand is not an adequate explanation of its omission from the acts.

L. in his own article proceeded to demonstrate from a comparison with the editing of the letter to Tarasius that the real bone of contention was Hadrian's raising in the final part of his letter of the issue of Roman jurisdiction over Calabria, Sicily and Illyricum, for this theme was excised from the Greek version not only of this letter but also of that to Tarasius. The question of the date of the excision of the final part of the letter remains obscure; L. himself argued that it dates not to the original editing of the acts but to the period of tension between Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photius in the 860 s. He dates the changes in the earlier part of the letter to the emperors even later, on the grounds that Anastasius, in his translation of 873, made no mention of them, in contrast to the way in which, in his annotation of the letter to Tarasius, he commented on similar alterations. But the two cases are dissimilar: since Anastasius did not give the original version of the letter to Tarasius but performed a retroversion from the Greek, he needed to point out that the Greek was not a faithful rendering, but this consideration did not apply in the case of the letter to the emperors, where he restored the original Latin text.

This question has a bearing on an issue of first importance – the date of the appearance of the second edition of the acts of 787, with its addition of an eighth session held at Constantinople. Since all the changes to Hadrian's letter occur in both Greek editions, before the transmission of the text had bifurcated into two branches, L.'s dating of these changes implies a date for the production of the second Greek

edition (with its concoction of a doubtfully historical eighth session) to the end of the ninth century, or even later. One may feel, however, that the later we make the composition and insertion of the "eighth session", the more needless they appear. Judgement must wait, however, until L. completes his edition, and presents a fuller and final account of his analysis of the formation and transmission of the various editions of the text.

The most bizarre document included in the three council sessions whose acts appear in this first volume of L.'s edition is the letter supposedly despatched by the three patriarchs living under Islamic rule (p. 244–254) and read out in the third session of the council. The reply of the patriarchs, who at no point are named, narrates how the envoys sent by Tarasius to invite them to the council met certain pious brothers (nothing is said of their identity), who themselves went and held a meeting with the three patriarchs (curiously all available in one unspecified place), but persuaded the envoys not to seek a meeting themselves, for although their one wish was to die for the faith (a pleasing hagiographical touch), such a meeting might provoke Muslim reprisals against "the whole body of the Church". Instead, the letter continues, the patriarchs are sending to the council two former *syncelli*, John and Thomas; and these clerics did indeed play a role at the council as the joint representatives of the three eastern patriarchs. L. concludes sagely (p. LV) that both letters were literary fictions, intended (doubtless) to support John and Thomas's questionable status as patriarchal delegates. The purpose of the council was to reverse the condemnation of images at the Hiereia Council of 754. It is testimony to the strength of the opposition to this policy that Hiereia was not rejected simply on the basis of the unorthodoxy of its decrees: instead, emphasis was placed on its lack of genuine ecumenicity, since neither Rome nor the eastern patriarchs had been represented. Hence the participation at the council of bogus representatives of the latter, a touch of theatricality unusual even by the standards of councils.

The editorial policy of *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* has developed over the years. We all stand under the shadow of Eduard Schwartz, and one may regret the discontinuance of his policy of including substantial bodies of related material that is not strictly part of the conciliar acts. But his faithful presentation of the document collections in which the Acts of Ephesus I and Chalcedon survive was less helpful for most historians than the essentially chronological sequence of council minutes and related documentation provided in the older editions of Hardouin and Mansi. The post-Schwartz volumes of *ACO* have been easier to use, and each successive volume has been able to benefit from its predecessors; it is therefore not wholly unexpected that the present volume represents a new level of achievement in the full and lucid presentation of complex textual data. It is a privilege and a joy to have such a volume in one's hands, and it will surely remain forever the authoritative record and analysis of this important material. But the task of making the riches in *ACO* more widely available has scarcely begun. The Acts of Nicaea II are of potential interest to medieval historians generally, theologians and art historians, but vernacular translations and more general surveys are needed to communicate the fruits of Dr L.'s life work as widely as they deserve.

London *Richard Price*

A. Markopoulos (ed.), Τέσσερα κείμενα για την ποίηση του Συμεών του Νέου Θεολόγου. Athena, Kanakes 2008. ιε′, 159 S. ISBN 978-960-6736-05-6.

In a volume, beautifully cared for, edited and produced, Athanasios Markopoulos has edited four lectures on the poetry of Saint Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022), given on 15 March 2007, in Athens, in the framework of a seminar organised by the Department of Byzantine Literature of the University of Athens. The four contributors are Alexandros Alexakis (Ioannina), Johannes Koder (Vienna), Athanasios Markopoulos (Athens) and Stelios Ramphos (Kallithea/Penteli). This is an eminently Greek endeavour: the event took place in Greece, the lectures were delivered and the texts were published in (Modern) Greek in Greece. In this way the book is a challenge: while it contains a unique and much needed introduction to Symeon's poetry, useful for all those interested in Byzantine literary history, spirituality and the history of mystical literature in general, it is only available for those who have a good command of Modern Greek. Thus, this volume is a silent manifesto claiming that Greek, in its modern form, is still a universal language, without knowing which one cannot feel safe when approaching the enigmatic culture of Byzantium. I entirely sympathise and agree with this message; yet, I think that the content of this volume is too interesting to be kept closed from those who do not come up to this requirement – a translation, preferably into English, of the volume as it is would be most welcome.[92]

The choice of treating the *Hymns* of Symeon, and of treating them as pieces of literature, is a very fortunate one. Symeon who, beyond doubt, was a spiritual genius, was also an outstanding writer. He wrote prose, often occasional prose, such as his *Catechetical Discourses*, whose style at several instances approaches poetry and, in the last period of his life, he also wrote poetry that is often slipping back into prose. The osmosis between the two genres must have been more pervading than it is obvious now, because Symeon's poetry was, as Johannes Koder clearly demonstrates, revised and to a certain extent standardised by his disciple and editor, Nicetas Stethatos (ca. 1000–1090). This poetry is interesting for its literary quality, yet it has not been much treated as such in the scholarly literature due to the overwhelming interest in Symeon as a mystic.[93] The *Hymns* are perhaps the finest products of Symeon as a writer; through them one gets the best introduction to his œuvre as a whole.

The first study in the volume, by Johannes Koder: "Symeon the New Theologian and his Hymns" gives an excellent introduction to nearly all the main questions connected to the narrower corpus of Symeon's poetic work. However, its main aim is to define the literary genre to which the Hymns belong.

Koder begins with a critical survey of Symeon's life, for which our only source is Symeon's *Vita*, written by his disciple and the editor of his works, Nicetas Stethatos. Koder concisely treats the problems of Symeon's (according to his lay name:

92 However, Markopoulos' contribution was earlier published in German, too.

93 While the volume is innovative in this sense, it is not without antecedents. Koder himself, in his introduction to his edition of the *Hymns* has concisely treated many important aspects (Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Hymnes I. Introduction, texte critique et notes par Johannes Koder, traduction par Joseph Paramelle, s. j. *SC*, 156. Paris 1969, 17–99) and there have been other sparse studies treating particular problems. Yet no similar volume dedicated to Symeon's poetry has been published to date.

George's) early life before his becoming a monk at the age of twenty-seven, in 976. He mentions the intriguing coincidence that the main events of this life – if only we are entitled to follow the chronology established by Irénée Hausherr[94] – coincide with important political events in Constantinople. In fact, George's first attempt to enter the monastery can be dated to 963/964, after the death of his uncle, who educated him and introduced him to the imperial court. I am tempted by Hausherr's hypothesis, who identified this uncle, whom Nicetas does not name but about whom he says that he was κοιτωνίτης, that is, chamberlain, with Joseph Bringas, the confidential and later παρακοιμώμενος of Romanos II, about whom Leo the Deacon speaks in no favourable terms. Now, 963 is indeed the date of the death of both Romanos II and Joseph Bringas. The next important date is 976, George/Symeon's entry to the Studios, which coincides with the death of emperor John Tzimiskes. Koder gives a balanced account of these intriguing years of Symeon, while he was imperial σπαθαροκουβικουλάριος. A systematic comparative study of the information given by Nicetas and the autobiographic references in Symeon's Hymns is still a desideratum.

Particularly interesting is Koder's treatment of the subject that one could entitle "Symeon and the Studite tradition". Symeon's life was in many ways bound to the Studios but it also constituted an anomaly in the Studite tradition. Also, Symeon's teaching constitutes a remarkable departure from the style and the emphases of the Studite tradition as exemplified by the life and writings of Theodore the Studite. Thus it is interesting to see how Nicetas re-appropriates Symeon's person, his teaching about spiritual fatherhood and his mysticism for the Studite environment. Nicetas' means and writing technique for doing this get here an appropriate, if not exhaustive, treatment.

Important is also the observation, which Koder already made in the Introduction to his edition of the Hymns, that the texts of the Hymns as we have them now bear the traces of Nicetas' editorial hand. Before this intervention they must have been much less perfect from the point of view of metrics and the poetic rules, following more closely the internal impulses of Symeon's inspiration. However, the differences that can be observed between the unique parallel witness probably going back to Symeon's original and the standard text[95] do not entitle us to draw too far-reaching conclusions, such as the one proposed by Lauxtermann, according to which Nicetas' intervention must have "involved a thorough and systematic revision of the saint's mystical and sometimes blatantly unorthodox utterances."[96] Quite on the contrary, the scholia that Nicetas has appended to Symeon's daring expressions in many of the hymns show that, while he respected his master's thought, he tried to tone down, by means of his explanations, their possible scandalising effects.

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[94] The chronology was established by Irénée Hausherr in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vita* of Symeon by Nicetas : I. Hausherr / G. Horn (eds.), Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949–1022) par Nicétas Stéthatos. *Orientalia Christiana*, 12. Rome 1928. Ever since, there were two other editions of the *Vita* in Greece, the first by P. Chrestou, Συμεὼν ὁ Νέος Θεολόγος, 19. Βίος τοῦ Συμεὼν ὑπὸ Νικήτα Στηθάτου, Κεφάλαια, Εὐχαριστίαι, εἰσαγωγή–κείμενον–μετάφρασις–σχόλια. Thessalonike 1983, 7–327, and the second by S. Koutsas (ed.), Νικήτα τοῦ Στηθάτου Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ Νέου Θεολόγου. Nea Smyrne 1994, reprint 1996. Chrestou has proposed an alternative dating: 956–1036, which is not accepted by the scholars.

[95] The only such witness is MS Vat. 504, containing the first 84 lines of Hymn 21.

[96] M. D. Lauxtermann's book review in *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 19 (2009).

According to Koder, following Nicetas, it was the interior impetus of his mystical experience, which pushed Symeon to write his poetry in a meter that he must have learned while in the imperial court. Koder also points to the change of audience after Symeon's exile to Chrysopolis/Üsküdar. The internal mystical impulse is perhaps not a "scientific" explanation, but it remains the best that exist.

Koder also provides a very useful treatment of the different types of Symeon's "meterless meter" (ἄμετρα μέτρα), that is, accentual poetry, which indeed fills a lacuna, although it has been anticipated by Koder himself, in his Introduction to the hymns.[97] There is, however, a point where I would be inclined to question Koder's statements, namely concerning the four hymns where Symeon changes the meter within the hymn – Hymns 20, 21, 39 and 45 – and, more generally, the connection of the meter with the contents of the hymns. According to Koder, in these four hymns Symeon changes the meter without any perceptible reason, perhaps only to show up his formal poetic talent. However, it seems to me that the three different metric types that Symeon uses – the octosyllabic, the dodecasyllabic and the political (15-syllabic) verse – correspond to different genres within the hymns. So the political verse, thought to be closer to a colloquial style, is used for expressing more personal, often confessional, messages, or more down to earth matters, while the dodecasyllabic verse is used for more detached and elevated spiritual subjects, also for the descriptions of higher mystical states, and the octosyllabic verse is reserved for – often lengthy and complicated – theoretical expositions. Informative, from this point of view, are the aforementioned four hymns: Symeon starts Hymn 20 in dodecasyllable, containing his usual description of the diverse kinds of spiritual experiences, which, although he speaks in the first person, should have a relevance to all Christians, but changes to political verse at the moment when he starts to speak about his childhood and adolescence and his years in the imperial court, in order to ascend, once again, to his own, more personal, mystical experience; in Hymn 21, changing from the dodecasyllable to political verse intensifies Symeon's personal polemics with Stephen of Nicomedia and brings it to paroxysm; in Hymn 39, the political verse expresses Symeon's usual personal prayer to Christ, which, elevated to a description of the mystical experience, changes to dodecasyllable; finally in Hymn 45 the first 25 verses contain a short Trinitarian exposition in dodecasyllabic verse, which, with verse 26, changes to political verse to express a descent examining the Trinity's activity in the world, in order finally to arrive at Symeon's own person and his personal experiences and prayers.

Finally, Koder's outstanding presentation of the lyric element in Symeon's poetry not only shows his deep and more than scholarly understanding, even affinity, to this literature, but anticipates the other three studies of the volume, which give an in-debth analysis of three individual pieces from Symeon's poetic collection, uncovering their manifold literary merits.

Alexandros Alexakis, in his "Morphological remarks on the *Mystical Prayer, through which is invoked the Holy Spirit by the one who sees It* by Symeon the New Theologian", gives a thorough treatment of the front piece of Nicetas' collection of Symeon's *Hymns*, a text not written in verse but being indeed a poetic work. The study has the great merit to raise new questions concerning Symeon's culture and even

[97] Koder (as footnote 93 above) 82–94.

secular training. In fact, among those scholars who have treated Symeon's sources, only Athanasios KAMBYLIS, the author of one of the authoritative editions of the *Hymns*, proposed that parts of Symeon's poetry might echo classical authors, such as Homer, Aeschylus and Aelianus, a proposition later rejected by H.J.M. TURNER. However, ALEXAKIS finds astonishing classical reminiscences in the *Mystical Prayer.*

Before treating the *Mystical Prayer*'s morphology, ALEXAKIS proceeds to some interesting observations concerning the content of the *Prayer.* First of all, he remarks that it is far from being obvious that the adressee of the prayer would be the person of the Holy Spirit exclusively. Many expressions fit rather God in general and a good number of them seems to refer directly to Christ. Second, he remarks that the *Prayer*'s basis is the well-known prayer to the Holy Spirit, "Heavenly King, Comforter, the Spirit of Truth …". It is indeed striking to see how, in fact, the majority of the expressions in this prayer are taken either from Biblical passages or from the Patristic tradition directly referring to Christ, rather than the Holy Spirit. The *Prayer*'s Eucharistic tone and content are also conspicuous. Without trying to solve this riddle I would add that this aspect of the *Prayer* seems to invoke a very archaic "Spirit Christology." Such theological archaisms – very little studied in the scholarly literature – constitute one of the many striking traits of Symeon's doctrinal teaching.

The main part of ALEXAKIS' contribution treats the structure and the morphological elements of the *Prayer.* This painstaking analysis indeed produces surprising results. In fact, the author convincingly demonstrates that in every detail of this little masterpiece Symeon followed the classical rules of prayer-writing, including a tripartite structure consisting of invocation, epical part, or argument, and request, and also many stylistic elements, such as a triadic organisation of lexemes and phrases, alliteration, homoioteleuton, repetition and etymological variation. ALEXAKIS leaves the question open whether the knowledge of these stylistic tools was due to an acquaintance with classical authors or, in general, with classical *paideia*, or everything had been mediated by Christian models, first of all by Gregory the Theologian, who is the only patristic author whom Symeon often cites by name. In his review Lauxtermann further relativised this emphasis pointing to the presence of the classical tripartite scheme not only in Christian prayers but also in some psalms and, most importantly, to a contemporary parallel, John Geometres.[98] This latter remark is quite helpful here. If Hellenising Christianity was, in Symeon's times, the order of the day, perhaps we should not entirely believe Nicetas Stethatos, when he claims in the *Life of Symeon* that his teacher had not had any part in the outside wisdom. This may well be a mere trope, going back to the *Life of Antony*, where it should not be taken too seriously either, as Samuel Rubenson's research has clearly shown.[99]

Let me add here a further classicising or Hellenising element in the *Mystical Prayer*, the expression μόνος πρὸς μόνον in the phrase "come, the Alone to the alone, because I am alone as you see," which alludes to Plotinus' best known phrase, epitomising his philosophy: "the flight of the alone to the Alone" (*Enn* VI.9 [9], 11.50). This phrase has been quoted as the marker separating pagan mysticism from the Christian

[98] LAUXTERMANN (as footnote 96 above).

[99] S. RUBENSON, The Letters of Saint Antony : Origenist Theology, Monasticism and the Making of a Saint. 2nd ed., Minneapolis 1995.

experience of God,[100] so how does it all of a sudden appear here in the *Mystical Prayer* of the "greatest Byzantine mystic"? Although one might observe a reversal of meaning in the way Symeon uses the phrase, given that here it is not the solitary human being who flees to the Solitary God, but the divine Solitary who comes to visit the human solitary who is alone as a true μονάζων, even this difference should not be overemphasised. To flee the world and become lonely in order to be alone with the Alone is a central theme for Symeon, comes back in several hymns (15, 135; 23, 426; 29, 260–65; 30, 166) and in the autobiographic Catechesis 22 (125), receives an extensive treatment in Hymn 27, which is dedicated precisely to this subject and is again the opening theme of Hymn 28. The Plotinian formula, reinterpreted in a Christian monastic context, remains Symeon's main explanation for the words μονάζων, μοναχός and for the solitary way of life and is perhaps to be considered together with the Evagrian formula of the 'naked intellect' appearing in Hymns 9, 33–34 and 29, 258 and *Theological Chapters* 17. This Plotinian formula is certainly not mediated through Gregory the Theologian and it would be difficult to exclude, in the case of a writer writing in a period of classical revival, that he may have known that the phrase was coming from Plotinus, even if he had not read any treatise from the Enneads.

So it seems to me that Alexakis' study opens a fascinating new track for research, that of examining Symeon's eventual classical, even, to a certain extent, philosophical culture, which may reserve some more surprises.

Athanasios Markopoulos, in "Divinisation and Salvation: An attempt to read Hymn 13 of Symeon the New Theologian" analyses one of the most beautiful hymns in the collection. Just like Alexakis, he starts with the disputed question of Symeon's worldly culture, apparently an enigma that no scholar can solve for the time being, the evidence permitting a wide-ranging array of opinions. According to Markopoulos one thing is for sure: Symeon does not present himself as a *poeta doctus*, whether this means a lack of education as proposed by Nicetas, or a rejection of the complicated contemporary erudition, against which, in fact, he fought in the person of Stephen of Nicomedia. Interesting is also Markopoulos' remark that Symeon' poetry is not embedded in the Byzantine, at least not in the Byzantine ecclesiastic, tradition. Its origins remain a mystery and we stay, *faute de mieux*, with the explanation that Symeon was an extraordinary innovative genius. My feeling is, however, that real simplicity is only possible when one has a firm background and one is perfectly conscious of the complicated style that one wants to avoid. So I would be inclined to attribute a rather good learning to Symeon, be it through a secular school, or through his own readings. Although Markopoulos remains dubitative concerning these issues, he also seems to be inclined toward the same opinion.

Markopoulos remarks the pulsation of Symeon's discourse between "palpable everidayness and divine transcendance, the central axis being the idea of the elimination of death," that is, through the saving death and resurrection of Christ – I think he is perfectly right in this, but this means, once again, that Symeon's style is very

[100] See A. Louth, The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition from Plato to Denys. Oxford 1981, 51. However, see the qualifications brought to this view by K. Corrigan, 'Solitary' Mysticism in Plotinus, Proclus, Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Dionysius. *The Journal of Religion* 76/1 (1996) 28–42.

consciously constructed. The same should be our conclusion if we accept Markopoulos' suggestion that here we encounter a kind of "ritual poetry." I find very useful in this respect the detailed analysis of the poetical and rhetorical tools Symeon uses here – this shows him as an accomplished master of the language. Parallel to this stylistic analysis, Markopoulos expresses his conviction that the "mystical experience" that Symeon describes here is not an individual experiment but a general presentation of the human condition if it is enlightened by the light of grace. Once again, I can only agree, adding that this general teaching, exemplified in Symeon's particular case, is expressed by means of a particular theology, quite insolite in Byzantium but normal in the mystical school of the Church of the East, earmarked by such names as Joseph Hazzaya, John Dalyatha and John Bar Khaldon. In fact, Symeon exhorts all the "sinners like himself,"

12 to try and run to grasp and catch intensely
by your deeds the matter of the immaterial fire
15 […] and light up the intellectual light of your soul.

He also specifies: "when speaking about matter, I represent to you the divine Substance". This is a quite insolite doctrine of the divine Substance (οὐσία) being present everywhere and filling the universe as a sublime "matter," thus becoming graspable for the ascetics, who light on this fire the intellectual light of their souls. The metaphor implies a dyophysite Christology transferred from Christ to the divinised ascetics. The key for this mystical doctrine is precisely the substantial presence of God in the universe, which had never been and was never to become the standard teaching in the Byzantine Church; the latter was going to opt, during the Hesychast Controversy in the fourteenth century, for an energetic or operational presence, already outlined by the three Cappadocian Fathers. Thus, the Byzantine theological tradition preserved a more marked difference between Christ, the only human being with a divine substance in his unique divine hypostasis, and the saints, whose only human substance and hypostasis is enlightened by the operation of the divine grace. Quite on the contrary, what Symeon expresses here is the standard doctrine of the East Syrian dyophysite mystical tradition, grafted upon the Byzantine theological teaching based on the hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ.

Markopoulos closes his masterly literary analysis, which proves that Symeon was in perfect possession of the formal skills needed to be a good poet, with outlining the new developments in Constantinople's intellectual life during Symeon's times. According to him, in this fast changing world Symeon is a rather traditional figure as opposed to a new type of saints, who "do not any more work miracles, but are excelling in erudition and their general profoundness, as it is clear from the praises of Symeon Metaphrastes composed by Michael Psellus." I am afraid that Markopoulos' literary analysis and the wonderful volume he has edited would convince me of the opposite, namely, that with Symeon a new type of saint appears in Byzantium, who, while excelling in both erudition and profoundness, redirects the Byzantine imagination and thought toward the purely spiritual domain. His influence is unmeasurable – before the Hesychasts began to claim him as their predecessor, he had influenced even such remote offshoots of the Byzantine intellectual milieu as Ioanne Petritsi, the Georgian Christian Neoplatonist philosopher who, while continuing the thought of Psellus and Italus,

defined the union with and the longing for the Platonist "One" in terms greatly reminiscent of Symeon.[101]

Stelios RAMPHOS in "Oxymoric perception: A poetic knowledge of God in Hymn 3 of Saint Symeon surnamed the New Theologian" analyses one of the shortest poems of Symeon, which, however, is a real literary masterpiece. RAMPHOS' treatment of the literary traits of the poem is inextricably interwoven with a meditation on the theological, spiritual and philosophical message of the hymn, in close intertextual relationship with Symeon's other writings. So, upon the occasion of analysing Hymn 3, RAMPHOS proposes a wide-ranging outline of Symeon's entire philosophico-spiritual system.

RAMPHOS first asks the question of the tradition to which Symeon belonged. Besides mentioning Symeon's embeddedness in the Studite tradition, he places Symeon in the Evagrian spiritual tradition of monastic theory and of contemplation, thus rejecting Irénée Hausherr's classification, who ranged Symeon among those whom he called representatives of an "emotional mysticism" as over against the Evagrian, "intellectualist" tradition.[102] RAMPHOS' intuition stands to reason, which is equally proven by the presence, in Symeon, of the doctrine of the naked, immaterial intellect contemplating the divine (see above, p. 239). This identification permits RAMPHOS to link Symeon, through Evagrius of Pontus, to the Platonist tradition. One consequence of this adherence to a fundamentally Platonist view would be, according to Ramphos, the depreciation of the body. The union with God is accomplished in the intellect that, having become immaterial and naked from the passions incited by matter, becomes the contemplator of the divine Light.

Next, RAMPHOS treats the oxymoron "he sees and is seen, kisses and is kissed" to analyse the interactive relationship between God and the human subject, exemplified by the Platonist theory of the corporeal vision. In fact, according to the age-old principle of Greek philosophy, only the like can see the like. So the human intellect, in order to see the uncreated divine light, has to become itself God or, at least, acquire a sense-perception of uncreated nature. Thus the contemplating ascetic is, according to Ramphos, "the subject of the godhead, not its object" – it is the self-knowledge of the human intellect, which, through assimiliation (*homoiosis*) is finally fulfilled in the vision of God.

The second part of RAMPHOS' essay examines Symeon's doctrine of the "spiritual senses." For the union with the divine Light, grace, through introverting the five sense-organs and unifying them in a unique sense-perception, makes the intellect capable of the contemplation of the divine Light. This doctrine, having good antecedents in the Christian Patristic tradition, has a fundamentally Platonist structure. Concerning the

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101 See L. GIGINEISHVILI, The Platonic Theology of Ioanne Petritsi. Piscataway NJ 2007, chapter I.v. "The *Eros* to the One." Although GIGINEISHVILI only cites Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor as Petritsi's possible Christian sources for his – completely un-Platonist – doctrine of an eternal longing for the One, which even in the union cannot be satisfied, it seems to me that the closest parallel is precisely Symeon the New Theologian's teaching on the union with the divine Light. See also LAUXTERMANN's remarks on Symeon's influence in Byzantium before the Hesychasts.

102 I. HAUSHERR, Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935) 114–138.

doctrine of the spiritual senses, RAMPHOS rejects the suggestions of Hilarion Alfeyev,[103] which he judges too apologetic, to stay with those of Walther VÖLKER[104] and Bernard FRAIGNEAU-JULIEN.[105]

Once again, I find this a sound judgment and RAMPHOS' long exposé on the spiritual senses very helpful, although I am inclined to doubt that the whole story would be so purely one of a Platonising tendency. In fact, when RAMPHOS fundamentally identifies Symeon's triad: body, soul, spirit (*pneuma*) with the triad of Platonist anthropology: body, soul, intellect, this contradicts important dogmatic developments within Christian intellectual history, to which Symeon is also tributary. Texts that would be too long to cite here show that Symeon accepted the standard Christian anthropological doctrine of the human being consisting only of a living body and a rational and intellectual soul.[106] The *pneuma* that, undoubtedly, is postulated by Symeon as the third constitutive part of the human being, is not any more the human spirit or intellect, but an effusion of the Holy Spirit, the very divine Light, being the element that, according to the principle of 'the like knowing the like,' is solely capable to contemplate the divine Substance as Light. I am tentatively proposing this correction, because there also seems to be present a correlative doctrine of the "naked intellect" being absorbed in the Light. However, in Symeon's dyophysite theory, this is a commingling that does not abolish the individual substance of the intellect. Moreover, due to the centrality for Symeon of the doctrine of the incarnation, his – quite elaborate – Eucharistic theology and his acceptance of the Byzantine doctrine of Christ's hypostatic unity, finally we get the very un-Platonist doctrine of the divine and substantial Light also incorporating Christ's transfigured human nature including the body and, per consequent, a simultaneous contemplation of Christ in his two natures by the entire anthropological complex of who we are, which is transfigured so much that even the body loses its materiality. In this way, we do not find a real Platonist depreciation of the body here,[107] but a new doctrine, which actively engages with the Platonist representations and includes the body in the act of contemplation.

The third part of the essay analyses, on the above basis, the union itself and its philosophical consequences. The method to confront Symeon's concepts to the modern philosophical problems of the Self, of body and mind, of the individual and the social, makes this analysis fresh and enjoyable. The study ends with general considerations about the construction of all these concepts in the West and in the Byzantine East, Symeon being considered as a paradigmatic and determining intellectual figure for the latter. In opposition to the West, where the individual gradually emancipated itself from its social bonds to define itself as citizen whose dialectical relationship to the

103 H. ALFEYEV, St Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition. Oxford 2000, 215–241

104 W. VOLKER, *Praxis und Theoria bei Symeon dem Neuen Theologen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1955), 289–410.

105 B. FRAIGNEAU-JULIEN, Les sens spirituels et la vision de Dieu selon Syméon le Nouveau Théologien. Paris 1985, 99–195.

106 RAMPHOS is perfectly aware of this fact, hence his nuanced analysis, which I believe finally to go in the suggested sense (p. 120–121).

107 For more detail, see I. PERCZEL, The Bread, the Wine and the Immaterial Body: Saint Symeon the New Theologian on the Eucharistic Mysteries, in I. PERCZEL/R. FORRAI/I GY. GERÉBY (eds.), The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy: Issues of Doctrinal History in East And West from the Patristic Age to the Reformation. Leuven 2005, 131–156.

community is defined by the value of freedom and the intricate system of rights and responsibilities, Ramphos draws the image of the Byzantine individual becoming determined as finding its unity in the incorporeal intellect and, thus understanding itself as the divine image, linking its identity with its social environment, to the detriment of its own physical and rational being. Since in this way it realises its individual unity merely on the plan of its own spiritual self, depreciating the body and the practical reason, this approach would be responsible for the well-known historical absentmindedness of Byzantium, which caused the decline and the helplessness of the Orthodox East to our day. Ramphos approves of the choice to prefer the spiritual to the temporal, but proposes that this be coupled with a re-evaluation of the physico-rational individuality and its incorporation in the world of spirituality, so that the spiritual values may be translated into efficient and modern action. He thinks that Symeon has made an important step in this direction, which should be continued through a full re-evaluation of our corporeal, worldly, individual presence. According to him "the spiritual transformation in the name of which we underestimate the body is an unhealthy pseudo-perception" and so he exhorts us to grasp God as "ethical fact, as our creative union with the living Christ" in which we have to include the body, too.

These far-reaching conclusions well show the weight and the importance of the questions raised by Ramphos and his daring approach, quite unusual in this field of studies. I am convinced that we need to ask and examine these questions. However, I would see the doctrinal and philosophical background of such spiritual authors as Symeon in a less purely Platonist light and would estimate that the spiritual tradition represented by Symeon reserves much more munition for those who want a more lively and efficient approach of present-day Orthodoxy to community and personal life. For this approach to become real the kind of free intellectual inquiry into the elements of the Orthodox tradition, for which not only Ramphos' article but the whole beautiful volume edited by Athanasios Markopoulos is an outstanding example, gives an important contribution.

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Nevra Necipoğlu, Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: politics and society in the late empire. Cambridge/New York/Melbourne u. a., Cambridge University Press 2009. XVII, 350 S. ISBN 978-0-521-87738-1.

Das hier zu besprechende Werk der an der Bosporusuniversität in Istanbul lehrenden und forschenden Byzantinistin hat schon 1990 als Dissertation an der Harvard University vorgelegen, und die jetzt veröffentlichte Fassung macht deutlich, wie intensiv die Autorin in den seitdem vergangenen Jahren an ihrem Thema weitergearbeitet hat und wo sie inzwischen mit den komplizierten Problemen weitergekommen ist. Und das Thema hat es wirklich in sich, denn es geht um nicht mehr und nicht weniger, als um die ganze Breite politischer Haltungen, die sich in den verschiedenen Segmenten der byzantinischen Gesellschaft im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer Existenz gegenüber Osmanen und Lateinern ausbilden und kurz- oder längerfristig dominieren, und sie in Beziehung zu setzen mit den sozialökonomischen Bedingungen, in denen diese Gesellschaft und

ihre unterschiedlichen Gruppen zu dieser Zeit leben bzw. zu leben gezwungen sind (S. 21).

Die Arbeit ist sehr eigenwillig und originell nach regionalen Gesichtspunkten aufgebaut, und sie beginnt nicht mit der Hauptstadt, sondern mit der Region Thessalonike, weil die Zweite Stadt des Reiches noch im 14.Jh., wenn auch zunächst nur vorübergehend in osmanische Hände gerät, dann nach erneuter byzantinischer sogar unter venezianische Herrschaft kommt, ohne daß sich ihre politische und gesellschaftliche Situation wirklich stabilisiert, so daß sie schließlich ab 1430 fest in den osmanischen Staatsverband eingegliedert werden kann. Es folgt die hauptstädtische Region, die an der Wende zum 15.Jh. fast, aber doch nicht ganz osmanisch wird, durch die Schlacht bei Ankara 1402 aber noch einmal eine byzantinische Chance bekommt (*a period of semi-recovery*, S. 186), die 20 Jahre später aber schon wieder fast vertan ist und auch durch byzantinisch-lateinische Kirchenunion und westlichen Kreuzzug nicht mehr dauerhaft gehalten werden kann. Schließlich geht es um das Despotat von Morea, das auch schon vor 1400 Ziel osmanischer Angriffe ist, ohne daß es den Osmanenherrschern und ihren Feldherren aber gelingt, bereits feste Strukturen auf der Halbinsel zu schaffen. Und auch in den folgenden Jahrzehnten sind osmanische Militäraktionen noch nicht auf Eroberung und Besetzung gerichtet. Für die Erscheinungen militärischer und politischer Instabilität sind sie hier deshalb auch nicht in gleicher Weise verantwortlich wie in Thessalonike und Konstantinopel, und die byzantinischen Despoten können sogar von ihnen profitieren, indem sie ihren Herrschaftsbereich auf Kosten der Lateiner erweitern und ihn über den Fall von Thessalonike und sogar Konstantinopel hinweg sichern.

Das Kapitel Thessalonike beginnt die Autorin mit der Feststellung, daß die Stadt mit ihren *constant political fluctuations* und mit ihrer *particularly volatile internal history* eine ideale Möglichkeit *for studying the Thessalonian's attitudes within their proper sociopolitical and socioeconomic context* bietet (S. 41). Sehr zu Recht stellt sie noch einleitend fest, daß die makedonische Metropole schon am Ende des 14. und im frühen 15. Jh. nicht mehr *the thriving city* der frühen Palaiologenzeit war (S. 56). Die städtische Aristokratie musste viele materielle Verluste durch die osmanischen Zugriffe auf ihren Grundbesitz und durch die Verwüstungen des städtischen Umlandes hinnehmen, und die Präsenz italienischer Kaufleute in der Stadt beeinträchtigte empfindlich die Interessen der örtlichen *commercial classes* (S. 67). Dessen ungeachtet bemühen sich die tonangebenden Kreise der Stadt aber um eine dezidiert selbständige Politik gegenüber der Reichszentrale und um den Erhalt bzw. sogar den Ausbau städtischer Autonomie. Als sich der Kaisersohn Manuel in den frühen 80er Jahren in der Stadt festsetzt und sie zum Zentrum des Kampfes gegen die Osmanen zu machen versucht, trifft er bei den Oberschichten deshalb nur auf wenig Gegenliebe, und das Ausbleiben von politischer und militärischer Hilfe vonseiten seines Vaters Johannes V. bei gleichzeitiger westlicher Funkstille auf dramatische Bitten um Flottenunterstützung führen schließlich dazu, daß die Stadt den jungen Kaiser völlig fallen lässt und sich den Osmanen unterwirft. Und das Resultat scheint ihre Haltung sogar zu rechtfertigen, denn die Stadt erhält *a semiautonomous status*, ihre Verwaltung bleibt in den Händen griechischer Magistrate, der Steuerdruck hält sich in Grenzen und die religiöse Toleranz der neuen Herren veranlaßt auch die kirchlichen und monastischen Kreise zu *a conciliatory and accomodationalist attitude toward the Ottomans* (S. 98), während das Konfliktpotential zwischen Archonten und *the common people* erhalten bleibt (S. 85).

Die soziale Struktur von Konstantinopel ist nach N. mehr oder weniger identisch mit der Thessalonikes, und auch die Tendenz zu einer *bipartite social structure* (S. 117) teilt die Hauptstadt mit der makedonischen Metropole. Eine ganz spezifische Prägung bekommt das gesellschaftliche Leben der Stadt am goldenen Horn für die Autorin aber durch ihre Funktion als Reichszentrum und als Sitz des Kaiserhofes, und das zeigt sich nicht zuletzt darin, daß die dynastischen Auseinandersetzungen in der Kaiserfamilie und die unterschiedlichen politischen Haltungen der sich bekämpfenden Throninhaber und Thronprätendenten die Stadtbevölkerung und ihre unterschiedlichen Gruppen zu eigener Positionsbestimmung veranlassen und nötigen. Und erwiesen ist inzwischen tatsächlich, daß sich die neue Gruppe aktiver Wirtschaftskräfte seit den 70er Jahren um Andronikos IV. und seinen Sohn Johannes VII. mit ihren protürkischen und progenuesischen Ambitionen formiert. (S. 130). Dazu könnte aber auch noch eine besondere geopolitische Augenblickssituation für die Stadt kommen, denn kaum jemals zuvor in der byzantinischen Geschichte hat ihre Lage an der Nahtstelle von Ägäis- und Schwarzmeerraum für die Handels- und Geldkreise vor Ort eine solche ausschlaggebende Bedeutung gehabt. Auch die Verf. verweist darauf, daß die Kaufleute von Thessalonike zwar über *Italian connections* verfügen, daß ihrer Stadt aber eine genuesische Kolonie wie Pera in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft fehlt (S. 162). Die Möglichkeit, von Konstantinopel aus die westlichen Wirtschaftsverbindungen und besonders das genuesische und venezianische Stützpunktsystem in der Ägäis und im Schwarzmeerraum für eigene Geschäfte zu nutzen, hat vermutlich in der zweiten Hälfte des 14.Jh. nicht wenige aktive Wirtschaftskräfte aus der byzantinischen Provinz zur Übersiedlung an den Bosporus veranlasst. Schon in verschiedenen früheren Publikationen hat die Verf. besonders auf die sich aus dem Kontenbuch Badoers ergebende starke Präsenz auch türkischer und orientalischer Kaufleute auf den Märkten Konstantinopels und Peras im frühen 15.Jh. verwiesen, die sowohl mit Byzantinern als auch Lateinern Geschäfte machten. Damit zeichnet sich eine ganz pragmatische Wirtschaftswelt ab, die sich nicht primär auf Konfrontation, sondern auf Kooperation orientiert. Interessant ist aber die Beobachtung von N., daß die türkischen Kaufleute in den letzten zwei Jahren von Badoers Aufenthalt am Bosporus aus seinen Konten verschwinden, und sie bringt das in Zusammenhang mit dem Abschluß der Kirchenunion durch Kaiser Johannes VIII. im Jahre 1439 (S. 203). Ganz unbeeinflusst von der politischen Großwetterlage war das Wirtschaftsgeschehen also nicht, und wenn die Beobachtung von N. noch weiter konkretisiert werden könnte, wäre sie vielleicht ein weiteres Indiz für den Zusammenbruch einer weiter unten genauer thematisierten *balance of power*, der schließlich den Fall von Konstantinopel unausweichlich macht.

Die byzantinische Peloponnes ist im Unterschied zu den beiden anderen Restterritorien des Reiches primär ländlich geprägt und wird von einer im wesentlichen noch intakten grundbesitzenden Aristokratie dominiert, die ihre persönliche Macht und ihren individuellen Reichtum nicht nur gegen gleichartige Konkurrenten, sondern auch gegen die regionale Vertretung der Zentralgewalt in Gestalt der Despoten aus dem Kaiserhaus der Palaiologen sowohl mit politischen, als auch mit militärischen Mitteln verteidigt und sich im Bedarfsfall auch mit den seit dem 4. Kreuzzug präsenten lateinischen Gewalten auf der Morea und den seit Ende des 14. Jh. auch immer deutlicher in Erscheinung tretenden Osmanen zusammentut.

Zunächst wird diese regionalspezifische Situation besonders in der Auseinandersetzung des Despoten Theodoros I. mit der die Hafenfestung Monembasia beherr-

schenden Familie Mamonas deutlich. Voraus geht diesem Konflikt die von Demetrios Kydones erwähnte Reise eines Angehörigen dieser Familie von der Peloponnes in die Hauptstadt, um dem Kaiser ein für ihn wichtiges Anliegen vorzutragen. Auf Betreiben von nicht namentlich genannten Verleumdern wird ihm eine Audienz aber verweigert, so daß er unverrichteter Dinge nach Hause zurückkehren muß. N. denkt an verschiedene Palastbeamte, und hält es für möglich, daß es um territoriale und administrative Rechte ging, deren Bestätigung von ihnen hintertrieben wurde (S. 245 f.). Hinter dieser Intrige könnten aber auch Vertreter der anderen großen Familien von Monembasia stehen, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 14.Jh. als Handels- und Geldleute am Bosporus auftauchen, nicht nur, weil sie sich dort bessere Möglichkeiten für ihre Geschäfte versprachen, sondern vielleicht auch, weil sie von den Mamonas als politische Konkurrenten ausgebootet und aus ihrer Heimatstadt verdrängt worden waren.

Ein Mamonas wird jedenfalls in der Folgezeit nicht nur zum wichtigsten, sondern überhaupt zum einzig erkennbaren Gegenspieler des Despoten in Monembasia, und das offenbar so nachdrücklich, daß Theodoros I. schon im Jahre 1384 versucht, ihn loszuwerden und durch den venezianischen castellanus von Koron/Modon, Pietro Grimani, zu ersetzen, wie es heißt als Dank für seine Parteinahme für Kaiser Johannes V. während der Revolte seines Sohnes Andronikos IV. und in der damit verbundenen Tenedosaffäre. Hinter dieser offiziellen Begründung stand nach Meinung von N. aber wohl eher die Absicht, mit der Disziplinierung bzw. Exmittierung des Herrn von Monembasia ein Exempel gegen andere widerspenstige Archonten zu statuieren (S. 244), und dazu kam vielleicht auch noch die Hoffnung, mit der Benennung Grimanis die Verbindungen zu den Venezianern und zu ihren prosperierenden Stützpunkten auf der Peloponnes zu intensivieren und auf eine neue Stufe anzuheben. Der Schuß scheint aber eher nach hinten losgegangen zu sein, denn die Machtübernahme durch einen venezianischen Beamten kam offenbar nicht zustande, der Despot mußte die Stadt nolens volens unter seine direkte Kontrolle nehmen, während andere lokale Machthaber angesichts ähnlicher Gefahren für ihre Positionen offen gegen ihn Front machten, und im Jahre 1393 konnte sich Mamonas in Serres vor Bayezid zum Sprecher dieser Opposition machen, und der türkische Großherr und byzantinische Suzerän nutzte die Situation, um sich als Schiedsrichter zu gerieren, und scheint auch die Rückkehr des Mamonas in seine alten Positionen durchgesetzt zu haben, denn die Venezianer nennen ihn 1394 *dominus Malvasie*, und als die Monembasioten sich angesichts der Forderung Bayezids auf Unterstellung ihrer und anderer Städte unter seine direkte Herrschaft und der Zustimmung des völlig in die politische und militärische Enge getriebenen Despoten selbst den Venezianern unterstellen wollen, ist denen dieses Eisen verständlicherweise zu heiß, und erst nach einer militärischen und diplomatischen Beruhigung sind sie etwas später bereit, den Despoten mit einigen Schiffen bei der Rückgewinnung Monembasias zu unterstützen (S. 257).

Paradigmatisch für das Kapitel über die letzten Jahre der byzantinischen Herrschaft auf der Halbinsel scheint mir die Magnatenfamilie Krokondyles zu sein, die auch schon gegen Ende des 13.Jh. fassbar wird, als sich ein Seidenhändler dieses Namens aus Arachova mit Hilfe türkischer Söldner unter einem griechischen Anführer in den Besitz der Lateinerfestung H. Georgios bringt. Die feste Etablierung der Familie in der grundbesitzenden Oberschicht des Despotats wird 1375 belegt durch eine Schenkung an das von der Kaiserdynastie geförderte Brontochion-Kloster in Mistras, und um diese Zeit könnte auch die von N. vermutete familiäre Verbindung zu den Kladas

zustande gekommen sein, die schon etwas früher als Förderer dieses Klosters aktenkundig sind. Als Kaiser Manuel II. nach dem Tode seines Bruders Theodoros seinen gleichnamigen Sohn als Despot einsetzt und die nach 1402 gestärkte Position der byzantinischen Zentralgewalt auch auf der Halbinsel deutlicher zur Geltung bringen will, betätigen sich die Krokondylai 1415 als Wortführer und Anführer der um ihre Eigenständigkeit fürchtenden Adelsopposition, und daß sie zu diesem Zeitpunkt auch immer noch ihr eigenes Herrschaftszentrum in H. Georgios haben und es nach ihrer Insurrektion weiter behalten können, scheint sich daraus zu ergeben, daß sie diese Festung 1460 offenbar ohne größeren Widerstand den Osmanen überlassen und dafür von ihnen mit einem anderen Platz auf der südwestlichen Peloponnes entschädigt werden. Die letzten Spuren der Familie werden zwischen 1465 und 1480 bei antiosmanischen Aktivitäten auf venezianischer Seite sichtbar, und sie runden damit auch das politische Profil dieser Familie ab, die zur Wahrung ihrer eigenen Existenz und Selbständigkeit je nach politischer Wetterlage mit allen und gegen alle auf der Halbinsel präsenten und jeweils dominanten Mächte zu paktieren bereit ist.

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet die Verf. schließlich einer Gruppe hoher Würden- und Funktionsträger in der Umgebung der Despoten, die besonders als Diplomaten und in Schlüsselstellungen der Administration in Erscheinung treten. Ihren Namen zufolge stammen einige von ihnen auch aus den ehemaligen Führungskreisen Monembasias, aber sie haben keine erkennbaren Verbindungen mehr zu dieser Stadt. Sie benutzen für ihre Reisen nicht monembasiotische, sondern venezianische Galeeren besonders aus Koron/Modon und arbeiten bei finanziellen Transaktionen im Auftrag der Despoten mit griechischen Kauf- und Geldleuten aus diesen beiden venezianischen Stützpunkten im Süden der Peloponnes zusammen und deponieren bei ihnen bzw. lateinischen Bankiers vor Ort ihre eigenen Wertsachen. Einzelne Ableger dieser Familien scheinen in Koron/Modon sogar festen Fuß gefasst zu haben, aber ein Bürgerrecht wie die hauptstädtischen Notaras in Pera und sie und die Gudeles sogar in Genua bzw. in Venedig scheinen die Eudaimonoioannes und Sophianos aus der Peloponnes weder in der entfernten Mutterstadt Venedig noch in den beiden dem Despotat benachbarten Stützpunkten der Venezianer erworben zu haben. Und auch für kommerzielle Aktivitäten und finanzielle Transaktionen, vergleichbar denen der byzantinischen *hommes d'affaires* in der spätbyzantinischen Hauptstadt, gibt es bisher keine konkreten Anhaltspunkte. Auch die byzantinische Peloponnes ist der westlichen Geschäftswelt vor 1460 also sehr nahe, wie mir scheint noch näher als Thessalonike vor 1423 bzw. sogar vor 1430, aber wohl doch nicht so nahe wie Konstantinopel vor 1453.

Die Verf. kann erfolgreich und überzeugend darlegen, daß die Gründe für den letztendlichen Erfolg der Osmanen nicht nur in ihrer militärischen Macht und ihrem skrupellosen Einsatz gegen alles, was ihnen im Wege steht, und alle, die sich ihnen in den Weg stellen, zu suchen sind, sondern daß sie sich dazu auch virtuos eines komplexen politischen und religiösen Instrumentariums bedienen. Sie verweist auf die vom Islam vorgegebenen Normen des Umgangs mit Gegnern, die im Falle freiwilliger Unterwerfung zur Schonung ihres Lebens und Respektierung ihrer Religion verpflichteten. Die erste türkische Machtübernahme 1387 in Thessalonike erfolgt im wesentlichen friedlich in *terms of conditional surrender* (S. 86) und führt zu einem schon beschriebenen halbautonomen Status. In Konstantinopel wird etwa gleichzeitig versucht, die byzantinische Macht mit verschiedenen Mitteln weiter zu unterwandern, besonders durch die Installation eines türkischen kadi entsprechend den ökonomi-

schen Realitäten einer beachtlichen Präsenz türkischer Kaufleute in der Stadt und als symbolische Demonstration politischer Suprematie über den byzantinischen Staat, die vermutlich 1390 erfolgte und zunächst wohl auf *occasional visits* beschränkt war (S. 138). Und auf der Peloponnes versuchte Bayezid zunächst als Schiedsrichter zwischen den zerstrittenen Parteien fester Fuß zu fassen. Allerdings zögerte der Osmanenherscher im Zuge seiner Bemühungen um die Schaffung einer neuen zentralisierten Monarchie (*his new and aggressive policy of forceful unification*, S. 231) nicht, alle sich bietenden Möglichkeiten zu nutzen, um den Druck auf die Byzantiner zu verstärken und bei Bedarf auch früher getroffene Vereinbarungen zu brechen. Der Stadt Thessalonike entzieht er 1394 ihren halbautonomen Status und unterstellt sie seiner direkten Herrschaft, was die ältere Forschung als zweite Eroberung interpretiert hatte (S. 30). Den byzantinischen Kaiser fordert er nach der Schlacht von Nikopolis 1394 demonstrativ zur Übergabe von Konstantinopel auf, zeigt sich dann aber bereit, die byzantinische Herrschaft innerhalb der Stadtmauern weiter zu tolerieren, wenn Manuel II. neben dem kadi auch noch mit der Errichtung einer Moschee und der Umsiedlung osmanischer Untertanen in die byzantinische Hauptstadt (und ihrer Heranziehung zum Kriegsdienst in der osmanischen Armee durch einen subashi) und neuen Tributen einverstanden ist (S. 138 f.). Nach dem Aufbruch Manuels zu seiner Bettelreise nach dem Westen Ende 1399 sieht er seine Chance dann definitiv gekommen, um den Neffen des Kaisers, Johannes VII. vom kaiserlichen zu seinem eigenen Statthalter umzufunktionieren, was nur durch die türkische Niederlage bei Ankara im Juni 1402 verhindert wird. Und auch auf der Peloponnes versucht Bayezid noch vor 1400 seine Schiedsrichterrolle im Streit um die Herrschaft in Monembasia und anderen Städten durch eine direkte Herrschaft über sie zu ersetzen.

Auch in der für die Osmanen kritischen Phase nach der Niederlage bei Ankara 1402 verzichten sie nicht auf eine aktive Politik gegenüber den Byzantinern und nutzen politische Mittel zu Positionserhalt und Positionsgewinn. So scheinen sie einen von Erzbischof Symeon von Thessalonike erwähnten aus der Hauptstadt kommenden General die Statthalterschaft der makedonischen Metropole versprochen zu haben, wenn er sich mit ihnen arrangiert, ebenso wie dem aus Philadelphia stammenden sehr umtriebigen Theologos Korax 1422 die Verwaltung über die Hauptstadt (S. 142 f.). Und noch nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel und dem Zusammenbruch des Despotats Morea sollen bzw. werden ein hoher byzantinischer Würdenträger (Lukas Notaras) und sogar ein Mitglied der Kaiserfamilie (Demetrios Palaiologos) in die osmanische Administration eingebaut, was den Betroffenen aber, wie bekannt, nur wenig oder gar nicht bekommt

Für den Ausgang der Auseinandersetzungen spielt aber auch die Haltung des *common people* und der *lower classes* eine gewisse Rolle. N. verfolgt sehr sorgfältig alle Hinweise auf *social disturbances* und *social unrest.* Während in der Aristokratie und in der mit ihr verbundenen intellektuellen und kommerziellen Elite von Konstantinopel und Thessalonike und mit gewissen Abstrichen auch im Umland der zweiten Stadt des Restreiches generell gesprochen ein Verhalten zugunsten der Zusammenarbeit mit den christlichen Mächten des Westens vorherrschte, war die *majority of the lower classes* von Thessalonike und Konstantinopel sowohl aus religiösen als auch aus sozialen und ökonomischen Gründen antilateinisch eingestellt (S. 231).Während das Verhalten der hauptstädtischen Unterschichten gegenüber den Osmanen aber nicht ständig eindeutig und gleichbleibend war und ihre Orientierung auf Unterwerfung vor 1402 sogar

deutlicher ausgeprägt gewesen zu sein scheint als 1453, war der *anti-Latinism* den *lower class people* von Thessalonike generell mit einer türkenfreundlichen Haltung, *in particular favorable to surrender* verbunden. Und N. versucht das sehr einleuchtend damit zu erkären, daß der osmanische Druck im Unterschied zur Hauptstadt ohne Unterbrechungen bzw. zeitweilige Abschwächungen bis zur endgültigen Eroberung auf der zweiten Stadt des Reiches gelastet hat (S. 232). Im Despotat Morea, wo Frieden noch nicht primär von den Osmanen, sondern eher von byzantinischen Grundherren und lateinischen Nachbarn gefährdet wurde, hatten die Unterschichten in den Städten und auf dem Land nicht nur die Möglichkeit, gegen osmanische Nadelstiche in Form von kurzzeitigen Plünderungszügen und politischen Versuchsballons neben dem Festhalten an der eigenen Herrschaft auch für unterschiedliche lateinische Herren zu votieren und sogar auf fremde Territorien überzuwechseln, während eine klare protürkische Option für sie noch gar nicht existierte.

Auch für die Darstellung der Rolle der Volksschichten im Spannungsfeld zwischen Lateinern und Türken zeigt sich also die Fruchtbarkeit der von der Autorin gewählten strukturellen Anlage ihrer Arbeit, werden Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede erkennbar, die zu einem ganz wesentlich neuen und besseren Verständnis des späten Byzanz führen. Nicht deutlich genug wurde vielleicht von ihr erkannt und thematisiert, daß neben den gesellschaftlichen Gruppen, bei denen sich protürkische mit antilateinischen Haltungen (bzw. umgekehrt) verbinden, und denen, die sich antilateinisch und antitürkisch zugleich positionieren, zeitweilig auch eine Gruppe unter den Byzantinern zu finden ist, die prolateinisch und protürkisch zugleich gesinnt ist, aber von keinem zu viel haben will. Diese Position steht wohl hinter dem vielzitierten Ausspruch des Lukas Notaras, sie findet sich in modifizierter Form aber auch bei Lateinern und sogar bei Osmanen, ausgedrückt in der Furcht, mit der Liquidierung von Byzanz auch den Anschluß an den Westen zu verlieren. Bei N. klingt das vielleicht an in der abschließenden Formulierung, daß die politischen Verhaltensweisen der verschiedenen Personen und Gruppen im späten Byzanz sich nicht in einem einfachen entweder/oder unterbringen lassen (S. 288). Um eine Politik der Koexistenz mit den Türken bemüht sich der Autorin zufolge ganz deutlich eine starke Gruppe in den Kreisen des byzantinischen Hofes gegen Ende des 14.Jh. Nach dem Einschwenken Bayezids auf eine Politik gewaltsamer Unifizierung scheint ihr ein solches Nebeneinander aber nicht mehr möglich und auch nicht mehr versucht worden zu sein (S. 231). Ein bereits weiter oben genanntes Gleichgewicht zwischen den in der Romania engagierten politischen Kräften hatte sich lt. H. Inalcik aber noch einmal im Anschluß an die türkische *time of troubles* und der erfolglosen Belagerung Konstantinopels im Jahre 1422 herausgebildet, und für I. Ševčenko war der Mesazon und Megasdux Notaras der wichtigste Verfechter dieser *balance of power.*[108] Wie sich diese Überlegungen mit den Untersuchungsergebnissen von N. verbinden lassen und mit ihnen vereinbar sind, sollte im Zusammenhang mit verschiedenen neuen Arbeiten noch genauer verfolgt werden. Für Stoff zu weiterem Nachdenken ist auf jeden Fall gesorgt.

Leipzig *Klaus-Peter Matschke*

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108 Belege bei K.-P. Matschke, Italiener, Griechen und Türken im Umfeld des Kreuzzuges von 1444, in: Il Mar Nero III, 1997/98, 159–177.

S. Patoura-Spanou, Χριστιανισμός και Παγκοσμιότητα στο Πρώιμο Βυζάντιο, από τη Θεωρία στην Πράξη. *Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Μονογραφίες* 10). Αθήνα, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών 2008. 456 p. With English sumamry. ISBN 978-960-371-047-9.

The Greek title of this meticulous work, as reflected in the English summary: "The Byzantine Christian worldview and its influence on the early Middle Ages", explicitly reveals the scope of the study. Mrs. Patoura-Spanou is dealing in this extensive work with the early Byzantine time and successfully presents a comprehensive analysis of a huge source material, related to that period. Further, the author adds a solid and voluminous knowledge of all necessary secondary literature, and manages to bring about a useful and reliable insight in a crucial time of the development of the modern world. Moreover, in some cases she provides interesting comparable information on elements beyond the main focus of the study, for instance on p. 92, especially footnote 247, where she compares the Byzantine 'mirror of prince' to similar literary products in Islamic literature (also p. 107, 355 and passim).

The study is arranged in three parts, each subdivided in chapters, following a systematic analysis, indicated in the subtitle of the book: "From theory to practice". In the first part (p. 29–121), **"**theory and ideology**"** which, according to the author, formed the policy of Early Byzantium and gave it a character of "globalism", are researched. At that time the decisive transformation of the Roman Empire to Christian Byzantium occurred and the author follows this change in the field of ideology and political theory. More important, Christianity adopted by Constantine the Great developed into state-religion and Roman universalism formed the framework and the vehicle for Byzantium's foreign policy.

A skillful panegyrist, Bishop Eusebius recorded the achievements and the contribution of the first Christian Emperor in a new orientation of the Roman tradition, inherited by Byzantium. In Eusebius' work, his hero, Emperor Constantine, is immortalized. Hellenistic and Roman elements modeling the ideal Prince are embellished with Christian seeds and for the first time the portrait of a Christian statesman is deployed (cf. p. 54–75 and passim).

Rhetoric constructs a 'political theology', as the author labels it, and the vision of a 'Christian universe' is postulated and documented in contemporary literary sources (p.76–88, with references to the first Christian geographer, Cosmas Indicopleustes, and other sources, here and passim). Law and legislation are important in consolidating the new ideal of a Christian governance and the input of the Emperor Justinian is pivotal in this respect (p. 96 ff. and passim).

The model of the new Christian leader is reproduced in a more elaborated form, as in Eusebius's work and in other Christian writers, in historians and chronographers, in popular treatises and in all genres of Byzantium's literary production. The Byzantine Empire in its political ideology presumes the aspiration to be the head of the Christian *oikoumene* and the Emperor of Constantinople incorporates this function.

A 'mirror of Prince', attributed to Deacon Agapet, traces this influential literary genre. This short popular work was reproduced later in numerous manuscripts and was

in school use at the time of the Ottoman occupation.[109] Agapet, an author without high literary standards, shaped his praise for the Emperor Justinian in short, easy to memorize chapters. The name of the Emperor is included in the vertical acronym, a technique applied in popular literary products, religious hymns among them.[110] In a picturesque manner the Emperor appears among others in Agapet's vision as 'the helmsman of the vessel of the universal state' (p. 96–111).

Universalism is also reflected in artistic works.[111] In actual policy universalism is often practiced by the organization of Christian missions. Byzantine 'universalism' was present in the Empire's history until the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders, and even later, the Capital continued to assume its place as '*caput mundi*' and the Emperor defended his supremacy as universal Christian leader, 'universal *basileus*'. Some of these later reflections of universalism are occasionally touched upon by the author, although laying out of the main focus of her research, as the flow out of a tradition and an ideology which marked the history of Byzantium until the fall of Constantinople (cf. p. 74 f., 93, 107, and passim).

As Gilbert Dagron asserts, Byzantium accumulated in its political theory various essential political elements and traditions, extracted from their context, which were introduced and transformed into a new framework.[112] Constantine's reign was a turning point, not only in the Roman history but moreover in world history.[113] The new capital of the Empire named after him symbolizes the transformation of the new era: 'This is not the classical world any more, but the incipient world of Orthodoxy, of which Constantinople is becoming the spiritual and not the temporal capital'.[114]

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109 A. Skarbele-Nikolopoulou, Μαθηματάρια των ελληνικών σχολείων κατά την Τουρκοκρατία. Athens 1994, 62 and passim.

110 In the Orthodox Christian tradition the Akathistos (standing) Hymn to the Holy Virgin has a vertical acronym in alphabetic order.

111 Cf. the catalogue of the exhibition: Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη. Ώρες Βυζαντίου. Έργα και ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο, Ministry of Culture, Athens 2001.

112 D. Dagron, L'œcuménité politique: droit sur l'espace, droit sur le temps, in: Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη. *Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, Διεθνή Συμπόσια*, 16. Athens 2005, 47–57. «Byzance a, en effet, puisé à toutes ces traditions (sc. hellénistique, vétérotestamentaire, romaine), mais hors contexte. Elle a retenu l'idée hellénistique d'une origine divine de la royauté hors des philosophies qui lui donnaient consistance; elle a retenu le modèle de la royauté davidique sans les Juifs; l'*universalitas* romaine sans l'histoire de Rome», p. 47. This political theory was extremely influential in the Middle Ages, cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, Die zwei Kőrper des Kőnigs. 'The King's two Bodies', eine Studie zur politischen Theologie des Mittelalters (Original in English, Princeton 1957), German translation, München 1990.

113 Johannes Straub, one of the most renown and influential researchers of the Late Antiquity and the Roman history, devoted many of his studies to Constantine's reform work. He properly stresses the impact of the emperor's revolutionary work: "Natürlich stellt Konstantin einen Wendepunkt in der europäischen Geschichte dar. Er erscheint uns tatsächlich als der Mann, der in allen Bereichen die Initiative zur Reform von Staat und Gesellschaft ergriffen hat", in: 'Konstantin als ΚΟΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ'. *DOP* 21(1967), 37–55 (reprint in: J. Straub, Regeneratio Imperii. Darmstadt 1972, p. 136). Cf. some other studies by the same author included in this volume.

114 C. Mango, Constantinople: Capital of the *Oikoumene?*, in: Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη (as above footnote 96) 319–324, here 324.

The second (p. 125–228) and the third (p. 231–372) parts of this book make up the main body of the study. The second part deals with the relations of the Christian Byzantium and the foreign people in the 4th and the 5th century, and the third part reports on Christian mission and Byzantine diplomacy in the 6th century, a corner-stone in Byzantine history and the evolution of Late Antiquity, at the time of the emperor Justinian.

The religious aspect of Byzantine diplomacy has been stressed by many scholars and it is important in dealing with the diplomacy of the Eastern Roman Empire to give more emphasis on the question whether religion was the goal or it was one of the means in materializing the Empire's goals in foreign policy.[115] The author sufficiently describes the flexibility of Byzantine diplomacy, which skillfully used religion and confirms the conclusion that "Byzantine religious diplomacy had different methods and goals in different areas".[116]

The conversion of the Goths and the activity of the Arian bishop Ulfila (p. 129–132, 141, 144 and passim), especially due to their presence in the Balkans and their involvement in the events at the western part of the Empire, cover a fundamental front in Byzantium's missionary activity and in its foreign policy in the 4th and the 5th century.

There is no doubt that mission and conversion to Christianity was one of the tools used in Byzantium's external relations. The so-called barbarians were confronted both by war and diplomacy. In the relations with the Goths we envisage this double policy. In the relations with foreign peoples Byzantine diplomacy practices traditional means in engaging them in the diplomatic play. The evidence provided indicates that 'legal and moral categories' were interlinked in the various forms of agreements establishing the Empire's relations with the barbarians: *amicitia*, *societas*, *foedus* etc.[117] Legal instruments, diplomacy and religious missions were applied by the Byzantines to draw neighboring peoples into the Byzantine orbit and moreover to include them in the Byzantine army.[118]

Comparable activities are traced in a remote front, in the Red Sea region (p. 150–170). The basic principles and the same tools which applied Byzantine policy in general are also used in the relations with Christian Armenia (p. 191–228). In the relations and

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115 Cf. p. 92 and passim. The guide-lines of the scholarly research and various aspects of the Byzantine diplomacy are discussed extensively in: J. Shepard/S. Franklin (eds.), Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990. *Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications*, 1. Aldershot 1992, cf. p. 8.

116 Ibid. 9.

117 Interesting studies on this topic, in the volume: W. Pohl (ed.), Kingdoms of the Empire. The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity. *The Transformation of the Roman World*, 1. Leiden/New York/Köln 1997. Cf. especially G. Wirth, Rome and its Germanic partners in the fourth century, ibid., 13–55. Also: E.K. Chrysos, Legal Concepts and Patterns for Barbarians' Settlement on Roman Soil, in: E.K. Chrysos/A. Schwarz (eds.), Das Reich und die Barbaren. *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Ősterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 29. Wien/Kőln 1989, 13–23.

118 P.J. Heather, Foedera and foederati of the fourth century, in: E.K. Chrysos/A. Schwarz (eds.), Das Reich und die Barbaren (as before) 57–74. Also: E. Chrysos, The Empire in East and West', in: L. Webster/M. Brown (eds.), The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400–900. London 1997, p. 9–18.

the rapprochement with Byzantium's main rival, the Persian Empire, similarities are reflected as well (p. 171–189).

The Byzantine Emperor acted mostly in this region as a protector of the Christian faith and safeguarded the believers by diplomacy and intervention even beyond its orbit and the territory under its real control. Constantine the Great paved the way in this field. According to his panegyrist Eusebius, the first Christian Emperor addressed a letter to the Persian king Sapor, in order to demand the protection of the Christians persecuted in the Persian Empire (cf. p. 54–57, 126 f. and passim).[119]

The Christian Emperor's qualities as guardian of the Christian religion and as coordinator in the plan to expand the Christian faith in the universe were manufactured by the imperial propaganda. The Christian Empire's political universalism, established on the foundation of the global Christian faith, claimed resemblance to the divine state whose interwoven theological and political components had constructed the pillars of Byzantium's policy framework already since the early time the Empire established its capital in Constantinople.

In the 6th century again Byzantium deploys a remarkable missionary and diplomatic activity in the Red Sea region. South Arabia and Ethiopia, Northern Africa and Nubia were the stage for diplomatic and religious encounters (p. 285–372). At the same time in other fronts such as Crimea, Caucasus and Danube, Byzantium was confronting the challenges of neighboring nations and peoples, by diplomacy, religious policy and mission (p. 231–284).

Arab tribal leaders were frequently involved as the Byzantines' allies or '*federates*' in the struggle against Persia. Mission and conversion to Christianity were again in these cases a useful instrument (cf. p. 182 ff. and passim). Imperial honorary titles were further used to consolidate the relationship with foreign peoples and even marital relations were established in some cases, as part of a diplomatic scheme.[120]

Mrs. Patoura-Spanou clarifies in her study that in all the regions and fronts Byzantium utilized religion as well among others in order to pursue the goals of its policy. The extensive use of religious intervention in achieving political and diplomatic goals is apparent in the rivalry with the Empire's main opponent, the Persian Empire.

Byzantium utilized religion in the diplomatic policy in a skillful and flexible way in order to safeguard the Empire's commercial interests and strengthen its economic and political influence. Especially the Byzantine policy in the Red Sea region was obviously inspired by both religious and trade motives since this region dominated the commercial land and sea routes.

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119 Concerning the dating, the immediate cause and the intention of Constantine's letter to the Persian king the opinions of the scholars are diverting. However there is no doubt that Constantine's intervention in favour of the Christians in the Persian Empire is related to Byzantium's eastern policy; at a second level it could be an expression of Constantine's aspirations to protect and expand the Christian faith. In addition to the literature cited by the author, cf. the interesting older study: P. Barceló, Roms auswärtige Beziehungen unter der Constantinischen Dynastie (306–363). *Eichstätter Beiträge. Schriftenreihe der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt, Abteilung Geschichte*, 3. Regensburg 1981, 75 ff. and passim.

120 D. Claude, Zur Begrűndung familiärer Beziehungen zwischen dem Kaiser und barbarischen Herrschern, in E. K. Chrysos / A. Schwarz (eds.), Das Reich und die Barbaren (as footnote 101 above), 25–56.

The Christianization of the Hymiarites was entrusted to an Arian missionary, Theophilos, who was a native of the region, and his mission was performed like an official state delegation. Theophilos, on the other hand, acted similarly to the way almost all Byzantine missionaries used to. His first priority was the conversion of the local ruler and the focus of the missionary activity was related to key places in the land with respect to commercial transactions and transport (p. 165ff).

In expanding Christianity to the Red Sea bordering region apparently theological clarity was not the main concern. Especially in the mission to the Nubians, Monophysitism, which was not the official state doctrine, was at least tolerated by the Emperor Justinian although the spread of Orthodoxy had not been neglected by him. The mission to Nubia is considered by the author as 'an official diplomatic mission' in the 6th century and is compared to the previous mission in the 4th century by the Emperor Constantius, which converted the Ethiopian rulers. Missionaries involved in these religious-political activities have been properly typified as 'agents of the Byzantine cultural imperialism' (cf. p. 341 and footnotes 74 f.).[121]

Ekkehard EICKHOFF presented in an interesting essay the ideology and the political theory of Byzantium under the motto 'Power and Mission'.[122] Even if some aspects can be disputed, it points out the cornel of the Empire's thousand-year history. The ideology of first Rome: 'ruler of the world, center of the universal power, destined to last until the end of the time', was transferred to Constantinople and the new capital 'regarded itself as ecumenical, or universal, embracing the whole inhabited world'. The Emperor is of course no longer God in Roman tradition, but 'he is the earthly reflection of the single God in heaven'.[123]

The Emperor Justinian, among his other achievements, provided the Roman law with a powerful instrument, the basis of the modern legal tradition. In his deliberations to introduce the *Digest* he summarized in a monumental way the vision of the Christian Emperor's authority (cf. p. 112, with footnote 331 and passim).[124] Apart from this legal manifestation reflecting the theory which founded the governance of the Byzantine Christian Emperor on religious premises, religion was, as already stated, pivotal in realizing the imperial foreign policy. Among other elements pointed out, a factor with religious, cultural and political implications was prominent. Christianization in many cases was introduced in local language translations of the Holy Bible and church service books. This process profoundly influenced the evolution of the language and culture of the various peoples affected by the Byzantine missionary activity (cf. p.165 and passim).

Mrs. Patoura-Spanou is occasionally engaged in comparisons of contemporary politics and it is fascinating what an important role religion played in history, used as an

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121 On the conversion of Ethiopia and the Christian doctrine introduced there, in addition to the literature cited by the author, cf. S. C. MUNRO-HAY, Ethiopia and Alexandria. The Metropolitan Episcopacy of Ethiopia. *Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica*, 5. Warsaw / Wiesbaden 1997.

122 E. EICKHOFF, Macht und Sendung, Stuttgart 1981.

123 R. L. WOLFF, The Three Romes. The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat, in B. KYTZLER (ed.), Rom als Idee. Darmstadt 1993, 205–227, passim.

124 Digest, p. XIII (De conceptione digestorum): Deo auctore nostrum gubernantes imperium, quod nobis a caelesti maiestate traditum est, et bella feliciter peragimus et pacem decoramus et statum rei publicae sustenamus.

instrument for expansion. Clashes were often considered the result of religious discrepancies, and in reality they merely served commercial and economic interests. This type of performing policy is not unusual in the modern globalized world and modern heralding of a "clash of civilizations", appeals for "intercultural or interfaith dialogue" and 'alliance of civilizations', repeat sounds from the past.

This study offers not only an enlightening scientific approach of a particular period but it is at the same time a helpful instrument for scholarly research and an interesting reading for the wider public. It traces the roots of the modern world in Late Antiquity, revealing a fundamental transformation of the emerging, modern civilization.

The study is completed with an extensive summary (p. 362–372) translated into English (p. 387–395) and includes functional indices as well.

Riyadh *Dimitrios Letsios*

III. ABTEILUNG

BIBLIOGRAPHISCHE NOTIZEN UND MITTEILUNGEN

Gesamtredaktion: Albrecht Berger, München
Die bibliographischen Notizen wurden bearbeitet von

I. In den einzelnen Ländern: Ägypten: *P. Grossmann* (Bonn), Australien: *A. Moffatt* (Canberra), Bulgarien: *G. Nikolov* (Sofia), Deutschland: *A. Berger* (München), *W. Brandes* (Frankfurt), *M. Dennert* (Freiburg), *P. Schreiner* (Köln), *F. Tinnefeld* (München), Frankreich: *P. Papadopoulou* (Paris), Griechenland: *J. Albani*, *Ch. Gasparis*, *V. Foskolou*, *S. Kalopissi-Verti* (Athen), *S. Kotzabassi* (Thessalonike), *M. Leontsini*, *I. Telelis* (Athen), Großbritannien: *D. Stathakopoulos* (London), Italien: *L. Bianchi*, *F. D'Aiuto*, *A. Luzzi* (Rom), Österreich: *A. Rhoby* (Wien), Rumänien: *A. Marinescu* (Bukarest / München), Russland: *O. Etinhof*, *S. Ivanov* (Moskau), Serbien: *L. Maksimović* (Belgrad), Spanien: *J. Signes Codoñer* (Madrid), Türkei: *E. Laflı* (İzmir), USA: *A. Cutler* (Pennsylvania), *W. Kaegi* (Chicago), *A. Kaldellis* (Columbus), *J. Schott* (Charlotte).

II. Nach Sachbereichen: Jurisprudenz: *S. Troianos* (Athen), *F. Goria* (Turin), Medizin: *A. Touwaide* (Washington), Musik: *Ch. Troelsgård* (Kopenhagen), Numismatik: *J. Baker* (Oxford), *C. Morrisson* (Paris), Sigillographie: *W. Seibt* (Wien), Theologie: *A. von Stockhausen* (Erlangen), Sprache und Lexikographie: *G. Karla* (Athen), *I. Manolessou* (Athen), Volkssprachliche Literatur: *M. Hinterberger* (Nikosia).

Die Notizen umfassen den byzantinischen Kulturkreis im Zeitraum ca. 330 bis ca. 1453, doch finden auch die angrenzenden Jahrhunderte noch eine gewisse Berücksichtigung, besonders in der Abt. 14 („Byzantinoslavica"), die in angemessener Auswahl Beiträge bis zum Jahr 1700 ca. aufnimmt. Allein die Bereiche 1 C, 12 B und 12 C werden in Auswahl bis in die Gegenwart fortgeführt. Zu räumlichen und inhaltlichen Begrenzungen sei auf das Vorwort zu BZ 84/85 (1991/92) verwiesen. Die Einteilung innerhalb der Bereiche folgt im allgemeinen dem alphabetischen Prinzip.

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Shawcross T., *The Chronicle of Morea. Historiography in Crusader Greece.* Oxford Studies in Byzantium. Oxford University Press 2009. ISBN 978-0-19-955700-4. – Wird besprochen. – Hinterberger. [174

Leontios Machairas

Nicolaou-Konnari A., *Dipomatics and historiography: the use of documents in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas.* – **Beihammer A. D./Parani M. G./Schabel Ch. D.** (eds.), *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500. Aspects cf Cross-cultural communications* (Nr. 2000) 293–323. – Berger. [175

Manuel Malaxos

Pitsakes K. G., *Φώτιος … ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ταράσιος. Σχετικά μὲ μία παράδοξη «ταύτιση»* (Nr. 1872). – Kotzabassi.

Ptochoprodromos

Kulhánková M., *Parallelen zur antiken Literatur in der byzantinischen Betteldichtung.* Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Masarykovy Univerzity 13 (2008) 81–95. – Die Ptochoprodromika, weitere Bettelgedichte des Theodoros Prodromos sowie des Manganeios Prodromos werden entsprechenden Texten der antiken Literatur gegenübergestellt. – Hinterberger. [176

Tocco-Chronik

Asonitis S. N., *Sull'identità dell'autore della Cronaca dei Tocco.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 381–395. – Ribadisce l'ipotesi che l'autore anonimo dell'opera sia da identificare con il φαμιλίτης (familiaris) dei Tocco che più volte interviene come personaggio nella narrazione. – D'Aiuto. [177

c. Postbyzantinische Literatur

Mavromatis I., *Rileggendo i versi autobiografici dell'Erotokritos.* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 667–673. – A revision and a summary about the identification of the well known Cretan poet Vitsentzos Kornaros (16th–17th century). – Gasparis. [178

Strategopulos D., *Ο Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, πρωτοπαπάς Ναυπλίου, και το συγγραφικό του έργο.* Byzantine Texts and Studies, 47. Thessalonike, Byzantine Research Centre 2008. 405 S. ISBN 978-960-7856-29-6. – Kotzabassi. [179

Paliouras A., *Sant'Andrea l'Eremita e la pubblicazione della sua litania a Venezia.* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 701–707. – A brief presentation of the church of Saint Andrew the Hermit and its frescoes and inscription (13th c.), as well as comments on the text of his "litania" (19th c.). – Gaspais. [180

Papadaki E., *Forme e funzioni del comico nelle opere letterarie neogreche a stampa tra il tardo Rinascimento e gli albori dell'Illuminismo.* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 651–655. – Gasparis. [181

Staurakopulu S., *Φαντασιακό και ποιητική ρητορική στα βυζαντινά δημώδη ερωτικά μυθιστορήματα.* Epistemonike Epeterida tes Philosophikes Scholes tu Aristoteleiu Panepistemiu Thessalonikes 11 (2004–2008) 21–51. – Kotzabassi. [182

Van Gemert A., *The 15th century Cretan literature.* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 637–649. – According to the author the 15th century for the Cretan literature was "a period of experimenting with new forms and new genres, of transforming traditional genres and enriching them with new elements and new contents, works were composed reacting current events… was the era of eponymous authors… and a new hearing, reading and partly writing public was born". – Gasparis. [183

C. FORTLEBEN BYZANTINISCHER STOFFE UND MODERNE LITERARISCHE VERARBEITUNG

Angar M./Witlake F., *Bertha in Byzanz.* 16 S. Bonn, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle 2009. – Ein Bilderbuch für Kinder über die Ehe der Bertha von Sulzbach mit Manuel I. Komnenos 1146, zur Ausstellung „Byzanz, Pracht und Alltag" vom 26. Februar bis 13. Juni 2010 in Bonn. – Berger. [184

Charalabopoulos N., *The naughty Charikleia. Adventures of a femme fatale in Byzantine Constantinople and modern Athens (AP 5.259; RA 3.352)* (Nr. 40). – Berger.

Gazi E., *Reading the Ancients: remnants of Byzantine controversies in the Greek National narrative.* historein/ιστορείν 6 (2006) 144–149. – Leontsini. [185

Katsiampura G., *Μαρξιστικές προσεγγίσεις του Βυζαντίου από την ελληνική ιστοριογραφία.* Κριτική / Επιστήμη & Εκπαίδευση 1 (2005) 71–79. – Presentation of a marxistic approach of Byzantium by Gianis Kordatos and Nikos Svoronos. K. concludes that modern Greek byzantinology with marxistic orientation has been based upon Svoronos' paradigm. – Telelis. [186

Latorre Broto E., *Εικόνες του Βυζαντίου στις ισπανικές λογοτεχνίες. Imagenes de Bizancio en las literaturas hispanicas.* Athena, Instituto Cervantes Atenas 2009. 172 p. ISBN 960-8334-14-4. – Bilingual publication (the Greek transl. by the author) of a lecture delivered by the author in the Instituto Cervantes of Athens in 2006. The perception and position of Byzantium in the Spanish literature. – Telelis. [187

Romanos G., *Εγώ ο Προκόπιος (Βυζαντινά κεφάλαια).* Athena, Εκδόσεις Καλοκάθη 2008. 478 S. ISBN 978-960-396-416-2. – Mit guter Kenntnis der Quellen ergänzt Verf. alles, was Prokopios in seine Geschichtswerke nicht aufnehmen wollte. – Troianos. [188

Kumpurles G., *Η ιδέα της ιστορικής συνέχειας του ελληνικού έθνους στους εκπροσώπους του ελληνικού Διαφωτισμού: η διαμάχη για το όνομα του έθνους και οι απόψεις για τους αρχαίους Μακεδόνες και τους Βυζαντινούς.* Δοκιμές 13–14 (2005) 137–191. – Telelis. [189

2. PALÄOGRAPHIE, KODIKOLOGIE, DIPLOMATIK, PAPYROLOGIE

A. PALÄOGRAPHIE UND KODIKOLOGIE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Cavallo G., *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* (Nr. 1959). – D'Aiuto.

Cavallo G., *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione.* Studia erudita, 8. Pisa/Roma, Serra 2008. 206 p. ill. – Un manuale di paleografia papirologica greca e latina, sintesi di ricerche pluridecennali, utile anche per la prima età bizantina (fino al sec. VII d. C.). – D'Aiuto. [190

Eustathiu A. A., *Ὁ κώδικας 1066 τῆς ΕΒΕ (προερχόμενος ἀπὸ τὴν Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Δουσίκου) καὶ τὰ γραμματικὰ ἐρωτήματα κατὰ τὴν ὕστερη βυζαντινὴ περίοδο* (Nr. 247). – Gasparis.

Giarenes E., *Τὸ χειρόγραφο ἀρ. 20 τῆς Ζωσιμαίας Βιβλιοθήκης Ἰωαννίνων. Ἕνα χρονολογημένο καὶ εἰκονογραφημένο ἑλληνικὸ χειρόγραφο.* Ιόνιος Λόγος 1 (2007) 59–73. – The author offers a new detailed paleographic and diplomatic description of the manuscript no. 20 of the Zosimaia Library of Ioannina (15th c.). – Gasparis. [191

Hernández Muñoz F. G., *Recentiores non semper deteriores: nuevos materiales para una vieja discusión.* – **Sanz Morales M./Librán Moreno M.** (Hrsg.), *Verae lectiones. Estudios de crítica textual y edición de textos griegos* (Nr. 2064) 355–376. – Wichtige Lesungen für die constitutio textus von Menander Rhetor, Platon, Demosthenes und Aischines werden in späten spanischen Handschriften überliefert. – Signes. [192

Jacob A., *La cultura bizantina e postbizantina nel Salento meridionale. – Percorsi bizantini nel Salento* (Nr. 2062) 15–24. – Panorama basato sulle testimonianze manoscritte ed epigrafiche. – D'Aiuto. [193

Kolyba M., *Αρχειονομία. Φορείς παραγωγής αρχείων. Ιστορική αναδρομή.* Νεότερη και σύγχρονη ιστορία, 26. Athena, Πατάκη 2008. 671 S. ISBN 978-960-16-2983-4. – In diesem Handbuch für Archivwissenschaft werden das Archivmaterial byzantinischer Herkunft auf S. 51–114 und die postbyzantinischen Archivalien (Osmanisches Reich, Ionische Inseln) auf S. 143–404 behandelt. – Troianos. [194

Kotzabassi S., *Manuscripts speaking: The history of the readership and ownership.* – **Hourihane C.** (ed.), *Byzantine art: recent studies. Essays in honor of Lois Drewer* (Nr. 1964) 171–184. 12 fig. – Inscriptions and entries in "ordinary" Byzantine and post-

Byzantine manuscripts, now at Princeton, point to those who wrote, owned and read them. – Cutler. [195

Rollo A., *Qualche riflessione su συρμαιογραφεῖν e dintorni.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 27–43. – Riesame del termine tecnico dell'ambito grafico συρμαιογραφεῖν: partendo da un'accurata analisi delle attestazioni (in primis Teodoro Studita, Elogio funebre di Platone), R. afferma convincentemente che esso va interpretato come «scrivere in minuscola» tout court, senza ulteriori connotazioni, respingendo dunque l'interpretazione di chi sostiene che nel vocabolo sia costantemente implicato il riferimento a una scrittura minuscola corrente, non calligrafica, di matrice corsiva. Ben presto, infatti, «da συρμαιογραφία con un'accezione specifica – … di "scrittura documentaria ad asse diritto elaborata a 'syrmata' " – si sarebbe passati al semplice riferimento alla "scrittura minuscola", in un'epoca in cui l'identità della συρμαιογραφία era ormai definibile in relazione alla minuscola». – D'Aiuto. [196

Stefec R., *Kollation der Handschrift Zu (Turyn). Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der paläologischen Vulgata des Sophokles.* Wiener Studien 122 (2009) 21–35. – Erstmalige Kollation des sophokleischen Teils des Cod. XXV C 26 (s. XIV) der tschechischen Nationalbibliothek, Prag, mit den Werken Aiax, Electra, Oedipus Rex und Antigone. Unter den Varianten finden sich auch einige sinnvolle Lesungen, etwa El. 453 προσπιτνοῦσα (vgl. 1380 = Suda ε 1862 [II 322,22 Adler]); προσπιτνέω (anstatt des gängigen προσπίτνω) als v.l. auch bei Soph. Oed. Col. 1754 (vgl. LSJ s.v. πίτνω). – Rhoby. [197

b. Kataloge, Tafel- und Facsimile-Ausgaben, Einzeluntersuchungen zu Handschriften und Bibliotheksgeschichte

Antonopulu Th., *Τρία ελληνικά χειρόγραφα της βιβλιοθήκης του Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου.* Hellenika 58 (2008) 293–313. – Kotzabassi. [198

Bravi L., *L'Epitome di Santa Croce dall'Anabasi di Arriano. Un bifoglio greco del decimo secolo nell'Archivio Diocesano di Urbino.* Urbino, Accad. Raffaello 2006. 60 p. 10 tav. col. f.t. ISBN 88-87573-26-3. – Un bifoglio in minuscola corsiveggiante, riusato come copertina di un registro, restituisce frammenti di un'epitome arrianea di cui B. dà l'edizione. – D'Aiuto. [199

D'Aiuto F., *Su alcuni manoscritti greci provenienti da monasteri balcanici nella Biblioteca Vaticana.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 405–423. 8 tav. f.t. – Sul Barlaam e Ioasaf Vat. Reg. gr. 34 (XI sec., d'ambito costantinopolitano), e sulla sua permanenza in età recente nel monastero di S. Giovanni Prodoromo su un'isola prospiciente Sozopoli, sulla costa bulgara (con riflessioni d'insieme sulla collezione libraria greca di tale monastero, che fu trasferita alla Theotokos Panagia di Chalki e poi confluì nella Biblioteca del Patriarcato Ortodosso a Costantinopoli); e inoltre sul palinsesto Barb. gr. 388 (sec. XIII–XIV), scritto su pergamene tratte da diversi manoscritti greci e slavi. L'articolo era stato già pubblicato (ma in forma completamente sfigurata, soprattutto per il greco, da un incidente tipografico) in Godišnik Centăr za slav.-viz. proučv. «Ivan Dujčev» / Annuaire Centre «Ivan Dujčev» 94 [= 13] (2004 [2006]) 43–57, 373–380. tav. 1–8 [non segnalato in BZ]. – D'Aiuto. [200

Dorandi T., *Codici della Vita Platonis di Diogene Laerzio.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 323–331. – Sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'opera, in codici dei secoli XIV e XV. – D'Aiuto. [201

Džurova A., *Към въпроса за ръкописната традиция по време на кръстносните походи (Cod. D. Gr. 339)* (Zur Frage der Manuskripttradition in der Zeit der Kreuzzüge [Cod. D. Gr. 339]). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (Hrsg.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova* (Nr. 1991) 261–280 (Bulgarisch). – Vorgestellt wird der Schmuck eines griechischen Manuskripts (Evangelium) aus der Sammlung des Zentrums "Dujčev". – Nikolov. [202

Galán Vioque G., *Notes on an unknown witness of the mixed Thoman-Triclinian recension of Aristophanes.* Hermes 137 (2009) 252–259. – Zur Miszellan-Handschrift Vat. gr. 1825, 15. Jh., die unter anderem zwei Komödien des Aristophanes, Plutus und Nubes, enthält. Sie ist für diese ein bisher übersehener Zeuge der gemischten Aristophanes-Rezension des Thomas Magistros und Demetrios Triklinios, nur bekannt aus P. Canarts Katalogband. – Tinnefeld. [203

Gaspari A., *Due frammenti dell'ufficiatura di s. Nicola? Materiali per un aggiornamento* (Nr. 770). – D'Aiuto.

Gaspari A., *Francesco d'Assisi: un santo venerato anche dalla Chiesa bizantina? Il «caso» del manoscritto Galat. 4* (Nr. 771). – D'Aiuto.

Hajdú K., *Die griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek und ihre Katalogisierung.* Das Mittelalter 14 (2009) 125–135. – Brandes. [204

Harlfinger D./Rashed M., *Leonzio Pilato fra aristotelismo bizantino e scolastica latina. Due nuovi testimoni postillati.* – **Feo M./Fera V./Megna P./Rollo A.** (a cura di), *Petrarca e il mondo greco, I. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Reggio Calabria 26–30 novembre 2001* (Nr. 2012) 277–293. – Su due nuovi manoscritti postillati da Leonzio, gli aristotelici Par. Suppl. gr. 643 e 655: essi «mostrano che Leonzio possedeva un aggiornamento accettabile sui due mondi filosofici [greco e scolastico-latino] e … confermano che c'è un qualche elemento di volontaria scelta nell'orientamento più filologico che filosofico del nostro autore». – D'Aiuto. [205

Kavrus-Hoffmann N., *Catalogue of Greek medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the collections of the United States of America. Part III: miscellaneous small collections of New York City.* Manuscripta 51 (2007) 61–130. – Kaldellis. [206

Kavrus-Hoffmann N., *Catalogue of Greek medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the collections of the United States of America. Part IV.1: the Morgan Library and Museum.* Manuscripta 52 (2008) 65–174. – Kaldellis. [207

Kavrus-Hoffmann N., *Catalogue of Greek medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the collections of the United States of America. Part IV.2: the Morgan Library and Museum.* Manuscripta 52 (2008) 207–324. – Kaldellis. [208

Kavrus-Hoffmann N., *Two solar eclipses and the date and localization of the Kerasous Gospels from the Morgan Library and Museum.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 193–207. 15 fig. f.t. – Sul cosiddetto «Vangelo di Cerasunte» New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M. 748, manoscritto miniato attribuito alla prima metà del XII secolo (an. 1133, secondo K.-H.), dai caratteri stilistici «provinciali» che finora sono stati attribuiti per lo più

all'area di Trebisonda sulla base della storia recente e della provenienza del codice: in base all'esame di due note relative ad eclissi solari (an. 1086 e 1133), K.-H. propone piuttosto di localizzarlo in una zona nella quale entrambi i fenomeni furono visibili, ovvero la Grecia nord-orientale o l'Athos. – D'Aiuto. [209

Konstantinides K./Mauromates G., *Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἰωαννίνων: Κατάλογος Ἔκθεσης.* With the collaboration of E. Nesseres. Athena, Εκδόσεις του Φοίνικα 2009. 68 p. 25 ills. index. ISBN 978-960-93108-4-0. – Catalogue of an exhibition of Greek mss (Ioannina, 21/2–15/3 2009) kept in various collections at Ioannina, Greece. 26 mss (12th–19th c.) are presented in detail with full codicological data. Most mss of religious content. – Telelis. [210

Martínez Manzano T., *Un códice de Niccolò Niccoli en Salamanca.* Studi medievali e umanistici 4 (2006 [2008]) 233–251. tav. XI–XIII f.t. – Sul Salm. 2748 (s. XV), contenente Giuliano, Aristide Quintiliano, ps.-Bacchio, Mesomede e la «Vita Homeri» pseudo-erodotea, dovuto a due diversi copisti. Il contenuto corrisponde a quello di un codice di Vittorino da Feltre di cui Ambrogio Traversari ottenne una copia per Niccolò Niccoli (cf. l'epist. 51 di Traversari, a Niccoli): tale copia è l'attuale Salmanticensis, esemplato in parte sul Par. gr. 3020, in parte sul Neap. III C 1, quest'ultimo di mano di Pietro Kretikòs, attivo a Mantova verso il 1430: la sottoscrizione del Neapolitanus appare, ricopiata dal secondo copista, anche nel Salmanticensis, che dunque non è opera di Pietro, ma va comunque riferito al medesimo ambiente. Del viaggio del codice dalla cerchia di Vittorino fino a Salamanca – prima presso il Niccoli, poi a S. Marco a Firenze, alla Laurenziana, in fine forse presso Francesco Mendoza, che fu collegiale di S. Bartolomeo a Salamanca – M. M. ricostruisce accuratamente la storia. – D'Aiuto. [211

Panteghini S., *Die griechischen Aldinen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.* Biblos. Beiträge zu Buch, Bibliothek und Schrift 58/1 (2009) 111–114. – Abschlussbericht über ein Projekt zu den Editionen von Werken der griechischen Literatur, die Aldus Manutius (ca. 1450–1515) herausgab. – Rhoby. [212

Pontani F., *L'Odissea di Petrarca e gli scoli di Leonzio* (Nr. 58). – D'Aiuto.

Radiciotti P./D'Ottone A., *I frammenti della Qubbat al-ḫazna di Damasco. A proposito di una scoperta sottovalutata.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 45–74. 7 fig. color. f.t. – Riesame complessivo e considerazioni, ad opera di R., relative all'insieme dei frammenti manoscritti (greci, latini e orientali) scoperti all'inizio del secolo scorso nel «tesoro» della Moschea degli Omayyadi a Damasco; e inoltre studio, ad opera di D., di alcuni frammenti arabi coranici antichi, ora al Museo Nazionale di Damasco. – D'Aiuto. [213

Rollo A., *Petrarca e il mondo greco, II. Leonzio lettore dell'Ecuba nella Firenze di Boccaccio* (Nr. 57). – D'Aiuto.

Schreiner P., *Hekabe in Epiros oder: die Ermordung des Despoten Thomas Angelos (1318). Zur Konzeption eines früheren Epirotischen Chronik im Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 124 und der Rolle des Konstantinos Hermoniakos* (Nr. 107). – Kotzabassi.

Scialabba M./Palma M. (a cura di), *Manoscritti nella provincia di Siracusa.* Quaderni della Sovrintendenza per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali di Siracusa. Servizio per i Beni Bibliografici e Archivistici. Cataloghi, 2. Siracusa, Lombardi 2007. 99 p. ill. [senza

ISBN.] – Catalogo di una scelta di 29 manoscritti fra latini, greci e orientali (arabi, ebraici, etiopici) conservati nella provincia di Siracusa. Le schede dei tre soli manoscritti greci presi in considerazione (Siracusa, Biblioteca Alagoniana, cod. III, IV, V), firmate da Orsini P. (36–41), si limitano a riprendere e sunteggiare le informazioni contenute nel dettagliato studio recente di Lucà S., Un codice greco del 1124 a Siracusa (BZ 96, 2003, no. 1579). Curiosamente, nella trattazione relativa alla biblioteca parrocchiale «Sebastiano Castro» di Lentini non è esaminato né menzionato il manoscritto frammentario contenente la Passio dei ss. Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino, per il quale cf. da ultimo Re M., Il codice lentinese dei santi Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino (BZ 101, 2008, no. 2193). – D'Aiuto. [214

Skemer D. C., *From Byzantium to Princeton: a century of collecting Greek manuscripts.* – **Hourihane C.** (ed.), *Byzantine art: recent studies. Essays in honor of Lois Drewer* (Nr. 1964) 185–197. 11 fig. – Books, now at Princeton, collected by Robert Garrett (1875–1961) and his predecessors and successors. – Cutler. [215

c. Kopisten, Verleger, Sammler

Floristán J. M., *Julio César Santamaura (1577–25. VIII. 1618), «corrector et scriptor» de la Biblioteca Vaticana. Proceso y ejecución por espionaje.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 425–454. – Ripercorre la vicenda biografica del personaggio sulla base della documentazione d'archivio conservata in Spagna (Valladolid) e in Vaticano. – D'Aiuto. [216

Lamberz E., *Georgios Bullotes, Michael Klostomalles und die byzantinische Kaiserkanzlei unter Andronikos II. und Andronikos III. in den Jahren 1298–1329.* – Dieser wichtige Aufsatz in B. Mondrain B. (éd.), Lire et écrire a Byzance 33–64 wurde in BZ 100, Nr. 270, mit einer allzu kurzen Annotation angezeigt, die hier wie folgt ergänzt wird: Nachdem bereits Papatriantaphyllu-Theodoride N. (siehe BZ 78, 1984, S. 414) dem Schreiber Bullotes zwei Handschriften und mindestens zehn datierte Kaiserurkunden zugewiesen hat, kann Lamberz ihm für den im Titel genannten Zeitraum insgesamt 33 Chrysobulle von Haupt- und Mitkaisern sicher zuschreiben. Er legt zudem erstmals eine Gesamtcharakteristik seiner Schrift vor, die auch der Zuweisung weiterer Urkunden (vor allem Prostagmata) und deren Datierung dienlich ist. Ein Vergleich mit dem etwa gleichzeitig aktiven „Metochitesschreiber" Klostomalles (zu ihm Lamberz in der Festschrift für Marcell Restle, siehe BZ 95, 2002, Nr. 1867, 155–165) zeigt, dass Bullotes fast nur als Schreiber von Urkunden (im genannten Zeitraum stammen 27 von 42 Urkunden der Hauptkaiser von seiner Hand), Klostomalles vorwiegend als Kopist von Handschriften tätig war. – Tinnefeld. [217

Martinelli Tempesta S., *Un nuovo codice con titolo bilingue crisolorino (Ambr. A 175 sup.).* Studi medievali e umanistici 4 (2006 [2008]) 336–342. 2 fig. – Il codice, secondo esemplare di Elio Aristide finora identificato come appartenente al Crisolora (oltre all'Urb. gr. 123), reca sue postille autografe. – D'Aiuto. [218

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e. Dialekte

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C. MUSIK

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Dragumes M. Ph., *Βυζάντιο και Δύση, Μουσικές σχέσεις και αλληλεπδράσεις* (Byzantium and the West, musical relationships and interactions). – **Dragumes M. Ph.** (ed.), *Η παραδοσιακή μας μουσική, Vol. 2* (Nr. 285) 9–30. With English summary. – Troelsgård. [284

Dragumes M. Ph. (ed.), *Η παραδοσιακή μας μουσική, Vol. 2.* Athena, Φίλοι Μουσικού Λαογραφικού Αρχείου Μέλπως Μερλιέ 2009. 229 S. ISMN 979-0-9013056-3-2. – One article is listed as no. 284. – Troelsgård. [285

Spyraku E. Ch., *Οἱ χοροὶ ψαλτῶν κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴ παράδοση* (The chanting choirs according to the Byzantine tradition). Ἵδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Μελέται, 14. Athens, Institute of Byzantine Musicology 2008. 678 p. ISBN 978-960-89959-2-5. With English summary. – The author presents a wide range of evidence for the organisation of the choirs and chant practice in Byzantium, primarily collected from the rubrics of musical manuscripts and from the typika and diataxeis, but also from a variety of other sources. Differences between monastic and asmatic (cathedral) rites, between the Sabbaitic and Studite traditions, and the roles of laity clergy, soloists, readers, orphans, and eunuchs in church singing are studied in great detail. – Troelsgård. [286

Zaharia M. Pr., *Muzica bisericească în preocupările Sfinţilor Vasile cel Mare şi Grigorie de Nyssa* (Nr. 536). – Marinescu.

b. Sammlungen und Editionen von Musikhandschriften

Perria L./Bucca D., *Per lo studio dei manoscritti musicali del SS. Salvatore di Messina.* Nuovi Annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari 21 (2007) 591–627. – Troelsgård. [287

Giannopulos E. S., *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς – Ἀγγλία* (The Manuscripts of Byzantine Music – England). Athens, Institute of Byzantine Musicology 2008. 497 p. 32 plates in colour and 70 b/w plates. ISBN 978-960-89959-4-9. With English summary. – The catalogue describes 91 Byzantine and Postbyzantine manuscripts and gives for each a date, codicological information (dimensions, number of leaves and quires, material, state of preservation etc.), an analytical index of the contents, brief description of the writing, classification of the musical notation, and useful bibliographical references. The catalogue is the first major contribution to the mapping of the preserved Byzantine musical manuscripts in England since Nigel Wilson's and Dimitrije Stefanović' 'Manuscripts of Byzantine chant in Oxford' (Oxford 1963). – Troelsgård. [288

c. Einzeluntersuchungen

Dessì P., *L'organo tardoantico.* The organ yearbook: A journal for the players & historians of keyboard instruments 38 (2009) 7–15. – Analyses a.o. the significance of imperial gifts of Byzantine organs to the Carolingian emperors. – Troelsgård. [289

Evdokimova A., *Музыкальные греческие граффити из храма Святой Софии в Киеве* (Musical Greek graffiti from St. Sophia cathedral in Kiev). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 185–195. – Ivanov. [290

Moisil C., *Schităa unei metode de transcriere a cântărilor în stilul nou stihiracic.* Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Teatru, Muzică, Cinematografie. Serie nouă 3 (4) (2009) 47–58. – Berger. [291

Suceava D., *Retorica melosului bizantin (I).* Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Teatru, Muzică, Cinematografie. Serie nouă 3 (4) (2009) 47–58. – Berger. [292

4. KIRCHE UND THEOLOGIE

A. KIRCHENGESCHICHTE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Agoritsas D. K., *Έκφρασις Τρίκκης (ca. 1363). Η εικόνα της πόλης και η χρήση του ιστορικού της παρελθόντος από τον Αντώνιο Λαρίσης.* Τρικαλινά 26 (2006) 231–242. – The author focuses on the description of the city of Trikala (Thessaly-Greece) in the Encomium (Laudation) written by Antonios archbishop of Larissa (ca. 1363). He believes that the aim of the description is to signalize the role of the local church in times of instability and uncertainty. – Gasparis. [293

Anapliotis A., *Konstantinopel – Zentrum der Ostkirche. Die Stadt der Synoden.* Welt und Umwelt der Bibel 53/3 (2009) 43–45. – Rhoby. [294

Angelomate-Tsunkarake E., *Τὸ φαινόμενο τῆς ζητείας κατὰ τὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ περίοδο* (Nr. 408). – Gasparis.

Bayer A., *Die Entstehung des Schismas zwischen der römischen und byzantinischen Kirche* (Nr. 374). – Rhoby.

Camplani A., *Le trasformazioni del cristianesimo orientale: monoepiscopato e sinodi (II–IV secolo).* Annali di storia dell'esegesi 23 (2006) 67–114. – D'Aiuto. [295

Casiday A./Norris F. W. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 2: Constantine to c. 600.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2007. 784 p. ISBN 978–0521812443. – von Stockhausen. [296

Damian I. M., *The Greek rite Transsylvanian church in the 1450': Archbishop John of Caffa and the crusade in east-central Europe.* – **Dimitrau A./Mádly L./Simon A.**, *Ex-*

tincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his time (Nr. 2010) 143–153. – Schreiner. [297

Dijkstra J./Greatrex G., *Patriarchs and politics in Constantinople in the reign of Anastasius (with a reedition of O.Mon.Epiph. 59)* (Nr. 829). – Brandes.

Gemeinhardt P., *Staatsreligion, Volkskirche oder Gemeinschaft der Heiligen? Das Christentum in der Spätantike: eine Standortbestimmung.* ZAC 12 (2008) 453–476. – von Stockhausen. [298

Guran P., *The Constantinople – New Jerusalem at the crossing of sacred space and political theology* (Константинополь – Новый Иерусалим на пересечении священного пространства и политического богословия). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 35–57. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [299

Horn C./Martens J., *Let the little children come to me. Childhood and children in early Christianity.* Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press 2009. XV, 438 p. ISBN 978-0-8132-1674-4. – Comprehensive study of children in the society and rhetoric of early Christianity, from the New Testament to late antiquity. – Schott. [300

Karakulakes E. (Archimandrites), *Διοίκηση καὶ Ὀργάνωση τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Σύμφωνα μὲ τὸν Καταστατικὸ Χάρτη καὶ τὸ Νομοθετικὸ Διάταγμα 10/16.9.1926.* Athos, Ιερά Μονή Κουτλουμουσίου 2007. 486 p. ISBN 978-960-930167-1. – On the administrative and legal organization of Mount Athos, with an introductory chapter on the regime between the 9th and 17th c. The book includes an appendix of documents, bibliography and index. – Leontsini. [301

Koder J., *Positionen der Theologie des Romanos Melodos* (Nr. 696). – Rhoby.

Kuhnt K., *Die theologische Diskussion der frühen Kirche.* Welt und Umwelt der Bibel 53/3 (2009) 36–37. – Rhoby. [302

Lidov A. M., *Введение. Новые Иерусалимы: Перенесение Святой Земли как порождающая матрица христианской культуры* (New Jerusalems. Transfering of the Holy Land as generative matrix of Christian culture). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 5–10. With English summary. – Etinhof. [303

Lilie R.-J., *Byzanz und der Aufstieg des Islam. Eine doppelte Überraschung* (Nr. 398). – Rhoby.

Moschos D., *Συνοπτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τόμος Α΄. Ἡ πρώτη χιλιετία.* Athena, Ακρίτας 2008. 242 p. ills. index. ISBN 978-960-328-360-7. – Concise textbook for the ecclesiastical history 1st–11th c. of the eastern and western Christian dogma with strong relation to the historical process. Selective primary texts and bibliography support the narrative. – Telelis. [304

Mureşan D. I., *Notes critiques sur l'histoire de l'église de Moldavie au XVe siècle.* – **Dimitrau A./Mádly L./Simon A.**, *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his time* (Nr. 2010) 115–142. – Schreiner. [305

Nitsche M., *Die Kirchen des Ostens* (Nr. 367). – Rhoby.

Pâclăşianu Z., *Istoria creştinismului antic* (Geschichte der antiken Christentums). Târgu-Lăpuş, Galaxia Gutenberg 2009. 494 p.ISBN 978-973-141-136-1. – Marinescu. [306

Popovič D., *Desert as Heavenly Jerusalem: The imagery of sacred space in the making* (Пустыня как Новый Иерусалим: становление образов сакрального пространства). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 151–175. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [307

Shoemaker S., *The cult of the Virgin in the fourth century: a fresh look at some old and new sources.* – **Maunder Ch.** (ed.), *The origins of the cult of the Virgin Mary* (Nr. 447) 71–87. – Brandes. [308

Šukurov Š. M. (ed.), *Храм земной и небесный* (Nr. 2067). – Etinhof.

Teoteoi T., *Implications politiques et ecclèstiastiques d'une mission de la patriarchie œcuménique à Bucarest (1534).* – **Teoteoi T.**, *Byzantina et Daco-Romana. Studii de istorie şi civilizaţie bizantină şi românească* (Nr. 1988) 283–294. – Marinescu. [309

Teoteoi T., *O misiune a patriarhiei ecumenice la Bucureşti, în vremea domniei lui Vlad Vintilă din Slatina* (Une mission de la patriarchie œcuménique à Bucarest, au temps du voïévode Vlad Vintilă de Slatina). – **Teoteoi T.**, *Byzantina et Daco-Romana. Studii de istorie şi civilizaţie bizantină şi românească* (Nr. 1988) 295–319. – Marinescu. [310

Thelamon F., *«Tel un céleste envoyé de Dieu»: Constantin au concile di Nicée.* – **Caillet J.-P./Sot M.** (éds.), *L'audience. Rituels et cadres spatiaux dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge* (Nr. 2055) 193–202. – Dennert. [311

b. Kirchenorganisation, Missionen, Kirchliche Geographie

Acerbi S., *Jerarquías eclesiásticas y abusos de poder en las iglesias de Oriente: un análisis a partir de las Actas de los concilios de Éfeso II (449) y Calcedonia (451).* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 4 (2007) 23–40. – Signes. [312

Arbel B., *L'elezione dei prelati greci a Cipro durante la dominazione veneziana* (Nr. 1075). – Gasparis.

Camplani A., *Chiesa urbana e «periferie» cristiane di Alessandria nella tarda antichità: premesse per una ricerca.* Annali di storia dell'esegesi 23 (2006) 389–413. – Analizza la struttura della periferia di Alessandria cristiana in tre diverse accezioni: come aree urbane decentrate, con i loro luoghi di culto e una crescente «colonizzazione» cristiana di aree abbandonate; come aree non urbane d'interesse economico, in cui non possono insediarsi centri di potere o d'interesse che limitino il «dominio episcopale», ma dove si ha anche un infittirsi, dal V secolo, di insediamenti monastici che possono condizionarlo; come regioni amministrativamente dipendenti dalla metropoli, in particolare la Cirenaica e il Fayyum, con peculiarità nelle forme di organizzazione ecclesiatica e nella lingua (copta), pur nel sostanziale centralismo della realtà egiziana. – D'Aiuto. [313

Carile A., *Ravenna e Dalmazia.* – **Tagliaferri M.** (a cura di), *La Chiesa metropolitana ravennate e i suoi rapporti con la costa adriatica orientale* (Nr. 2049) 13–32. – D'Aiuto. [314

D'Agostino E., *Da Locri a Gerace. Storia di una diocesi della Calabria bizantina dalle origini al 1480.* Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2005. 289 p. 24 tav. ISBN 88-498-1158-6. – D'Aiuto. [315

Destephen S., *Une province romaine sortie de l'ombre: la Dardanie d'après la correspondance du pape Gélase* (Nr. 1045). – Bianchi.

Grah I., *Rapporti ecclesiastici tra l'Istria e Ravenna durante la vita dell'arcivescovo Massimiano e nei secoli successivi.* – **Tagliaferri M.** (a cura di), *La Chiesa metropolitana ravennate e i suoi rapporti con la costa adriatica orientale* (Nr. 2049) 49–60. – D'Aiuto. [316

Griffith S. H., *Giovanni di Damasco e la chiesa in Siria all'epoca degli Omayyadi.* – **Chialà S./Cremaschi L.** (a cura di), *Giovanni di Damasco. Un padre al sorgere dell'Islam. Atti del XIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa, sezione bizantina, Bose, 11–13 settembre 2005* (Nr. 2005) 21–52. – Utile sintesi, che tocca: il quadro storico-politico; i conflitti teologici, la componente cristiana, delle varie confessioni, e l'Islam nella Siria e Palestina dell'età del Damasceno. Su questo sfondo si può contestualizzare meglio l'attività e il pensiero di Giovanni: «Considerare anacronisticamente Giovanni e le sue opere soltanto dalla prospettiva della più tarda sintesi della teologia ortodossa … significa oscurare il loro ruolo cruciale nel fornire i principi base dell'auto-definizione dell'ortodossia "melchita" all'interno dell'ambiente circostante, il mondo dell'Islam». – D'Aiuto. [317

Gulules S. G., *Τα εγκαίνια του επισκοπικού ναού του αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ στα Τρίκαλα (Τρίκκη) και η αναδιοργάνωση της Θεσσαλικής Εκκλησίας (1362).* Τρικαλινά 26 (2006) 219–229. – The author deals with the reorganization of the local Church of Thessaly (bishopric of Triki) by Antonios archbishop of Larissa on the occasion of the inauguration of the cathedral of Saint Michael in Trikala (1362). – Gasparis. [318

Karydes S., *Ὁ ἀστικὸς χῶρος καὶ τὰ ἱερά. Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς Κέρκυρας τὸν 16ο αἰῶνα.* Athena 2007. 333 p. 6 ills. 1 map. With Italian summary. ISBN 978-960-631-784-2. – Preface of protopresbyteros G. D. Metallenos. A study on the churches, parishes and related confraternities, between 14th and 17th c. in the city of Corfou, based mainly on notarial records of the local archive, followed by the edition of thirty-one published documents. – Leontsini. [319

Kordosis M., *T'ang China, the Chinese Nestorian Church and the «Heretical» Byzantium (AD 618–845)* (Nr. 1121). – Telelis.

Leontsine M./Panopulu A., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὲς μεταβολὲς καὶ μοναστικὲς δραστηριότητες στὴν Κορινθία (10ος αἰ.). Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ζεμενοῦ.* – **Kyriakopulu E.** (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ 1ου Συνεδρίου Κορινθιακῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἱστορικὰ Κορινθιακὰ Μοναστήρια. Κόρινθος 5–7 Μαΐου 2006* (Nr. 426) 141–156. 4 ills. – On the foundation and development of the bishoprics of the church of Korinthos in 10th c., a period characterized by intense financial activities in the region and monastic mobility. – Leontsini. [320

Michalaga D. S., *Συμβολή στην Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία της Πελοποννήσου κατά τη Β′ Βενετοκρατία (1685–1715).* Εθνικόν και Καποδιστριακόν Πανεπιστήμιον Αθηνών, Θεολογική Σχολή, Εκδόσεις Κληροδοτήματος Βασιλικής Β. Μωραΐτου, 4. Athena 2008. 492 p. ISBN 978-960-85718-2-2. – On the administrative history of the Church in the Peloponnese and the interaction between the local authorities and the Venetians, based on the Historical Archives of Athens and Venice. With appendices, presenting sources, the distribution of properties in the districts of the peninsula and 3 ills. of patriarchal documents and index. – Leontsini. [321

Moldoveanu I. Pr., *Contextul istoric al păstoriei primului mitropolit al Ţării Româneşti (Iachint Vicina) şi câteva posibile argumente pentru canonizarea sa. La 650 de ani de la numirea sa (1359–2009)* (The historical context of the pastorate of the first metropolitan of Wallachia, Jacinth Vicina, and possible arguments in favour of his canonization, 650 years since his appointment, 1359–2009). Anuarul Facultăţii de Teologie Ortodoxă "Patriarhul Justinian" (2009) 651–670. – Marinescu. [322

Todić B., *The symbolical investiture of the archbishop Basil of Bulgaria in Melnik.* Zograf 32 (2008 [2009]) 59–68. 5 Abb. Englisch mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Darstellung auf dem Fresko wird als Investitur interpretiert und zwischen 1204 und 1207 datiert. – Maksimović. [323

c. Innere Entwicklung der Reichskirche

Allgemein

Barker M., *The Life-Bearing Spring.* – **Maunder Ch.** (ed.), *The origins of the cult of the Virgin Mary* (Nr. 447) 127–135. – Maria als „lebenspendende“ Quelle im 6. und 7. Jh. – Brandes. [324

Boitsov M., *Покаяние императора: Феодосий I и Амвросий Медиоланский (390)* (The Emperor's penance: Theodosius I and Ambrose of Mailand, 390). Vestnik drevnej istorii 2 (2009) 21–48. With English summary. – Ambrose did not act as a spokesman for the public indignation. The public opinion for which he spoke in his letter was probably formed by himself. Since then, the scenes of a monarch's repentance have developed into an important element of representing the power of an ideal Christian ruler. – Ivanov. [325

Borgehammar S., *Heraclius learns humility: two early Latin accounts composed for the celebration of Exaltatio Crucis* (Nr. 852). – Brandes.

Chatzeantoniu E., *Η Θρησκευτική πολιτική του Αναστασίου Α′ (4901–518). Η στάση του αυτοκράτορα απέναντι στο μονοφυσιτικό ζήτημα και το ακακιανό σχίσμα.* Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 20. Thessalonike, Banias 2009. lxix, 257 S. [ohne ISBN.] – Berger. [326

Christinake-Glaru E., *Τὸ Βιβλίο τοῦ Ἡρακλείδη καὶ ἡ καταδίκη τοῦ Νεστορίου. Ἱστορικοκανονικὴ θεώρηση.* Athen, Εκδόσεις Γρηγόρη 2009. 463 S. ISBN 978-960-333-592-4. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung (S. 417–434). – Mit guten Argumenten macht Verf.in sehr wahrscheinlich, daß das sog. „Buch des Herakleides“ nicht auf Nestorios selbst

zurückgeht, sondern auf den comes Eirenaios, den späteren Bischof von Tyros, der als Vertreter des Nestorios vor dem Kaisergericht auftrat und gegen die Beschlüsse des Ephesinum plädierte. Das „Buch" enthält nämlich die Argumente, die Eirenaios zur Rechtfertigung der Lehre seines „Mandanten" vortrug. Auf S. 153–376 befaßt sich Verf.in sowohl mit den einzelnen Phasen des Gerichtsverfahrens gegen Nestorios in Ephesos (Kap. 3) als auch mit der Kontrolle der Gesetzmäßigkeit der Beschlüsse des Konzils durch das Kaisergericht (Kap. 4). – Troianos. [327

Dovmont (Beljaev) Hegumen, *Исихазм в афонской монашеской традиции и его влияние на церковное искусство* (Hesychasm in the Athonite monastic tradition and its influence on the church art). – **Čičurov I. S.** (ed.), *«Россия – Афон: Тысячелетие духовного единства». Материалы международной научно-богословской конференции. Москва, 1–4 октября 2006* (Nr. 2006) 367–369. – Etinhof. [328

Gahbauer F., *Die Umsetzung der biblischen Botschaft in der Spiritualität Konstantinopels. Bilder und Vorbilder.* Welt und Umwelt der Bibel 53/3 (2009) 48–51. – Zur Bemerkung (S. 50), dass sich das Wort Ikonographie aus den Worten Eikon = Bild und graphein = schreiben zusammensetzt, sei zu ergänzen, dass graphein sehr wohl auch „malen" bedeuten kann. – Rhoby. [329

Iliev I., *Охридско-никейската „схизма" (1220–1232)* (Das „Schisma" von Ochrid-Nikaia, 1220–1232). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 183–196 (Bulgarisch). – Ausführlich behandelt wird die Rolle des Erzbischofs von Ochrid Demetrios Chomatianos bei den Streitigkeiten mit dem Patriarchat von Nikaia. – Nikolov. [330

Iliev I., *Ромейска законност и варварско беззаконие в актите на Охридската архиепископия от началото на XIII век* (Byzantine lawfulness and barbaric lawlessness in the Ochrid Archbishopric from the early 13th century). – **Rašev R./Vitljanov S./Sivriev S./Panajotov V./Stojanova G.** (Hrsg.), *Проф. д. и. н. Тотю Тотев и столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1989) 170–179. Bulgarian with an English summary. – Demetrios Chomatianos regarded Bulgaria and Bulgarian institutions as "barbaric" and "lawless" only in the beginning of his tenure, to which date the latest written documents in consideration. After the changes on the political map of the Balkan Peninsula which took place in 1230 he obviously refrained from such qualifications. – Nikolov. [331

Kaldellis A., *The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Nr. 345). – von Stockhausen.

Kordoses M., *Ἀπὸ τὸν κοινωνικὸ βίο τῆς Κορίνθου στὰ τέλη 12ου ἀρχὲς 13ου αἰῶνα.* – **Gritsopulos T. A.** (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Ζ′ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν, Πύργος, Γαστούνη, Ἀμαλιάδα, 11–17/9/2005* (Nr. 2016) IV 41–49. With English summary. – On the social commotion in Corinth on the eve of the Frankish conquest reflected in the case of Leon Makros and Eirene Hagioagathites, alleged in a synodal letter of Ioannes Apokaukos. – Leontsini. [332

Luijendijk A., *Greetings in the Lord. Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* Harvard Theological Studies, 60. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 2008.

294 S. ISBN 978-0-674-02595-0. – Vorstellung und Interpretation einschlägiger Papyri. – von Stockhausen. [333

Poljakovskaja M., *Судьба византийского проекта 1355 г. об унии церквей* (The fate of the Byzantine project on the Church Union in 1355). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 237–245. – Ivanov. [334

Der Klerus (Prosopographie)

Afinogenov D., *Иоанн III, патриарх Иерусалимский, – православный или монофисит?* (John III, Patriarch of Jerusalem: Orthodox or Monophysite?). Vestnik drevnej istorii 3 (2009) 13–17. – A text preserved only in Slavonic translation proves that John III was a Monophysite and persecuted John Hesychastes. – Ivanov. [335

Marković M., *Saint Sava of Serbia and Athanasios II, the Patriarch of Jerusalem.* – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 267–272. – Dennert. [336

Neralić J., *Giovanni di Ravenna e la prima evangelizzazione dei Croati di Dalmazia e Istria* (Nr. 2118). – D'Aiuto.

Özbayoğlu E., *Acacius, 'Tarsi Episcopus': discerning the signs of Arianism.* Olba 17 (2009) 169–178. – Dennert. [337

Pavlov P., *Св. Теодосий Трапезундски – един малко известен българин от XIV в* (Nr. 2120). – Nikolov.

Rizzotto M., *Michele Cerulario: l'uomo, il religioso, il politico.* Porphyra 13 (2009) 5–17. http://www.porphyra.it/Porphyra13.pdf. – Berger. [338

Tagliaferri M., *L'Arcivescovo Mariniano di Ravenna e l'elezione di Massimo di Salona (592–599).* – **Tagliaferri M.** (a cura di), *La Chiesa metropolitana ravennate e i suoi rapporti con la costa adriatica orientale* (Nr. 2049) 75–81. – D'Aiuto. [339

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Heidentum, Sekten und Häresien

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La fortuna bizantina dell'opera, inoltre, al di là di posizioni preconcette soprattutto di parte ortodossa, si può seguire all'interno della letteratura teologica greca dei secoli XIV e XV, sia filo- sia anti-latina. – D'Aiuto. [390

e. Christentum und andere Religionen

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Marcos M., *Formas sutiles de incitación a la violencia. La destrucción de ídolos como expresión de santidad en la hagiografía tardoantigua.* – **Marcos M./Teja Casuso R.** (Hrsg.), *Tolerancia e intolerancia religiosa en el Mediterráneo antiguo: textos y problemas* (Nr. 400) 123–159. – Die Zerstörung von heidnischen Idolen in 4. und 5. Jh. wurde von der Hagiographie angestiftet. – Signes. [399

Marcos M./Teja Casuso R. (Hrsg.), *Tolerancia e intolerancia religiosa en el Mediterráneo antiguo: textos y problemas.* Bandue. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones, 2. Madrid 2008. ISSN 1888-346-X. – Die relevanten Beiträge sind angezeigt als Nr. 347, 350, 351, 372, 399. – Signes. [400

Massouh G., *I primi dialoghi tra Islam e Cristianesimo e il loro significato.* – **Chialà S./Cremaschi L.** (a cura di), *Giovanni di Damasco. Un padre al sorgere dell'Islam. Atti del XIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa, sezione bizantina, Bose, 11–13 settembre 2005* (Nr. 2005) 117–124. – D'Aiuto. [401

Nigro G., *Musica e canto come fattori d'identità: giudei, pagani e cristiani nell'Antiochia di Giovanni Crisostomo* (Nr. 635). – D'Aiuto.

Saggioro A., *Cristianesimo e giudaismo nel Codice Teodosiano: una disgregazione dell'identità?* Annali di storia dell'esegesi 22 (2005) 177–201. – D'Aiuto. [402

Sahas D. J., *L'Islam nel contesto della vita e della produzione letteraria di Giovanni di Damasco* (Nr. 651). – D'Aiuto.

Scibilla A., *Un'invocazione greca proveniente dall'Egitto cristiano. Il Papiro Kairo 10263 ed un procedimento di cristianizzazione. Il Papiro Rainer 5: analogie e differenze in alcune procedure iatromagiche.* – **Dal Covolo E./Sfameni Gasparro G.** (Hrsg.), *Cristo e Asclepio. Culti terapeutici e taumaturgici nel mondo mediterraneo antico fra cristiani e*

pagani. Atti del convegno internazionale, Accademia di Studi Mediterranei, Agrigento 20–21 novembre 2006 (Nr. 392) 175–188. – von Stockhausen. [403

Simmons M. B., *Porphyrian universalism: a tripartite Soteriology and Eusebius's response.* Harvard Theological Studies 102 (2009) 169–192. – Schott. [404

Soler E., *Le sacré et le salut à Antioche au VIe siècle apr. J.-C. Pratiques festives et comportementss religieux dans le processus de christianisation de la cité.* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 176. Beyrouth 2006. VI, 292 p. 16 pl. ISBN 2-35159-031-7. – Berger. [405

Tekinalp V. M., *Palace churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: tolerance or necessity?* BMGS 33 (2009) 148–167. – Stathakopoulos. [406

Thomas D., *Explanations of incarnation in early 'Abbasid Islam.* – **Van Ginkel J. J./Murre-van den Berg H. L./van Lint T. M.** (eds.), *Redefining Christian identity. Cultural interaction in the Middle East since the rise of Islam* (Nr. 2051) 127–149. – D'Aiuto. [407

B. MÖNCHTUM

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Angelomate-Tsunkarake E., *Τὸ φαινόμενο τῆς ζητείας κατὰ τὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ περίοδο.* Ιόνιος Λόγος 1 (2007) 247–293. – The author deals with the practice of ζητεία, i.e. the collection of money or products by monks or priests during the post-byzantine period (16th–18th c.) across the Greek peninsula, the Balkans even the western and northern Europe. – Gasparis. [408

Bitton-Ashkelony B., *Monastic leadership in fifth-sixth century Palestine: the cases of the Judean desert and Gaza.* Annali di storia dell'esegesi 23 (2006) 415–431. – «The author argues here that in Palestinian monastic society of the fifth and sixth centuries we witness at times the merging of models of authority. Judging from the dynamic of intervention of the Judean desert monastic leaders and those of Gaza in municipal and ecclesiastical affairs, not only is the differentiation of "spiritual" from "ascetic" authority in many instances blurred, but the boundaries between civic and ecclesiastical office seem also to have been permeable». – D'Aiuto. [409

Cremaschi L., *Monaci e monache nel mondo antico.* – **Farrugia E. G.** (ed.), *In Search of the Precious Pearl. 5th Encounter of Monks from East and West (EMO V) at Dzaghgatzor Monastery (Valley of the Flowers) Armenia, Thursday 31 May – Thursday 7 June 2001* (Nr. 2011) 86–94. – D'Aiuto. [410

Delouis O., *L'higoumène comme père spirituel dans la tradition stoudite.* Irénikon 82 (2009) 5–32. – von Stockhausen. [411

Finn R. D., *Asceticism in the Graeco-Roman world.* Key themes in ancient history. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2009. XII, 182 S. ISBN 978-0-521-86281-3. – Einführende Darstellung. – von Stockhausen. [412

Hovhannesian V., *A glance at monasticism in Armenia. History and relevance.* – **Farrugia E. G.** (ed.), *In Search of the Precious Pearl. 5th Encounter of Monks from East and West (EMO V) at Dzaghgatzor Monastery (Valley of the Flowers) Armenia, Thursday 31 May – Thursday 7 June 2001* (Nr. 2011) 45–85. – D'Aiuto. [413

Kalamakes D. Ch. (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ Διορθοδόξου Ἐπιστημονικοῦ Συνεδρίου «Κωνσταντίνος Ὑδραῖος, Νεομάρτυρες Προάγγελοι τῆς Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Γένους».* Ὕδρα 10–14 Νοεμβρίου 2000, Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Ὕδρας, Σπετσῶν, Αἰγίνης, Ἑρμιονίδος καὶ Τροιζηνίας. Hydra 2007. 571 p. ISBN 960-88258-0-6. – Proceedings of the congress dedicated to Konstantinos Hydraios and other neomartyrs with two articles relevant to Byzantine history, listed as nos. 713, 775. – Leontsini. [414

Neri C., *Il libro e la cultura monastica nella tarda antichità: atteggiamenti ufficiali e posizioni individuali.* Κοινωνία 30–31 (2006–2007 [2007]) 177–184. – D'Aiuto. [415

Pogossian Z., *A brief note on female monasteries in Armenia, V–XIV cc.* – **Farrugia E. G.** (ed.), *In Search of the Precious Pearl. 5th Encounter of Monks from East and West (EMO V) at Dzaghgatzor Monastery (Valley of the Flowers) Armenia, Thursday 31 May – Thursday 7 June 2001* (Nr. 2011) 109–117. – D'Aiuto. [416

Pratsch Th., *Mönchsorden in Byzanz? – Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung monastischer Verbände in Byzanz (8.–10. Jh.).* Millennium 4 (2007) 261–277. – Konstatiert für den genannten Zeitraum einen Trend zur Bildung von (im positiven Sinne vorsichtig so bezeichneten) „Klosterbünden bzw. Mönchskongregationen", die aber von den Orden der lateinischen Kirche und deren Selbstverständnis abzusetzen sind. Sehr nützliche – aus den Quellen gearbeitete – Übersicht. – Brandes. [417

Teoteoi T., *Deux épisodes de la lutte pour la suprématie au Mont Athos (XIIIe–XIVe siècles).* – **Teoteoi T.**, *Byzantina et Daco-Romana. Studii de istorie şi civilizaţie bizantină şi românească* (Nr. 1988) 167–180. – Marinescu. [418

Teoteoi T., *Le travail manuel dans les Typika byzantines des XIe–XIIIe siècles.* – **Teoteoi T.**, *Byzantina et Daco-Romana. Studii de istorie şi civilizaţie bizantină şi românească* (Nr. 1988) 65–75. – Marinescu. [419

b. Historische Entwicklung und Klöster

Burgarella F., *Tradizioni eremitiche orientali in Calabria al tempo di San Bruno di Colonia.* – **De Leo P.** (a cura di), *San Bruno di Colonia: un eremita tra Oriente e Occidente* (Nr. 2008) 31–45. – D'Aiuto. [420

Dančeva-Vasileva A., *За някои моменти от живота на манастира „Св. Богородица Петрицонитиса" в тема Филипопол през Средновековието* (About some details of the life of "The Virgin Mary Petritsonitisa" Monastery in Thema Philipopol). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (Hrsg.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova* (Nr. 1991) 249–260. With English summary. – In the monastery (today Bačkovo, near Asenovgrad), during 11th–12th c. Georgian and Armenian-Chalcedonian monks resided. After the end of 12th c. the monastery was occupied only by Georgians and the Armenians were removed. The aim of the monastery foundation was opposition to the Paulician heresy and the anti-Chalcedonians in this region. In the middle of the 14th c.,

the Bulgarian cleric and Serbian patriarch Jefrem (1375–1380; 1389–1390/91, 1392) lived in the monastery. – Nikolov. [421

De Leo P., *La Certosa di Calabria alla morte di Bruno di Colonia.* – **De Leo P.** (a cura di), *San Bruno di Colonia: un eremita tra Oriente e Occidente* (Nr. 2008) 47–60. – D'Aiuto. [422

Delikari A., *Ein Beitrag zu historisch-geographischen Fragen auf dem Balkan: „Paroria". Neue Angaben zur Lokalisierung des Klostergebietes von Gregorios Sinaites.* – **Soustal P.** (Hrsg.), *Heilige Berge und Wüsten. Byzanz und sein Umfeld. Referate auf dem 21. Internationalen Kongress für Byzantinistik, London, 21.–26. August 2006* (Nr. 2048) 71–76. – In der Vita des Gregorios Sinaites aus der Feder des Kallistos (I.) wird berichtet, dass der der Heilige nach einem kurzen Aufenthalt in Konstantinopel per Schiff nach Sozopolis reiste, von dort ins Binnenland weiterzog, um sich in einer öden Gegend, genannt Paroria, niederzulassen. Die Lokalisierung dieses Ortes ist bis heute umstritten. Die Bezeichnung weist m. E. eher auf eine Lage in der Nähe eines Berges bzw. eines Gebirges (vgl. παρόρειος LSJ) als auf eine Grenzlage hin, wenngleich das in byzantinischer Zeit sonst nur im Nomos Georgikos belegte παρορία „Grenzüberschreitung/Grenzverletzung" bedeutet (vgl. LBG). – Rhoby. [423

Karydes S./Tzibara P., *Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων Στρατιᾶς Κέρκυρας: Ἱστορικὴ πορεία – Βιβλιοθήκη – Ἀρχεῖο.* Athena 2009. 312 p. 22 ills. ISBN 978-960-93116-4-9. – A book on the historical route, the library and the archives preserved in the convent of Saints Theodori at Stratia, Corfu. The well documented presentation comprises six main parts on the history of the site, inaugurated near the Early Christian basilica of Palaiopolis in the last decades of 16th c. (monument, honored saints, founders), on its administrative and fiscal frame, on its social and educational role, its coenobitic rules, the confraternity, the dependences, the library manuscripts and printed books as well as a publication of ten documents from the monastery archives. With bibliography, index and English summary. – Leontsini. [424

Kordoses M., *Τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Διόδου ἀπὸ Κόρινθο πρὸς Ἄργος.* – **Kyriakopulu E.** (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ 1ου Συνεδρίου Κορινθιακῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἱστορικὰ Κορινθιακὰ Μοναστήρια. Κόρινθος 5–7 Μαΐου 2006* (Nr. 426) 101–108. – An overview on the location of the monasteries founded and prospered in the region of Korinthia, elucidating their regional and broader historical role from 13th c. and on. – Leontsini. [425

Kyriakopulu E. (ed.), *Πρακτικὰ 1ου Συνεδρίου Κορινθιακῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἱστορικὰ Κορινθιακὰ Μοναστήρια. Κόρινθος 5–7 Μαΐου 2006.* Korinthos, Κέντρο Ιστορικών και Λαογραφικών Σπουδών Ν. Κορινθίας 2009. 528 p. ills. maps. ISBN 978-960-9866-0-3. – Proceedings of the 1st conference on "The historical monasteries of Corinth", organized by the Centre of the Historic and Folklore Studies of the county of Corinthia, with 26 papers. The articles relevant to Byzantine history are listed as nos. 320, 425. – Leontsini. [426

Leontsine M./Panopulu A., *Ἐκκλησιαστικὲς μεταβολὲς καὶ μοναστικὲς δραστηριότητες στὴν Κορινθία (10ος αἰ.). Ἡ περίπτωση τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ζεμενοῦ* (Nr. 320). – Leontsini.

Litavrin G. G., *Мария Склирена – фаворитка Константина IX Мономаха или вдова-монахиня? Из комментария к Пире – сборнику судебных решений юриста XI в* (Nr. 1861). – Nikolov.

Morini E., *Il fuoco dell'esichia. Il monachesimo greco in Calabria fra tensione eremitica e massimalismo cenobitico.* – **De Leo P.** (a cura di), *San Bruno di Colonia: un eremita tra Oriente e Occidente* (Nr. 2008) 13–30. – D'Aiuto. [427

Parrinello R. M., *Prima e dopo Giustiniano. Le trasformazioni del monachesimo di Gaza.* Annali di storia dell'esegesi 23 (2006) 165–193. – Si propone di verificare fino a che punto la legislazione giustinianea sui monasteri sia stata recepita nel monastero di Barsanufio e Giovanni di Gaza, bastione del calcedonismo. Osserva come «i due reclusi tengano conto della legislazione giustinianea, ma procedano all'interpretazione e all'applicazione della stessa in modo non rigido. Il fatto che la più alta autorità ecclesiastica della loro regione, il patriarca di Gerusalemme, si rivolga a loro per sapere se debba applicare o meno i dettami imperiali, ci induce a pensare che essi siano autorizzati a dare consigli in tal senso», fungendo da «uomini d'economia», che accettano un ruolo di direzione spirituale pur da reclusi. – D'Aiuto. [428

Pavlikianov K., *Mount Athos and the peril from the sea.* – **Chrysos E./Zachariadou E. A.** (Hrsg.), *Καπετάνιος και Λόγιος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ι. Πολέμη / Captain and Scholar. Papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemes* (Nr. 1978) 215–226. – Untersuchung, überwiegend basierend auf den Athosakten, bis in die Zeit der Turkokratia. – Schreiner. [429

Saint-Guillain G., *Le copiste Géôrgios Chômatas et les moines de Patmos* (Nr. 222). – Gasparis.

Sophianos D., *Ἡ Σκήτη τῶν Σταγῶν καὶ τὸ Μονύδριο τῆς Παναγίας τῆς Δούπιανης στὸ Καστράκι.* Kalambaka, Ἔκδοση Ι. Μονῆς Μεγάλου Μετεώρου (Μεταμορφώσεως) 2008. 88 p. 35 ills. ISBN 978-960-7449-15-9. – On the foundation of the bishopric of Stagoi in 10th c. and the documentation concerning the subordination of the monastery of Panagia Doupiane during the 14th c. in addition to the architectural history of the edifice, which originates from the end of the 12th c. – Leontsini. [430

c. Mönchspersönlichkeiten

Corominas i Julián J., *Macrina: la madre.* Donne d'oriente e d'occidente, 17. Milano, Jaca Book 2005. 162 p. ISBN 88-16-43517-8. – Biografia, a carattere divulgativo, della santa asceta, sorella di Basilio Magno e Gregorio di Nissa. – D'Aiuto. [431

Goehring J. E., *Constructing and enforcing Orthodoxy: Evidence from the Coptic panegyrics on Abraham of Farshut.* – **Soustal P.** (Hrsg.), *Heilige Berge und Wüsten. Byzanz und sein Umfeld. Referate auf dem 21. Internationalen Kongress für Byzantinistik, London, 21.–26. August 2006* (Nr. 2048) 9–14. – Rhoby. [432

Leoncini G., *L'ideale monastico di San Bruno.* – **De Leo P.** (a cura di), *San Bruno di Colonia: un eremita tra Oriente e Occidente* (Nr. 2008) 107–121. – D'Aiuto. [433

Morris R., *Symeon the Sanctified and the re-foundation of Xenophon.* BMGS 33 (2009) 133–147. – Stathakopoulos. [434

Toda S., *The Greek life of Macarius the Egyptian. Editio princeps and Japanese translation.* Hitotsubashi Review of arts and Sciences 1 (2007) 265–413. – Nach P. Yannopoulos, Byzantion 78 (2008) 558; nach Ansicht des Authors handelt es sich um die griechische Version eines ursprünglich arabischen Texts. – Grossmann. [435

Youhanna N. Y., *The cell of Dorotheus and Gabriel I.* Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte 47 (2008) 131–146. – Grossmann. [436

d. Geistige Strömungen und Sonderformen des Mönchtums

Albarrán Martínez M. J., *El hábito monástico femenino en Egipto (siglos IV-VI).* Collectanea Christiana Orientalia 5 (2008) 23–34. – Literarische, papyrologische und ikonographische Zeuge werden in Betracht gezogen. – Signes. [437

Toti M., *Il metodo di orazione esicasta.* Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano 10/2 (2006) 101–132. – D'Aiuto. [438

C. THEOLOGISCHE LITERATUR

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Badilita C., *Les Apophthegmata Patrum. – Comunicazione e ricezione del documento cristiano in epoca tardoantica. XXXII Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, Roma, 8–10 maggio 2003* (Nr. 2007) 573–584. – D'Aiuto. [439

Bentein K./Bernard F./Demoen Ch./De Groote M., *New Testament Book Epigrams* (Nr. 38). – Berger.

Benveniste H.-R., *On the language of conversion: Visigothic Spain revisited* (Nr. 849). – Leontsini.

Dimitrov D. J., *Византийското и западноевропейско възприемане на исляма през средните векове (опит за сравнение)* (The Byzantine and Western European perception of Islam in the Middle Ages – an attempt for comparison). – **Dimitrov D./Mutafova K./Ivanova M./Lečev V./Jordanov S.** (Hrsg.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие. Т. II. Научна конференция 31 октомври 2007* (Nr. 2185) 68–78. – Nikolov. [440

Garstad B., *Joseph as a model for Faunus-Hermes: myth, history, and fiction in the fourth century.* Vigiliae Christianae 63 (2009) 493–521. – von Stockhausen. [441

Ghideanu T., *Pentru «filosofia adevărată» împotriva «filosofiei deşarte» a celor «din afară»* (Für die „wahre Philosophie, gegen die „irrige Philosophie" von „draußen"). – **Semen P./Petcu L.** (eds.), *Părinţii capadocieni* (Nr. 2065) 97–135. – Marinescu. [442

Heyden K., *Die „Erzählung des Aphroditian". Thema und Variationen einer Legende im Spannungsfeld von Christentum und Heidentum.* Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 53. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck 2009. XIV, 440 S. 50 Abb. ISBN 978-3-16-149815-2. – Untersuchung der „Erzählung des Aphroditian" im mittelalterlichen Rußland, in Joh. Chrys., nativ. dom., im Disputationsroman De gestis in Perside (CPG 6968) und bei Philipp von Side, Christliche Geschichte. Die einzelnen Schriften werden vorgestellt und kontextualisiert, die Quellen- und Herkunftsfrage in einem eigenen Kapitel ausführlich diskutiert. Eine Auswertung der Tendenzen der einzelnen Zeugen beschließt den Band. Die besprochenen Texte sind in einem Lesetext mit deutscher Übersetzung beigegeben. – von Stockhausen. [443

Kessel G., *Новые данные о переатрибуции произведений раннесирийской монашеской литературы* (New data for re-attribution of early Syriac monastic literature). Vestink drevneh istorii 4 (2009) 169–183. – Ivanov. [444

Koder J., *Positionen der Theologie des Romanos Melodos* (Nr. 696). – Rhoby.

Kyrtatas D. J., *Christians against Christians: the anti-heretical activities of the Roman church in the second century.* historein/ιστορείν 6 (2006) 20–34. – Leontsini. [445

Limor O., *Mary and the Jews: story, controversy, and testimony.* historein/ιστορείν 6 (2006) 55–71. – Leontsini. [446

Maunder Ch. (ed.), *The origins of the cult of the Virgin Mary.* London/New York, Burns & Oates 2008. XVII, 206 S. zahlr. Abb., ISBN 978-0860-12456-6. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 308, 324, 357, 657, 767. – Brandes. [447

Moore R. I., *Making enemies: Latin Christendom in the age of reform* (Nr. 907). – Leontsini.

Nilsson I., *Desire and God have always been around, in life and romance alike* (Nr. 43). – Berger.

Perišič V., *Platonism and Christianity: different approaches.* Philotheos 9 (2009) 84–89. – Schreiner. [448

Pettipiece T., *The Buddha in early Christian literature.* Millenium 6 (2009) 133–143. – Sammlung und Behandlung der einschlägigen Belege bis Johannes von Damaskus. Die Rolle der Manichäer für die Übermittlung „östlicher Weisheiten" wird betont. – Brandes. [449

Radojčić S., *Идеја о савршеном граду у држави кнеза Лазара и деспота Стефана Лазаревића* (The idea of the perfect city in the state of Prince Lazar and Despotes Stefan Lazarević). Zograf 32 (2008 [2009]) 5–12. 3 Abb. Serbisch mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Konstantinopel war für die Serben im Mittelalter eine Art Nachahmung von Rom und Jerusalem. Im letzten Jh. der serbischen mittelalterlichen Geschichte galt dasselbe in der damaligen Literatur für Belgrad und die Klöster Ravanica und Resava. Der Text wurde im Nachlaß Radojčićs gefunden. – Maksimović. [450

Roman G., *Părinţii Capadocieni. Izvoare istoriografice pentru a doua jumătate a secolului al IV-lea* (Die kappadokischen Kirchenväter als historische Quellen für die

zweite Hälfte des 4. Jh.s). – **Semen P./Petcu L.** (eds.), *Părinţii capadocieni* (Nr. 2065) 279–301. – Marinescu. [451

Samojlova T., *Путь в Святую Землю. Корсунская легенда в росписи лоджии Архангельского собора и ее диалог с наружными фресками Благовещенского собора* (Nr. 1362). – Etinhof.

Watts E., *Interpreting catastrophe: disasters in the works of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, Socrates Scholasticus, Philostorgius, and Timothy Aelurus.* The Journal of Late Antiquity 2 (2009) 79–98. – Kaegi. [452

b. Spezielle Darstellungen zu Dogmatik, Exegetik, Homiletik, Polemik

Alexopoulos Th., *Der Ausgang des thearchischen Geistes. Eine Untersuchung der Filioque-Frage anhand Photios' »Mystagogie«, Konstantinos Melitiniotis' »Zwei Antirrhetici« und Augustins »De Trinitate«.* Göttingen, V&R unipress 2009. 324 S. ISBN 978-3-89971-526-2. – Berger. [453

Auwers J.-M., *La transmission des commentaires sur le Cantique des cantiques dans l'Épitomé de Procope de Gaza* (Nr. 693). – D'Aiuto.

Baranov V./Lourié B., *The role of Christ's Soul-Mediator in the Iconoclastic Christology.* – **Heidl G./Somos R.** (Hrsg.), *Origeniana nona. Origen and the religious practice of his time. Papers of the 9th International Origen Congress, Pécs, Hungary, 29 August – 2 September 2005* (Nr. 2017) 403–411. – von Stockhausen. [454

Bentley R. T., *"Worship God alone": the emerging Christian tradition of iatreia.* PhD dissertation, The University of Virginia 2009. 195 p. – "This project demonstrates not only that Augustine and John of Damascus are working well within the parameters of scriptural language as they elaborate an important theological distinction [between iatreia and proskynesis, worship and veneration] but also that the basis for their reading is uniquely rooted in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of scripture." – Kaldellis. [455

Campagna L., *Marta e Maria: tra servizio e ascolto. Letture monastiche della pericope di Lc 10, 38–42 nei Padri di lingua greca (IV–V secolo).* Quaderni del Dipartimento di Filologia, Linguistica e Tradizione Classica, Università di Torino 24, n.s. 4 (2005) 189–211. – D'Aiuto. [456

Clark T. S., *Ezekiel's temple and Mary's virginity: a peculiar strand in Eastern Orthodox interpretation of Old Testament sanctuary motifs.* – **Hovhanessian V. S.** (ed.), *Exegesis and hermeneutics in the Churches of the East. Select papers from the SBL (Society of Biblical Literature) meeting in San Diego (2007)* (Nr. 2021) 85–97. – Zu einer mariologischen Tradition. – Tinnefeld. [457

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Nikephoros I. (Patriarch von Konstantinopel)

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Niketas Choniates

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Hinterberger M., *Niketas Stethatos der „Beherzte"?* BZ 103 (2010) 49–54. – Berger. [685

Nikolaos Kabasilas

Congourdeau M.-H., *Nicolas Kabasilas et la théologie latine.* – **Rigo A./Ermilov P.** (eds.), *Byzantine theologians. The systematization of their own doctrine and their perception of foreign doctrines* (Nr. 2044) 169–179. – Si interroga su quale conoscenza della teologia latina abbia potuto avere Nicola Cabasila, partendo dall'esame dei rapporti con lo zio e maestro Nilo e con l'amico e condiscepolo Demetrio Cidone, che una crisi spirituale condurrà in seno alla Chiesa romana. Anche per questa via, Nicola risulta più addentro alla letteratura teologica latina di quanto si sia voluto ammettere finora – probabilmente grazie alle traduzioni dei due fratelli Cidone e ai suoi ininterrotti rapporti con Demetrio –, senza con ciò allontanarsi dall'ortodossia. – D'Aiuto. [686

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Symeon der Neue Theologe

Parrinello R. M., *Santità, eresia e politica a Bisanzio nel XII secolo. Costantino Crisomallo, il falso bogomilo* (Nr. 654). – von Stockhausen.

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Theodoretos von Kyrrhos

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D. HAGIOGRAPHIE

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Ševčenko N. P., *Alcuni influssi delle opere poetiche di Giovanni di Damasco sull'arte bizantina* (Nr. 1509). – D'Aiuto.

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F. APOKRYPHEN, GNOSTIK UND SEKUNDÄRLITERATUR

b. Textausgaben und Sekundärliteratur

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Lequeux X., *La circulation des Actes Apocryphes des Apôtres condamnés par Photius, jusqu'à l'époque de Nicétas le Paphlagonien.* Apocrypha 18 (2007) 87–103. – Sehr gründliche Untersuchung. – Brandes. [778

5. GESCHICHTE

A. CHRONOLOGIE, GESAMTDARSTELLUNGEN, NICHTBYZANTINISCHE QUELLEN

a. Chronologie

Eder W./Renger J. (Hrsg.), *Herrscherchronologien der antiken Welt. Namen, Daten, Dynastien. Der Neue Pauly Supplemente Bd. 1.* Stuttgart/Weimar, Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2004, XVI, 360 S., ISBN 3-476-01912-8. – S. 279–281: Byzantinische Herrscher (nur bis Konstantin IX.). Die Angaben zu den Quellen (S. 279) zeichnen sich durch ausgesprochene Inkompetenz aus! S. 315–319: Bischöfe und Patriarchen von Konstantinopel. Nur bis Ioannes X. Kamateros, „da mit der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Ritter des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1204) das griech. Patriarchat endete." Da erübrigt sich jeder Kommentar! Besonders spaßig sind Nr. 1–25, wo man die im Kontext der Entstehung der Andreas-Legende (frühestens Ende des 8. Jhs. [contra Dvornik]) fingierte Liste der Bischöfe von Byzantion ab Andreas bzw. Stachys findet! Die Angaben zu Metrophanes I. und Alexandros (hier Nr. 26 und 27) hätten nach F. Winkelmann, Die Bischöfe Metrophanes und Alexandros von Byzanz, BZ 59 (1966) 47–71, korrigiert werden müssen. S. 319–321: Bischöfe und Patriarchen von Alexandreia. Reicht bis 642 und bietet nur die melkitischen Patriarchen. Ein Blick in A. von Gutschmids, Verzeichnisse der Patriarchen von Alexandrien, in: Ders., Kleine Schriften, hrsg. von F. Rühl, II: Schriften zur Geschichte und Literatur der semitischen Völker und zur älteren Kir¬chengeschichte. Leipzig 1890, 395–525 oder in die PmbZ wäre nötig gewesen. S. 321–324: Bischöfe und Patriarchen von Antiocheia. Die „griechisch-orthodoxen" Patriarchen (gemeint sind die melkitischen) des 7. Jh.s sind alle falsch angegeben! Siehe W. Brandes, Die melkitischen Patriarchen von Antiocheia im 7. Jahrhundert. Anzahl und Chronologie, Le Muséon 112 (1998) 37–57. Für die vorhergehende Zeit hätte R. Devreesse, Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe. Paris 1945 benutzt werden müssen. S. 325–327: Bischöfe und Patriarchen von Jerusalem. Diesmal bis zur Mitte des 12. Jhs. Entsprechend den genannten Unzulänglichkeiten fällt die „Synopse der Patriarchen" (S. 328–339) aus. Es zeigt sich einmal mehr: Der Neue Pauly ist – nicht nur einige der Supplementbände – für Byzantinisten eine riesige Enttäuschung! – Brandes. [779

Tzitzibassi A., *Μετρώντας το χρόνο: συστήματα υπολογισμού του σε επιγραφές του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού/ Counting time: systems for measuring time in the inscriptions of the Museum of Byzantine Culture/ Mesurant le temps: systemes de mesure du temps sur des incriptions au Musée de la Civilisation Byzantine* (Nr. 1815). – Foskolou.

b. Gesamtdarstellungen

Angar M./Sode C., *Byzanz. Ein Schnellkurs.* Köln, Dumont 2010. 204 S. ISBN 978-3-8321-9042-2. – Knappe Einführung in das Fach mit folgenden Kapiteln: Grundlinien der politischen Geschichte – Zentrum und Peripherie – Kaiser und Reich – Kirche und

Mönchtum – Kunst und Kultur – Alltag und Gesellschaft – Byzanz und seine Nachbarn – Die letzten Jahrhunderte von Byzanz – Byzanz nach Byzanz. – Berger. [780

Cameron A., *Οι Βυζαντινοί* Athena, Ψυχογιός 2009. 405 p. 24 figs. 10 maps. ISBN 960-453-529-3. – Translation by G. Tzemas into Greek of the author's book: The Byzantines. The Peoples of Europe. Oxford 2006. Cf. BZ 100, 2007, no. 3064. – Telelis. [781

Carile A., *Bisanzio e l'Europa. Lezione per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 2004–2005.* Calende, 6. Bologna, Univ. di Bologna-CLUEB 2005. 87 p. ISBN 88-491-2410-4. – Considerazioni su Bisanzio – la sua funzione, il suo ruolo e il suo apporto, spesso ignorati o trascurati – nel quadro della civiltà europea. – D'Aiuto. [782

Haldon J., *Framing transformation, transforming the framework.* Millennium 5 (2008) 327–351. – Auseinandersetzung mit Chris Wickhams "Framing the Early Middle Ages" (Oxford 2005). – Brandes. [783

Haldon J., *The Byzantine Empire.* – **Morris I./Scheidel W.** (eds.), *The dynamics of ancient empires: state power from Assyria to Byzantium* (Nr. 841) 205–253. – Kaldellis. [784

Morris I./Scheidel W. (eds.), *The dynamics of ancient empires. State power from Assyria to Byzantium.* Oxford, Oxford University Press 2009. xii, 381 p. 7 maps. ISBN 978-0-19-537158-1. – Six imperial case studies, preceded by a synthetic essay. Product of Ancient Empires conferences on state power and state formation at Stanford and Perth, Australia in 2000, 2001, and 2002. Citations limited here to the two essays that directly discuss Byzantium. / Nachtrag zu Heft 102 (2009); die Beiträge sind dort angezeigt als Nr. 2786 und 2788. 2786, 2788. – Kaegi/Berger. [785

c. Nichtgriechische Quellen zur byzantinischen Geschichte einschließlich Sekundärliteratur

Aubrun M. (trad.), *Le livre des papes. Liber pontificalis.* Turnhout, Brepols 2007. 327 S. ISBN 978-2-503-52654-6. – Übersetzung des Liber pontificalis bis Stephan V. († 891) mit dürftiger Einleitung und sehr spärlichen Anmerkungen. – Brandes. [786

Balivet M., *Entre mythe et histoire: les narrations tardives de la conquête d'Istanbul, d'après trois auteurs ottomans du XVIIe siècle.* – **Balivet M.**, *Mélanges byzantins, seldjoukides et ottomans* (Nr. 1955) 139–151. – Le tre fonti considerate sono Solakzâde († 1657), Evliyâ Çelebi († 1685) e Müneccimbaşi († 1702). – D'Aiuto. [787

Balivet M., *Église et clercs de Byzance dans l'épopée turque.* – **Balivet M.**, *Mélanges byzantins, seldjoukides et ottomans* (Nr. 1955) 81–106. – Un rapido sorvolo delle fonti epiche selgiuchide e ottomane medievali (in particolare il Destan d'Umur Pacha e il Danishmendname) consente di abbozzare un ritratto della Chiesa greca, della sua gerarchia e dei suoi principali esponenti visti con gli occhi dei Turchi loro contemporanei. – D'Aiuto. [788

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Ducène J.-Ch., *Une deuxième version de la relation d'Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā sur Constantinople.* Der Islam 82 (2005) 241–255. – Die bekannte Beschreibung Konstantinopels des Arabers Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā war schon mehrfach Gegenstand eingehender Untersuchungen (von Vasieliev, Ostrogorsky, Miquel, Grégoire, Izeddin/Therriat und nicht zuletzt von Joseph Marquart in seinen genialen „Osteuropäische[n] und ostasiatische[n] Streifzüge[n]"). Nunmehr taucht eine zweite Rezension dieses für die Untersuchung der Verhältnisse Konstantinopels (nicht nur in topographischer Hinsicht) so wichtigen Textes auf. Der Verf. legt eine Edition des Textes, eine französische Übersetzung und einen knappen Kommentar vor, der insbesondere das Verhältnis zur bisher bekannten Rezension behandelt. Zwar ist der hier präsentierte Text kürzer als der bekannte, doch bietet er an einigen Stellen auch zusätzliche Informationen. – Brandes. [793

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Harrak A., *"Ah! The Assyrian is the rod of my hand!": Syriac view of history after the advent of Islam.* – **Van Ginkel J. J./Murre-van den Berg H. L./van Lint T. M.** (eds.), *Redefining Christian identity. Cultural interaction in the Middle East since the rise of Islam* (Nr. 2051) 45–65. – D'Aiuto. [798

Neri C., *Giovanni Cassiano: il mistero di un orientale in occidente. – Corona Laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Ţeposu Marinescu* (Nr. 1972) 365–376. – Dennert. [799

Isnenghi L., *La quarta crociata e la questione dell 'identita'. Spunti per una lettura di alcune fonti bizantine e occidentali, da Nicola Mesarite a Martin Da Canal* (Nr. 897). – Berger.

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Kennedy H., *The sources of Al-Tabarī's History of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.* – **Kennedy H.** (ed.), *Al-Tabarī. A medieval historian and his work* (Nr. 800) 175–186. – Kaegi. [801

Markov N., *Балканите през погледа на един френски рицар от началото на XIII век. Бележки върху хрониката на Робер дьо Клари* (Les Balkans à travers le regard d'un chevalier français du début du XIIIe siècle. Notes et commentaires sur la croniques de Robert de Clari). Veliko Tărnovo, Izdatelstvo Faber 2008. 199 p. ills. ISBN 978-954-775-986-2. Texte bulgare avec résumé en anglais. – Présentation commentée des reinseignements fournis par Robert de Clari sur les Bulgares et les Coumans, accompagnés de sa description de Constantinople et de certains rites et mœurs autoctones. Une place spéciale est reservée à l'organisation territoriale des Balkans conquis par les croisées en 1204 avec des extraits du texte. – Nikolov. [802

Müller A. E., *Die bei Wilhelm von Tyrus überlieferten Nachrichten zu Auslandsschreiben byzantinischer Kaiser* (Nr. 227). – Rhoby.

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Orioli G., *I rapporti tra Ravenna e Spalato nella Historia Salonitana dell'arcidiacono spalatino Tommaso (1200–1268).* – **Tagliaferri M.** (a cura di), *La Chiesa metropolitana ravennate e i suoi rapporti con la costa adriatica orientale* (Nr. 2049) 113–119. – D'Aiuto. [804

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Reinink G. J., *East Syrian historiography in response to the rise of Islam: the case of John bar Penkaye's "Ktābā d-rēš mellē".* – **Van Ginkel J. J./Murre-van den Berg H. L./ van Lint T. M.** (eds.), *Redefining Christian identity. Cultural interaction in the Middle East since the rise of Islam* (Nr. 2051) 77–89. – «The "Ktābā d-rēš mellē" ("Book of the Main Points", viz. of world history) written by the East Syrian monk John bar Penkaye about 687, is one of the rare works in the East Syrian tradition dealing with the history of the world from Creation to the author's own days». – D'Aiuto. [806

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Thomson M., *The original title of the Historia Augusta.* Historia 56 (2007) 121–125. – Brandes. [809

Thomson R. W., *Christian perception of history. The Armenian perspective.* – **Van Ginkel J. J./Murre-van den Berg H. L./van Lint T. M.** (eds.), *Redefining Christian identity. Cultural interaction in the Middle East since the rise of Islam* (Nr. 2051) 35–44. – D'Aiuto. [810

Topchyan A., *The problem of the Greek sources of Movsēs Xorenacʿi's History of Armenia.* Hebrew University Armenian Studies, 7. Leuven/Paris/Dudley (MA), Peeters 2006. X, 145 p. ISBN 90-429-1662-1. – Rileva ed esamina i rapporti con fonti storiografiche greche: Berosso, Alessandro Poliistore, Abideno, Cefalione, Giulio Africano, Firmiliano. Nel caso dei primi quattro, in particolare, si chiede se piuttosto che tramite Eusebio, la loro ricezione non sia avvenuta attraverso la lettura delle opere stesse, oppure attraverso una fonte storica perduta. Alla luce dell'analisi svolta, sottolinea come l'intera questione delle fonti di Mosé di Corene e dell'attendibilità delle informazioni da lui trasmesse vada trattata con cautela, punto per punto, evitando gli opposti estremi della troppa fiducia e dell'ipercriticismo. – D'Aiuto. [811

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Zakeri M., *Al-Tabarī on Sasanian history: a study in sources.* – **Kennedy H.** (ed.), *Al-Tabarī. A medieval historian and his work* (Nr. 800) 27–40. – Kaegi. [813

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B. POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE

a. 4.–6. Jahrhundert

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Bleckmann B., *Fragmente heidnischer Historiographie zum Wirken Julians.* – **Goltz A./ Leppin H./Schlange-Schöningen H.** (Hrsg.), *Jenseits der Grenzen. Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Nr. 1961) 61–77. – Vorbildliche quellenkritische Analyse. – Brandes. [819

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Čanak-Medić M., *У потрази за портицима жичке Спасове цркве* (In search of the porticoes of the church of the Ascension at Žiča). Saopštenja 40 (2008) 7–23. 12 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der verlorengegangenen Portikus der berühmten Kirche, auch anhand byzantinischer Parallelen. – Maksimović. [1200

Cvetković B., *Some hierotopical aspects the New Jerusalem Programmes in fifteenth-century Serbia* (Некоторые иеротопические аспекты новоиерусалимских программ в Сербии XV века). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 607–632. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [1201

Erdeljan Je., *Новые Иерусалимы на Балканах: Перенесение сакральных пространств в контексте местных традиций* (New Jerusalems in the Balkans. Translation of the sacred space in the local context). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 458–474. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [1202

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Petrović R., *Култне фреске светог краља Уроша Трећег, светог Николе са иконама на иконостасу у манастиру Дечанима из XIV века* (The cult frescoes and icons in the Monastery Dečani from the 14th century). Novopazarski zbornik 31 (2008) 35–51. 7 Zeichn. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Maksimović. [1206

Popović D., *Цветна символика и култ реликвија у средњовековној Србији* (Flower symbolism and the cult of relics in medieval Serbia). Zograf 32 (2008 [2009]) 69–81. 8 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die wunderbaren Blumen auf dem Grab des Erzbischofs Eustathios I. (1279–1286) werden im Rahmen der theologischen Symbolik der Reliquien diskutiert, da es sich hier um wichtige Metaphern der Lebenserholung handelt. – Maksimović. [1207

Popović I., *Инвентар гробница из Дола код Беле Паланке (Remesiana)* (Inventory of vaulted tombs from Dol near Bela Palank [Remesiana]). – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 55–66. 9 Abb. – Dennert. [1208

Prolović J., *Сликани програм купола и поткуполних простора у цркви манастира Ресаве* (The decorative program of the domes and area under the domes in the church of the Monastery Resava). Zograf 32 (2008 [2009]) 131–150. 8 Zeichnungen (1–6b), 20 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird im Aufsatz dem Pantokrator, der himmlischen Liturgie, den Propheten und den Evangelisten gewidmet. – Maksimović. [1209

Rakocija M., *Painting in the crypt with an anchor in Niš.* – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 87–105. 27 Abb. – Dennert. [1210

Snively C. S., *The fates of Balkan cities in late antiquity: recent views.* – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 37–44. – Dennert. [1211

Stevovič I., *Late Byzantine church decoration as an iconic vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem: the case of Kalenič* (Позднеантичная архитектурная храмовая декорация как иконический образ Небесного Иерусалима: пример Каленича). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 585–606. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [1212

Vojvodić D., *Досликани владарски портрети у Грачаници* (Additionally painted portraits of rulers in Gračanica) – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 251–266. 8 Abb. – Dennert. [1213

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Bitrakova Grozdanova V., *Lychnidos a l'époque paléochrétienne et son noyau urbain.* – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 23–36. 12 Abb. – Dennert. [1214

Angeličin-Žura G., *Нов археолошки налаз у Охриду. Да ли је откривен катедрални храм Самуилове патријаршије?* (A new archeological discovery in Ohrid – the cathedral church of Samuel's patriarchate?). Zbornik Matice Srpske za likovne umetnosti 36 (2008) 9–18. 10 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Zur Hypothese, die Überreste der Kathedralkirche des Zaren Samuel seien südlich von Hagia Sophia in Ohrid entdeckt worden. – Maksimović. [1215

Albanien

Di Giuseppe A., *Fragmenta Albanica. S. Prendja a Balldren, SS. Salvatore a Rubik, S. Barbara a Pllana* (Nr. 1585). – D'Aiuto.

Hoti A./Metalla E./Shkodra B./Wilkes J., *The early Byzantine circular forum in Dyrrachium (Durrës, Albania) in 2002 and 2004–2005: recent recording and excavations.* Annual of the British School at Athens 103 (2008) 367–397. – Laflı. [1217

Sebastiani A., *Butrinto. Relazione preliminare dello scavo presso il Pozzo di Iunia Rufina.* Archeologia medievale 35 (2008) 243–261. 21 fig. – Resoconto degli scavi del 2007 a Butrinto (Albania meridionale). Scoperta di una torre di epoca bizantina (VI–IX secolo), residenza di un esponente dell'Impero, distrutta da un incendio sviluppatosi nel suo interno agli inizi del IX secolo. Sono state rinvenute, per l'arco temporale indicato, ceramiche da Costantinopoli e 5 sigilli in piombo, emessi da rappresentanti dell'Impero bizantino. Le indagini hanno anche confermato più in generale un revival edilizio e insediativo dell'antico abitato di Butrinto nell'XI secolo. Per questo periodo il ritrovamento di un follis anonimo (età di Costantino VIII, 1020–1028) si aggiunge ad altre simili monete emerse in altri scavi. – Bianchi. [1216

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Festland und nahegelegene Inseln

Anastasiadu A./Kontogiannopulu M., *Το επιτύμβιο επίγραμμα ενός Παλαιολόγου στη Μακρινίτσα του Πηλίου και η σχέση του με τα ταφικά μνημεία των Μαλιασηνών της Μαγνησίας.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19. 3. 2006* (Nr. 2030) 525–537. 10 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Verf. untersuchen ein fragmentarisch erhaltenes Grabepigramm an der Westfassade der postbyz. Kirche der Koimesis in Makrinitsa, Pelion, und verbinden es mit dem Mönch Neilos Maliasenos, dem zweiten Ktetor des Klosters der Gottesmutter Makrinitissa Oxeia Episkepsis. Neilos wird mit Ioannes Komnenos Angelos Maliasenos Palaiologos, Sohn von Anna Palaiologina und Nikolaos Maliasenos identifiziert. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1218

Bakalova E./Lazarova A., *The New Jerusalem of St. Gerasimos on Cephallonia* (Новый Иерусалим святого Герасима на острове Кефаллония). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 500–519. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [1219

Barales I. D., *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Ασκηταριού της Μονής Αβγού Αργολίδας.* – **Barales I. D./Pikulas G. A.** (Hrsg.), *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου (1998–2008)* (Nr. 1975) 139–156. – Berger. [1220

Barales I. D., *Τα χαρακτηριστικά της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής της Νικόπολης: Παραλληλίες και διαφοροποιήσεις.* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β΄. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 595–607. – Berger. [1221

Blachostergios I., *Εργασίες αποκατάστασης τμημάτων κάστρου Φαναρίου Καρδίτσας 2002–2005.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3.2006* (Nr. 2030) 551–565. 12 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Zur Restaurierung der E. 13./A. 14. Jh.s errichteten Festung von Phanari in der Nähe von Karditsa. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1222

Bogiatzes S., *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του Ανδρομονάστηρου Μεσσηνίας* (Nr. 1547). – Albani.

Bowden W., *Nicopolis – the ideology of the late antique city.* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β'. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 135–149. – Berger. [1223

Chalkia E., *Συμπληρωματική ανασκαφή στη Βασιλική Δ της Νικόπολης.* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β'. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 659–666. – Berger. [1224

Chamelake K., *Νεκροταφείο στο λόφο Αγριλέζα στο Δήλεσι Βοιωτίας.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3.2006* (Nr. 2030) 1167–1186. 12 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Eine große Zahl von Kisten-, Ziegel-, und Gruben-gräbern, tonnengewölbten Gräbern sowie Gefäßbestattungen kamen in Delesi (antikes Delion) in Boeotia ans Tageslicht; die meisten davon gehen auf das 3. bis frühe 7. Jh. zurück. Unter den Funden sind Ton- und Glasgefäße, Tonlampen, Kleidungs- und Verzierungszubehör. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1225

Deriziotes L./Kugiumtzoglu S., *Νεώτερες έρευνες στην χριστιανική Περραιβίαν. Ανασκαφικές εργασίες στο «Καστρί» Δολίχης-Λιβαδίου.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3.2006* (Nr. 2030) 475–487. 18 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Grabungsarbeiten an der Stelle Kastri in der Nähe von Doliche-Libadi haben u.a. eine dreischiffige Basilika (Basilika B) und andere Bauten ans Tageslicht gebracht. Die Zerstörung der Bauten wird vom Verf. mit den Einfällen der Avaren und Slaven in Zusammenhang gebracht. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1226

Dovmont (Beljaev) Hegumen, *Исихазм в афонской монашеской традиции и его влияние на церковное искусство* (Nr. 328). – Etinhof.

Gialure A., *Αγροικία – βιοτεχνική εγκατάσταση στη θέση «Άγιος Δημήτριος» Καινουργίου Ν. Φθιώτιδοας.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3. 2006* (Nr. 2030) 1247–1264. 10 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Zur Grabung eines Baukomplexes mit Wohn- und Werkstatträumen an der Stelle Hagios Demetrios bei Kainourgion in der Präfektur von Phthiotis, der aufgrund von Mauerwerk und glasierter Keramik in das 12. Jh. datiert werden kann. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1227

Ioannou P. K., *Arte veneta nelle isole ionie. Documenti e congetture.* – **Maltezou Ch./ Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 765–771. – Gasparis. [1228

Kalantze-Smpyrake Ai., *Το ερευνητικό έργο της 24ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων κατά τον ένα χρόνο λειτουργίας της.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19. 3. 2006* (Nr. 2030) 1235–1246. 10 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Bericht über die von der neugegründeten 24. Ephoreia für Byzantinische Antiquitäten durchgeführten Arbeiten im östlichen Sterea Hellas (Präfekturen von Phthiotis, Eurytania und Phokis) im Jahr 2005. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1229

Kaldellis A., *The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Nr. 345). – von Stockhausen.

Kephalonitu Ph., *Η ανασκαφή των παλαιοχριστιανικών τειχών της Νικόπολης.* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β'. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 299–305. – Berger. [1230

Liakos D. A., *The Byzantine Opus Sectile floor in the Katholikon of Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos.* Zograf 32 (2008 [2009]) 37–44. 12 Abb. Mit serbischer Zusammenfassung. – Es geht um den Bau aus der Mitte des 11. Jh.s, der das beste Beispiel solcher Arbeiten auf dem Heiligen Berg ist. – Maksimović. [1231

Loverdou-Tsigarida K., *Изображение Богоматери в северо-восточном куполе церкви свв. Апостолов в Фессалониках* (The image of Mother of God in the north-east dome of the church of Sts Apostles in Thessalonica). – **Zacharova A. V.** (ed.), *Образ Византии: Сборник статей в честь О. С. Поповой* (Nr. 1981) 273–286. With English summary. – Etinhof. [1232

Mamalukos S./Sdrolia S., *Αρχαιολογικά κατάλοιπα στο «΄Ορος των Κελλιών».* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19. 3. 2006* (Nr. 2030) 585–601. 2 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Interessante Untersuchung der archäologischen Überreste von größeren und kleineren Klöstern, die an der mit dem «΄Ορος των Κελλιών» der byz. Quellen zu identifizierenden Ostseite des Berges Kissabos in Thessalien liegen. Die klösterliche Siedlung blühte vom 10. bis zum 12. Jh. und begann am Anfang des 14. Jh.s zu verfallen. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1233

Mamalukos S./Pinatse Ch., *Συμπληρωματικά στοιχεία για το καθολικό της Μονής Περιβέπτου στα Πολιτικά της Εύβοιας* (Nr. 1525). – Foskolou.

Marke E., *Η αμφίεση στους παλαιοχριστιανικούς και πρωτοβυζαντινούς χρόνους σε μνημεία της Θεσσαλονίκης* (Nr. 1504). – Albani.

Ntina A., *Παλαιοχριστιανικές αρχαιότητες στην παραλία των Φθιωτίδων Θηβών – Νέας Αγχιάλου.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19. 3. 2006* (Nr. 2030) 423–439. 23 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Zur Freilegung von frühchristlichen, mit Bauplastik und Fußbodenmosaiken versehenen religiösen und sekulären Bauten an der Küste der Bucht von Nea Anchialos (Phthiotides Theben). – Kalopissi-Verti. [1234

Palles G., *Τοιχογραφίες σε σπήλαια της Οίτης* (Nr. 1591). – Albani.

Pantazes G./Lampru E./Sophianos D., *Χρονολόγηση του ναού της Υπαπαντής στα Μετέωρα.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3.2006* (Nr. 2030) 539–550. 9 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Aufgrund der Orientierung der Kirche sowie geodätischer und astrogeodätischer Methoden kommen die Autoren zum Schluss, dass das Katholikon des heute so genannten Hypapante-Klosters in den Meteora im Jahr 1357 errichtet wurde und dass es urspr. der Himmelfahrt Christi geweiht war. Das steht laut Verf. mit dem in der Gründungsinschrift erwähnten Jahr 1366 nicht in Widerspruch, da wahrscheinlich in diesem Jahr die Wandmalerei beendet wurde. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1235

Pantzaridis S., *Die Wandmalereien des Kirchleins Maria Himmelfahrt (Molivoklisia) in Kares (Berg Athos).* Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano 9/1 (2005) 119–126. 5 ill. – Sommarie informazioni sulla chiesa e sui suoi affreschi. – D'Aiuto. [1236

Papadopulu B. N., *Βασιλική Αλκίσωνος. Η ανασκαφική έρευνα των τελευταίων ετών.* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β΄. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 609–635. – Berger. [1237

Poliviu M., *Уникальный характер поздневизантийской церковной архитектуры Святой Горы* (The unique character of late Byzantine architecture on the Mount Athos). – **Čičurov I. S.** (ed.), *«Россия – Афон: Тысячелетие духовного единства». Материалы международной научно-богословской конференции. Москва, 1–4 октября 2006* (Nr. 2006) 351–354. – Etinhof. [1238

Sdrolia S., *Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην Πλατεία Νέας Αγοράς στη Λάρισα.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3.2006* (Nr. 2030) 441–455. 9 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Teile einer befestigten Mauer (mit einem viereckigen und einem dreieckigen Turm) und der Vormauer wurden bei Notgrabungen am Platz der Nea Agora in Larisa freigelegt. Die Festung geht nach Verf. auf die Zeit nach der Zerstörung der Stadt durch die Goten im Jahr 482 oder auf die Zeit Justinians zurück und wurde auf einem römischen Baukomplex errichtet. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1239

Sisiou I., *Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφίνου στην Καστοριά κατά τον 13ο και 14ο αιώνα.* – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 273–291. 14 Abb. – Dennert. [1240

Smyres G./Kephalonitu Ph., *Το έργο της 8ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων στη Νικόπολη από το 1988 έως το 2002.* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β΄. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 21–28. – Berger. [1241

Stavrakos Ch., *Η πόλη της Ναυπάκτου ως πρωτεύουσα του θέματος Νικοπόλεως. Νέα δεδομένα για το ρόλο της στην ευρύτερη περιοχή των παραλίων και των νησιών του Ιονίου (9ος – 10ος αιώνας μ.Χ.).* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β΄. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 571–581. – Anhand eines bisher unpublizierten Siegels aus der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jh.s wird die Existenz eines νεώριον (Arsenal, Werft) in der Stadt Naupaktos bewiesen.

Zusätzlich wird die Rolle der Stadt als Reisestation im 9. und 10 Jh. behandelt. – Stavrakos. [1242

Sythiakake-Kritsimalle B., *Λείψανα γλυπτού αρχιτεκτονικού διακόσμου από τη βασιλική «του Αγίου Αχιλλίου» Λάρισας. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της οικοδομικής ιστορίας του μνημείου. Ανασκαφική έρευνα στην Πλατεία Νέας Αγοράς στη Λάρισα.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3.2006* (Nr. 2030) 457–473. 15 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Untersuchung von Bauplastikfragmenten hat Verf. zur Aufklärung der Bauphasen der sogen. Basilika des Hl. Achillios in Larisa geführt. Die erste Skulpturengruppe geht auf die Gründung der Basilika zur Zeit Justinians I. zurück; die zweite hängt mit einer Rekonstruktion der Kirche im 8. oder in der 1. Hälfte des 9. Jh.s zusammen, die mit dem Aufstieg des Reliquienkultes des hl. Achillios verbunden wird. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1243

Tavlakis I., *Защита культурного наследия Святой Горы: законы и повседневная деятельность* (Protection of the cultural heritage the Mount Athos: laws and everyday activity). – **Čičurov I. S.** (ed.), *«Россия – Афон: Тысячелетие духовного единства». Материалы международной научно-богословской конференции. Москва, 1–4 октября 2006* (Nr. 2006) 365–368. – Etinhof. [1244

Trombley F. R., *Nicopolis and its territorium in the Byzantine Dark Age (c. 580–850 A.D.).* – **Zachos K.** (Hrsg.), *Νικόπολις Β΄. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11–15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)* (Nr. 2053) 151–162. – Berger. [1245

Tsekes G. P., *Νέα στοιχεία για το ναό Μεταμόρφωσης του Σωτήρος στο Πλατανίτι Αργολίδας.* – **Barales I. D./Pikulas G. A.** (Hrsg.), *Μνήμη Τασούλας Οικονόμου (1998–2008)* (Nr. 1975) 157–171. – Berger. [1246

Valeva T., *Sur la question sur la soit-dite «École artistique de Kastoria».* Byzantina 28 (2008) 181–224. 10 Taf. – Kotzabassi. [1247

Veikou M., *Urban or rural? Theoretical remarks on the settlement patterns in Byzantine Epirus (7th–11th centuries).* BZ 103 (2010) 171–192. – Berger. [1248

Ägäis

Andrudes P./Ntintiume S., *Παναγία Καστριανών. Το καθολικό της μονής του Οσίου Χριστοδούλου στο Παλιό Πυλί της Κω* (Nr. 1520). – Albani.

Arbanite S., *Άνδρος – Επάνω Κάστρο. Η ανασκαφή του ναΐσκου.* – **Kyrtatas D./Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa L./Tiberios M.** (Hrsg.), *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη* (Nr. 1979) 177–194. 16 Abb. – Ausgrabung einer in Ruinen liegenden einschiffigen, fast quadratischen Kirche im Epano Kastro der Phaneromene auf Andros, die möglicherweise auf das 13. Jh. zurückgeht. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1249

Deligianne-Dore E./Michaelides M., *Νεώτερα από το Επάνω Κάστρο Άνδρου. Η έρευνα του Σεπτεμβρίου 2006.* – **Kyrtatas D./Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa L./Tiberios M.** (Hrsg.), *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη* (Nr. 1979) 195–205. 8 Abb. – Bericht über die Grabungsarbeiten in Epano Kastro, Andros (kleine einschiffige Kirche, Zis-

ternen, Häuser). Zwei Phasen wurden festgestellt: 1. Hälfte des 13. Jh.s (Beginn der Venezianerherrschaft) und spätes 16. Jh. (Beginn der Turkokratia). – Kalopissi-Verti. [1250

Gkioles N., *Ανασκαφές στην παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική της Αγοράς στην Παλαιόπλη Άνδρου.* – **Kyrtatas D./Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa L./Tiberios M.** (Hrsg.), *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη* (Nr. 1979) 155–176. 10 Abb. – Ausgrabung einer in der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jh.s errichteten dreischiffigen Basilika auf der Agora von Palaiopolis, Andros. Nach der Zerstörung der Basilika, wahrscheinlich durch das Erdbeben von 552, wurde im Südschiff eine einschiffige Kirche gebaut, die gegen Mitte des 7. Jh.s infolge der arabischen Einfälle verlassen wurde. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1251

Gumatianos A. A., *Στοιχεῖα ἱστορικῆς τοπογραφίας τῆς Λήμνου στὴν ἐπιστολογραφία τοῦ Δημητρίου Κυδώνη.* Byzantina 28 (2008) 267–287. 1 Karte. – Kotzabassi. [1252

Kappas M., *Η αρχιτεκτονική του ναού των Αγίων Αποστόλων στο Άργος Καλύμνου* (Nr. 1522). – Albani.

Kontogiannes N./Christopulos E., *Ο πηλός του Επάνω Κάστρου: ένα παράδειγμα πειραματικής αρχαιολογίας στην Άνδρο.* – **Kyrtatas D./Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa L./Tiberios M.** (Hrsg.), *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη* (Nr. 1979) 207–230. 14 Abb. – Eine in Epano Kastro, Andros, ausgegrabene Zisterne, die große Mengen von Lehm enthielt, wird vom Verf. nach Anwendung experimenteller Methoden als Lagerplatz (in zweiter Verwendung) von Lehm zur Herstellung von Tonwaren betrachtet. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1253

Manusu-Ntella K., *Οι θαλάσσιες οχυρώσεις και τα λιμάνια της πόλης της Ρόδου* (Nr. 1534). – Albani.

Melitse Eu., *Μεσοβυζαντινά γλυπτά από την ανασκαφή στο καθολικό της μονής της Παναγίας των Καστριανών στο Παλαιό Πυλί της Κω* (Nr. 1543). – Albani.

Mparmparitsa E., *Ευλογία μύρου από το Επάνω Κάστρου Άνδρου.* – **Kyrtatas D./Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa L./Tiberios M.** (Hrsg.), *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη* (Nr. 1979) 241–250. 4 Abb. – Untersuchung einer in Epano Kastro, Andros, aufgefundenen und ins 13. Jh. zu datierende Eulogia des hl. Demetrios, die deren Verbreitung in Südgriechenland bezeugt. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1254

Ntellas G., *Η τυπολογία των εκκλησιών της Ρόδου κατά την ιπποτοκρατία (1309–1522)* (Nr. 1526). – Albani.

Palles G., *Χριστιανικά γλυπτά από το Επάνω Κάστρο της Άνδρου.* – **Kyrtatas D./Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa L./Tiberios M.** (Hrsg.), *Εὔανδρος. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Δημητρίου Ι. Πολέμη* (Nr. 1979) 251–268. 9 Abb. – Eine Phiale des 5./6. Jh.s und zwei Reliefschrankenplatten des späten 11./frühen 12. Jhs. werden untersucht. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1255

Poziopulos A., *Το παλαιοχριστιανικό βαπτιστήριο «Επτά Βήματα» του Αγίου Ιωάννη στην Κω. Τυπολογικά ζητήματα* (Nr. 1529). – Albani.

Sigala M. Z., *Τα Κελλιά της Χάλκης Δωδεκανήσου. Η χρονολόγηση των τοιχογραφιών και η σημασία τους* (Nr. 1596). – Albani.

Sodini J.-P., *Rhodes et la Lycie: le tétraconque d'Arnitha.* Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 30 (2009) 19–24. 9 Abb. Mit griechischer Zusammenfassung. – Der Verf. weist hin auf die typologischen Ähnlichkeiten (Basiliken ohne Narthex, Baptisterium in der Form einschiffiger Kapelle, an das Altarraum einer Basilika hinzugebautes Tetrakonch) zwischen dem Gebäudekomplex in Arnitha, auf der Insel Rhodos, und religiösen Gebäuden in Lykien, Kleinasien. – Albani. [1256

Kreta

Constantoudaki-Kitromilides M., *Viaggi di pittori tra Costantinopoli e Candia: documenti d'archivio e influssi sull'arte (XIV–XV sec.).* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 709–723. – The author offers new prosopographical information of 10 painters from Constantinople who worked in Candia during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. – Gasparis. [1257

Giankake A. G., *Η κεραμική από το βυζαντινό κτήριο στο Πυργί της Ελεύθερνας* (Nr. 1674). – Foskolou.

Giorgi E., *Water technology at Gortyn in the 4th–7th c. A.D.: transport, storage and distribution.* – **Lavan L./Zanini E./Sarantis A.** (eds.), *Technology in transition A.D. 300–650* (Nr. 2058) 287–320. – Berger. [1258

Gratziou O., *Evidenziare la diversità: chiese doppie nella Creta veneziana.* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 757–763. – The author offers information and examples of churches in Crete that were used by both orthodox and catholic rites during the Venetian period. – Gasparis. [1259

Grigoropoulos D. et al., *Baths in Roman and late antique Chersonissos. Preliminary remarks on their topography, architecture and building history.* Creta Antiqua 9 (2008) 303–317. 13 Abb. – Dennert. [1260

Kalpaxes Th. (Hrsg.), *Ελεύθερνα Τομέας ΙΙ. 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα.* Rhethymno, Εκδόσεις Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης 2008. 348 S. ISBN 978-960-7143-00-0. – Publikation der Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung eines mittelbyzantinischen Hauses (12./13. Jh.) in Eleutherna/Kreta. Die einzelnen Beiträge werden angezeigt als Nr. 1013, 1262, 1532, 1647, 1674, 1693, 1749. – Foskolou. [1261

Kalpaxes Th., *Η χρήση του χώρου πριν από τη βυζαντινή περίοδο.* – **Kalpaxes Th.** (Hrsg.), *Ελεύθερνα Τομέας ΙΙ. 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα* (Nr. 1261) 11–13. – Über den Hügel Pyrgi in Eleutherna, wo ein mittelbyzantinisches Haus ausgegraben wurde. Es wird der Ort und seine Benutzung vor der byzantinischen Periode präsentiert. – Foskolou. [1262

Kalpaxes Th., *Παρατηρήσεις στην αρχιτεκτονική της βυζαντινής οικίας* (Nr. 1532). – Foskolou.

Kazanaki-Lappa M., *Thomas Benetos scultore et intagliatore in Candia (notizie 1612–1645) e la fontana Morosini.* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 749–756. – Gasparis. [1263

Mantalara L., *Τα νομίσματα* (Nr. 1749). – Foskolou.

Mylona D., *Τα οστά ζώων από το βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα, Πυργί* (Nr. 1013). – Foskolou.

Pagano M., *Ricerche sull'acquedoto e sulle fontane romane e bizantine di Gortina (Creta).* Creta Antiqua 8 (2007) 326–400. 83 Abb. – Dennert. [1264

Pulu-Papademetriu N., *Βυζαντινή κεραμεική από την Ελεύθερνα: Η στέρνα της Αγίας Άννας* (Nr. 1693). – Foskolou.

Stavropoulou A., *Une version de la Traditio Legis sur une icone italo-cretoise* (Nr. 1610). – Gasparis.

Tsunkarakes D., *Ὁ ζωγράφος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἁγ. Δημητρίου στὸ Λειβαδᾶ Σελίνου.* Ιόνιος Λόγος 1 (2007) 295–301. – The author identifies the painter of the church of Saint Demetrios in the village of Livadas in the region of Selinos (western Crete) with Ioannis Pagomenos, who was active in the region during the first half of the fourteenth century. – Gasparis. [1265

Vassilaki M., *Commissioning art in fifteenth-century Venetian Crete: the case of Sinai.* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 741–748. – The author identifies two icons of the painter Nikolaos Ritzos (end 15th c.) preserved in the monastery of St Catherine at Sinai. – Gasparis. [1266

Xanthake Th., *Ο θεομητορικός κύκλος στον ναό της Παναγίας στο Ανισαράκι Κανδάνου. Εικονογραφικές ιδιαιτερότητες* (Nr. 1498). – Albani.

Xanthopulu M., *Τα μεταλλικά αντικείμενα και η οστέϊνη λαβή* (Nr. 1647). – Foskolou.

Zypern

Bekker-Nielsen T., *The roads of ancient Cyprus.* Kopenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press 2004, 307 S. Zahlr. Abb. und Karten. ISBN 87-7289-956-5. – Bis in die Spätantike. – Brandes. [1267

Chotzakoglou Ch., *Unveiling the Venetian art-image: remarks on the painting and its religious background of Cyprus during the period of the Venetian rule (1489–1571).* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 427–439. – Gasparis. [1268

Λεμεσός: Ταξίδι στους χρόνους μιας πόλης. Lemessos, Δήμος Λεμεσσού 2006. 324 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 9963-597-04-1. – Die christlichen Monumente sind auf S. 71–190 erwähnt. – Triantaphyllopoulos. [1269

Maier F. G. (Hrsg.), *Οδηγός Παλαιπάφου (Κούκλια).* Nikosia, Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Τραπέζης Κύπρου 2007. 118 S. Abb. ISBN 978-9963-42-846-5. – Zuverlässiger Führer, der auch die nachantiken Monumente beschreibt. – Triantaphyllopoulos. [1270

Weyl Carr A., *The "Holy Sepulcher" of St. John Lampadistes in Cyprus* («Святой Гроб» в монастыре св. Иоанна Лампадиста на Кипре). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 475–499. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [1271

(dd) Asiatische Türkei

Allgemein

Kirilov Ch., *The reduction of the fortified city area in late antiquity: some reflections on the end of the 'antique city' in the lands of the Eastem Roman Empire.* – **Henning J.** (ed.), *Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium, I: The heirs of the Roman West, II: Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans* (Nr. 2018) 3–24. 10 fig. – Brandes. [1272

Niewöhner Ph., *Archäologie und die „Dunklen Jahrhunderte" im byzantinischen Anatolien.* – **Henning J.** (ed.), *Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium, I: The heirs of the Roman West, II: Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans* (Nr. 2018) 119–157. – Ist das Glas Wasser halb voll oder halb leer? Gab es in den „dunklen Jahrhunderten" (über den Begriff sollte man nachdenken; bestenfalls kann m.E. von einem knappen „dunklen" Jahrhundert sprechen, von der Mitte des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jh.) eine städtische Kultur in Byzanz – oder eben nicht. Verf. plädiert – basierend auf umfangreicher Auswertung der aktuellen Forschungssituation (allein schon die umfangreichen bibliographischen Angaben machen den Aufsatz wertvoll) – dafür, eine mehr oder weniger ungebrochene Kontinuität der „Städte" auch im 7. und 8. Jh. zu unterstellen. Dieser wichtige Diskussionsbeitrag zu einer sehr alten Debatte darf nicht übergangen werden, auch wenn ich dafür plädiere, daß eine nachweisbare Siedlungskontinuität noch längst nicht die soziale und ökonomische Funktion von Siedlungen als „Städte" (poleis, civitates) in einer gegebenen sozialen und politischen Makrostruktur belegt. Es bleibt die alte Frage: Was ist eine Stadt? Eine Auseinandersetzung damit vermisse ich. Vgl. W. Brandes, Byzantine cities in the seventh and eighth centuries – different sources, different histories?, in Brogiolo G. P./Ward-Perkins B. (eds.), The idea and ideal of the town between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999, 25–57, bes. 41–44 zu den Definitionsfragen. – Brandes. [1273

Ruggieri V., *Manufatti bronzei bizantini ad Antiochia di Pisidi.* OCP 75 (2009) 65–80. – von Stockhausen. [1274

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Alp A. O./Çağlar M. D., *Eskişehir-Han İlçesi ve Başara Köyü Kazıları (2005–2007)* (Excavations at the Village Başara in Eskişehir-Han between 2005 and 2007). – *30. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1. Cilt. 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Nr. 2024) I 189–200. – On p. 194: excavations at the church. – Laflı. [1275

Atanassov G., *Die Diakonie in der Insula M01 von Ephesos.* Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie 14 (2008) 53–70. – Berger. [1276

Bakırer Ö., *İki Selçuklu Dönemi Yapısında Roma ve Bizans Dönemlerine Ait İzler.* – **Alp A. O.** (Hrsg.), *Ebru Parman'a Armağan. Sanat Tarihi ve Arkeoloji Yazıları* (Nr. 1977) 91–116. 6 Abb. – Mittelbyzantinische Spolien an zwei seldschukischen Bauten in Akşehir. – Dennert. [1277

Berenfeld M. L., *The Triconch House and the predecessors of the Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias.* American Journal of Archaeology 113 (2009) 203–230. 12 Abb. – Dennert. [1278

Bieg G./Tekkök B./Aslan R., *Die spätrömische Besiedlung der Troas – ein Überblick.* Studia Troica 16 (2006) 149–170. – Laflı. [1279

Bier L., *The Bouleuterion.* – **Ratté Ch. /Smith R. R. R.** (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New research on the city and its monuments* (Nr. 1297) 145–168. 17 Abb. – Das im 2. Jh. errichtete Bauwerk wurde in der Spätantike weiterbenutzt und in der Mitte des 5. Jh.s umgebaut. – Dennert. [1280

Böhlendorf-Arslan B., *Byzantinische Siedlungen in der südlichen Troas: Kampagne 2007. – 26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı. 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Nr. 1994) II 311–326. – Laflı. [1281

Boulasikis D., *Ephesische Kirchenmosaiken: eine Sprache der Bilder?* Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie 14 (2008) 71–104. – Berger. [1282

Büyükkolancı M., *Ayasuluk Tepesi ve St. Jean Anıtı 2007 Yılı Kazıları* (2007 excavations at Ayasuluk and St. John's) – *30. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1. Cilt. 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Nr. 2024) IV 219–232. – Laflı. [1283

Bumke H., *Didyma in der Spätantike.* – **Dally O./Maischberger M.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *ZeitRäume. Milet in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (Nr. 1287) 60–81. Abb. – Dennert. [1284

Cain H.-U./Pfanner M., *Die Agora Milets in der Kaiserzeit und Spätantike.* – **Dally O./Maischberger M.** u. a. (Hrsg.), *ZeitRäume. Milet in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (Nr. 1287) 83–95. Abb. – Dennert. [1285

D'Andria F., *Phrygia Hierapolisi 2007 Yılı Çalışmaları* (2007 activities at Phrygian Hierapolis). – *30. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1. Cilt. 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Nr. 2024) II 393–408. – On p. 407, fig. 11: a gold coin of Constantine VII. – Laflı. [1286

Dally O./Maischberger M. u. a. (Hrsg.), *ZeitRäume. Milet in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike.* Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner 2009. 265 S. Zahlr. Abb. ISBN 978-3-7954-2235-6. – Publikation anläßlich der Ausstellung im Pergomonmuseum 2009–10. Im Katalog

Nr. 4: Präskript Justinians in Didyma 596; Nr. 5–8 Bauplastik der Marienkirche. Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1284, 1285, 1293, 1294. – Dennert. [1287

De Staebler P. D., *The city wall and the making of a late antique provincial capital.* – **Ratté Ch. /Smith R. R. R.** (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New research on the city and its monuments* (Nr. 1297) 285–318. 38 Abb. – Erste ausführliche Vorlage der Stadtmauer, die in der Mitte bis 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh.s unter Verwendung zahlreicher Spolien, die von Grabbauten kamen, errichtet wurde. – Dennert. [1288

Demirsar Arlı V. B./Altun A., *İznik Çini Fırınları 2007 Yılı Çalışmaları* (Excavations of pottery kilns in Iznik in 2007). *– 30. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1. Cilt. 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Nr. 2024) I 359–376. – Byzantine finds, such as a coin on p. 375, fig. 10. – Laflı. [1289

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esten Ergebnisse der Grabungen zeigen u.a., daß eine zu starke Verallgemeinerung (wie von mir 1999 vorgenommen) als übertrieben kritische Sicht erscheinen kann. Der „Fall Amorion“ zeigt einmal mehr, wie wichtig archäologische Forschungen für die Korrektur unseres Geschichtsbildes sein können, zumal dann, wenn sie auf höchstem wissenschaftlichem Niveau erfolgen. – Einige Ergänzungen aus Schriftquellen: S. 31 f. ist die Erwähnung eines préfect bei Michael dem Syrer (II, 101 trad. Chabot; vgl. Brandes, Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten [2002], 53; PmbZ 11607) zu ergänzen, der eventuell als „Chef“ der städtischen Zivilverwaltung (wie in Thessaloniki, Nikaia usw.) angesehen werden kann. Ein Siegel (Mitte 7. – Mitte 8. Jh.) bezeugt einen Lykastos, dioiketes von Amorion (PmbZ 4645; Brandes, Finanzverwaltung 212). Vermutlich war auch die Verwaltung der ἀποθήκη Γαλατίας (zwischen 654/9 und ca. 730 belegt; s. Brandes, Finanzverwaltung, 602) hier stationiert. S. 30 f. könnte ergänzt werden, daß das da behandelte Kloster der Theotokos geweiht war. Der Mönch Basileios (PmbZ 882) nahm 787 am Nicaenum II teil (Mansi XIII, 156C: μοναχὸς τοῦ Ἀμορίου τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου; vgl. R. Janin, Les églises et les monastères des grands centres … [1975], 440), wie auch der Bischof Theodosios (nicht Theodoros) (s. E. Lamberz, Die Bischofslisten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils [Nicaenum II] [2004], 51), während der Vertreter Amorions auf dem 6. Ökumenischen Konzil tatsächlich Theodoros hieß (PmbZ 7324). Dem Theotokos-Kloster kann man vielleicht auch den Hegumenos Elias zuordnen, von dem ein Siegel existiert (PmbZ 1472). Antonios ὁ νέος begab sich – nach seiner Vita (BHG 142) – als frisch geweihter Mönch nach Amorion, wo er eventuell ebenfalls dieses Kloster aufsuchte (PmbZ 534). Der Metropolit Eudoxios/Eudoxos (zwischen 787 und 803) hätte ebenfalls Erwähnung finden können (PmbZ 1643, 1644). Weitere interessante Hinweise auf Amorion bieten PmbZ 10321, 10810, 10843, 10845. – Brandes. [1331

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C. IKONOGRAPHIE UND SYMBOLIK

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Bogiatzes S., *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του Ανδρομονάστηρου Μεσσηνίας.* Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 30 (2009) 129–140. 9 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Studie über die wiederverwendeten Bauplastikfragmente, die die Klosterkirche des Andromonasteron in Messenien auf der Peloponnes dekorieren und in das ausgehende 12. Jh. zu datieren sind. Entweder wurden sie von einer anderen Kirche in das Andromonasteron gebracht, oder sie sind einer früheren Bauphase zuzuschreiben. – Albani. [1547

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Vassilaki M., *The Painter Angelos and icon-painting in Venetian Crete.* Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 892. Farnham, Ashgate 2009. 382 p. 219 ills. ISBN 978-0-7546-5945-7. – This is a collection of 16 studies and an epilogue primarily focused on the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos (fl. early 15th c.). Studies nos 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12 and 16 have been previously published in Greek and are here presented in English translation. Studies 9 and 14 are unpublished papers that have now been updated for publication. The Epilogue includes an up to date bibliography of the questions discussed in the volume. – Stathakopoulos. [1612

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b. Gold, Silber

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Ginnasi A., *La stauroteca di Limburg an-der-Lahn: devozione e lusso nel mondo bizantino.* Acme 62/1 (2009) 97–130. 16 fig. f. t. – G. riprende in esame la documentazione relativa al celebre manufatto, sottolineando di volere occuparsi non solo «degli aspetti che lo qualificano come un'opera a carattere sacro ma considerarlo, soprattutto, alla luce del suo status di oggetto di lusso e al conseguente prestigio che una commissione di questo tipo conferisce al donatore, così come al destinatario». Come destinatario del dono della stauroteca da parte del proedro Basilio Lecapeno G. propone di individuare il giovane omonimo pronipote di questi: Basilio Lecapeno ne avrebbe fatto dono al pronipote negli anni della reggenza (dunque entro la prima metà degli anni '80 del secolo X) con lo scopo di «conferire dignità e prestigio alla propria carica». – Luzzi. [1633

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Maystorski G., *Сребърен нагръден кръст с надпис от Преслав* (Nr. 1185). – Nikolov.

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c. Andere Metalle

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Archipova E. I., *Бронзовое кадило из Судака в Одесском археологическом музее* (A bronze censer from Sudak in the Archaeological Museum of Odessa). VV 67 (92) (2008) 207–216. – Etinhof. [1637

Aydın, A., *Burdur ve Side Müzesi'ndeki Figürlü İki Buhurdan* (Two censers with figurative decoration at Burdur and Side Museum). Adalya 12 (2009) 277–297. 20 Abb. – Zwei „syro-palästinische“ Weihrauchgefäße mit christologischen Reliefs. – Dennert. [1638

Contardi S., *La suppellettile da illuminazione: sostegni pensili in bronzo da Iasos.* Bollettino dell'Associazione Iasos di Caria 15 (2009) 31–34. 5 Abb. – Teile von Aufhängevorrichtungen für bronzene Polykandela. – Dennert. [1639

Demirel Gökalp Z., *Some examples of Byzantine lamps in Turkish museums. – Corona Laurea. Studii în onoarea Luciei Ţeposu Marinescu* (Nr. 1972) 171–176. 12 Abb. – Byzantinische Bronzelampen. – Dennert. [1640

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Mparmparitsa E., *Ευλογία μύρου από το Επάνω Κάστρου Ἀνδρου* (Nr. 1254). – Kalopissi-Verti.

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Stepanenko V., *Иконка с изображениями Богоматери и святых воинов* (A Small Icon with Images of Virgin Mary and Warrior Saints). – **Rašev R./Vitljanov S./Sivriev S./Panajotov V./Stojanova G.** (Hrsg.), *Проф. д. и. н. Тотю Тотев и столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1989) 205–210. Num. figs. Russian with English summary. – A double-sided bronze icon. It is curious that in the inscription Virgin Mary is called not Hodegetria but Eleousa. – Nikolov. [1645

Totev K., *За идентификацията на образите върху солунската ампула от Ермитажа* (On the identification of images from the Thessaloniki ampoule in the Hermitage museum). – The saints depicted on the ampoule are the Martyrs St. Demetrius and St. Theodore. – Nikolov. [1646

Xanthopulu M., *Τα μεταλλικά αντικείμενα και η οστέϊνη λαβή.* – **Kalpaxes Th.** (Hrsg.), *Ελεύθερνα Τομέας ΙΙ. 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα* (Nr. 1261) 309—317. Mit 55 Zeichn. – Über die Metallgegenstände, die in den Ausgrabungen eines mittelbyzantinischen Hauses in Eleutherna/ Kreta gefunden wurden. Es handelt sich um alltägliche Gebrauchsgegenstände eines bäuerlichen mittelaterlichen Hauses, d.h. Werkzeuge, Kochgefäße, Nägel, die E. 12./A. 13. Jh.s zu datieren sind. – Foskolou. [1647

Zalesskaya V. N., *Три византийские свинцовые иконки из собрания государственного Эрмитажа* (Three Byzantine Lead Small Icons in the Hermitage Collection). – **Rašev R./Vitljanov S./Sivriev S./Panajotov V./Stojanova G.** (Hrsg.), *Проф. д. и. н. Тотю Тотев и столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1989) 200–204. Num. figs. With English summary. – With representation of Virgin and Child, the Mandylion and the Crucifixion. The iconography and the style of these pieces indicate their date after about 1100 and place them in the context of Crusades. – Nikolov. [1648

e. Elfenbein

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I. KATALOGE (AUSSTELLUNGEN, SAMMLUNGEN, GALLERIEN, ANTIQUARIATE)

Gorny & Mosch. Gießener Münzhandlung Auktion 179, Kunst der Antike 19. Juni 2009. 237 S. – Nr. 29 frühbyz. Silberpyxis mit zwei Renngespannen; Nr. 37, 532–534, 536, 538–544 mittelbyz. Prozessionskreuze, Bronze; Nr. 191–194, 199 byz. Schmuck; Nr. 535 frühbyz. Marmorkreuz (?); Nr. 537 mittelbyz. Bronzekreuz mit Stiftungsinschrift eines Epiphanios; Nr. 545–554 mittebyz. Enkolpionkreuze; Nr. 555 mittelbyz. Bronzikone: Paulus; Nr. 556 mittelbyz. (?) Bronzeikone mit kreuztragenden Engeln; Nr. 557 Bronzebeschlag mit Konstantin und Helena; Nr. 558 zweiseitiges Bronzerelief Maria und Christus; Nr. 559 Bronzeschale mit doppelköpfigem Adler; Nr. 560–561 bronzenes Rauchfass; Nr. 562–563 Miniatur-Bronzeglocken. – Dennert. [1716

Bouras L./Parani M. G., *Lighting in early Byzantium* (Nr. 1010). – Cutler.

K. SPEZIALBIBLIOGRAPHIEN

Scheibelreiter V., *Bibliographie zur Spätantike und Frühchristlichen Archäologie in Österreich (mit einem Anhang zum spätantik-frühchristlichen Ephesos). 2007 erschienene Publikationen und Nachträge.* Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie 14 (2008) 105–111. – Berger. [1717

8. NUMISMATIK UND SIGILLOGRAPHIE

A. NUMISMATIK

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen (einschließlich Ikonographie und Technik)

Hahn W./Methlich M., *Money of the incipient Byzantine Empire continued (Justin II – revolt of the Heraclii, 565–610).* Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, 13. Wien, Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik 2009. 214, 41 S., [12] Faltbl. ISBN 978-3-9501987-2-0. – Grünbart. [1718

Jordanov I./Žekova Zh., *Отпечатъци на византийски монети върху оловни пластинки от хинтерланда на столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 2178). – Nikolov.

Maladakis V., *The coronation of the emperor on middle Byzantine coinage: a case of Christian political theology (10th–mid 11th centuries).* Acta Musei Varnaensis 7/1 (Numizmatici, sfragisticni I epigrafski prilosi kim istorijata na Cernomorskoto kraïbrejne) 338–356. ill. – Analyse du monnayage dans le cadre de l'idéologie de l'origine divine du pouvoir impérial. – Morrisson. [1719

Pamuk Ş., *Akçe.* Encylopaedia of Islam[3] 2007 Lieferung 1, 91–92. – Die als „Asper" im Westen bekannte Silbermünze. – Brandes. [1720

Peikov A., *Отново за най-ранното изображение на Иисус Христос във византийската нумизматика* (Erneut über die früheste Darstellung von Jesus Christus in der byzantinischen Numismatik). – *Любен Прашков – реставратор и изкуствовед* (Nr. 1982) 280–281 (Bulgarisch). – Es wird die Meinung vertreten, die erste Darstellung Christi stamme aus der Zeit von Anastasios I. (491–518). Als Argument dient eine Münze aus der Sammlung von Dumbarton Oaks. – Nikolov. [1721

Penčev V., *Proizvodstvo v Dristr na medin plastinki bez izobraženija i nadpici* (Production of copper blanks that had the function of coins (14th c.) in Druster). Numizmatika i sfragistika (Sofia) 7/1 (2000) 94–101. ill. – Découverte en fouilles à Silistra en 1999 de flans de cuivre concaves ou plats. De tels flans non frappés sont fréquents sur les sites des 13e–14e siècles et circulaient avec les monnaies régulières. – Morrisson. [1722

Rovelli A., *Imperatrice e regina nelle emissioni monetarie altomedievali (VI–X secolo).* – **La Rocca C.** (éd.), *Agire da donna. Modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli VI–X)* (Nr. 2025) 211–234. 7 fig. – Couvre aussi les types byzantins du 5e au 8e s. – Morrisson. [1723

Simonović Z., *Прилог проучавању новчаних реформи Диоклецијана, Константина и Анастасија* (Appendix to monetary reforms of Diocletian, Constantine and Anastasius). – **Rakocija M.** (Hrsg.), *Ниш и Византија, VII* (Nr. 2043) 395–406. – Dennert. [1724

Teoteoi T., *Semnificaţia unor «realii» monetare în Bizanţul Paleologilor* (On the significance of certain coins in Paleologan Byzantium). – **Teoteoi T.**, *Byzantina et Daco-Romana. Studii de istorie şi civilizaţie bizantină şi românească* (Nr. 1988) 131–147. – Marinescu. [1725

Vladimirova-Aladžova D., *Тежести–еталони от антична Рациария* (Weights from ancient Ratiaria). Numismatica, sphragistica and epigraphica 4 (2008) 145–156. ills. With English summary. – Exagia occur at archaeological sites with coins and layers dating from the 4th–7th c. AD. – Nikolov. [1726

Žekova Ž., *Монети и монетно обръщение в средновековния Шумен* (Nr. 2182). – Nikolov.

b. Kataloge

Asolati M., *Un frammento di gruzzolo di nummi tardoantichi e bizantini conservato presso il Museo Bottacin di Padova* (Nr. 1457). – Bianchi.

Minkova M., *Нумизматичен материал от района на Любимец и Хасково* (Numismatic material from the region of Lyubimets and Haskovo). Numismatica, sphragistica and epigraphica 4 (2008) 65–93. Bulgarian with English summary. – The Byzantine coins (discovered in south-easthern Bulgaria) come within the chronological frame from Justin II to John III Comnenos Doukas (1237–1244). The coin circulation became more intensive during 10th–11th c. (29 pieces) and in mid-13th c. (35 pieces). – Nikolov. [1727

Morrisson C., *Un lot de monnaies byzantines et arabo-byzantines du Cabinet des Médailles.* Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique 64/5 (2009) 90–95. – Publication illustrée d'un lot provenant peut-être de Syrie du Nord et reflétant la circulation de monnaies impériales, de Justinien, Maurice, Phocas, Héraclius et Constant II (641–657) associées aux premières monnaies d'imitation arabo-byzantines («imitative coins» ou «pseudo-Byzantine»), certaines de types inédits. Ce lot datant de 660 env. peu de temps après l'arrêt de l'arrivée des émissions de bronzes byzantins en Syrie est comparable au «trésor syrien» dit de Hama, publié par Philipps et Goodwin dans la Numismatic Chronicle (1977, 61–87). – Morrisson. [1728

Oikonomidu M., *Τοσίτσα 1 (1953–1994). Μνήμες Α'.* Athena, Euthyne 2009. 71 p. ISBN 978-960-8150-47-8. 27 photos. – La directrice émérite du Musée numismatique d'Athènes raconte ses souvenirs des années 1953–1994 de 1, rue Tositsa, ancienne adresse du musée et de son combat pour l'installation de celui-ci dans la maison Schliemann, Iliou Melathron. Dans ses pages passent toutes les grandes personnalités de la numismatique et la byzantinologie de l'époque. – Papadopoulou. [1729

Sagredo San Eustaquio L., *Las monedas bajo-imperiales en Deobrigula.* Hispania antiqua. Revista de historia antigua 32 (2008) 275–298. 3 tav. – Catalogo (parziale) delle monete rinvenute nel sito dell'antica città di Deobrigula (vicino all'attuale Burgos): 28 pezzi di IV secolo, zecche occidentali ma anche due esemplari da Tessalonica e Nicomedia. – Bianchi. [1730

Şentürk Ş./Tekin O., *Sikkeler Ne Anlatır? Ortaçağ Anadolu sikkelerinde simgeler ve çokkültürlülük – What the coins tell us. Symbols and multicultural aspects in medieval Anatolian coins.* Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2009. 128 p. ISBN 978-975-08-1682-6. Turc et anglais. Mon. ill. – Catalogue de l'exposition homonyme présentée au Musée Yapı Kredi Vedat Nedim Tör, Istanbul (30 septembre–31 décembre 2009). Excellentes illustrations de monnaies anatoliennes médiévales de la collection de Yapı Kredi. Malheureusement les monnaies arméniennes de Cilicie et les monnaies byzantines – même quand elles ont offert le prototype iconographique de ces émission – sont totalement absentes. – Papadopoulou. [1731

c. Münzfunde

Abou Diwan G., *The coin circulation in Phoenicia Maritima during the sixth century AD.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 84. – Focuses especially on the copper coinage of Anastasios. – Baker. [1732

Ben Slimane-Benabbes H., *La production de la monnaie d'or en Afrique byzantine au VIIe siècle: étude statistique.* L'Africa romana XVII. Sevilla 2006/Rome 2008, 1151–1164. – Cette étude de coins étend, à partir du matériel découvert en Tunisie et de mon propre fichier, les estimations que j'avais publiées pour les règnes de Justinien à Maurice, aux émissions d'Héraclius et Constant II jusqu'en 650. L'a. y retrouve les mêmes rythmes lustraux et un rattrapage entre 642 et 647 destiné à combler la faiblesse de la production à la fin du règne d'Héraclius. – Morrisson. [1733

Bijovsky G., *A gold hoard recently discovered in Jerusalem.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 86. – A hoard containing exclusively issues of Heraclius, all of the same type, from a limited number of dies, calls for an exceptional interpretation. – Baker. [1734

Blachake M., *Θησαυρός νομισμάτων από το Πύθιο Ελασσόνας.* – **Mazarakes-Ainian A.** (Hrsg.), *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2. Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης Βόλος 16. 3. – 19.3.2006* (Nr. 2030) 489–504. 13 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Zum sog. Münzschatz von Pythion in der Nähe von Elasson, Thessalien. Die Münzen (ausschließlich aspra trachea) werden vom letzten Viertel des 12. Jh.s bis zum 1. Viertel des 13. Jh.s datiert und mit den historischen Ereignissen nach 1204 verbunden. – Kalopissi-Verti. [1735

Božkova B./Petrunova B., *Ранновизантийско златно монетно съкровище от крепостта „Св. Петка" при град Пещера* (Early Byzantine golden coin hoard from St Petka fortress near Peštera). Numismatica, sphragistica and epigraphica 4 (2008) 57–63. 14 ills. Bulgarian with English summary. – A coin hoard of 14 golden coins dating from the 6th c. discovered near town Peštera, in Bulgaria. – Nikolov. [1736

Božkova B., *Skroviče ot rannovisantiiski moneti ot Sofija* (Trésor de monnaies de la haute-époque byzantine provenant de Sofia). Numizmatika i sfragistika (Sofia) 7/2 (2000) 18–37. 5 pl. – Découverte au cours des fouilles d'un complexe ecclésiastique d'un trésor de 1 tremissis de Maurice et 42 AE de Justin I et Justinien, Justinien I, Justin II, Maurice et Héraclius, enfoui après 615 vraisemblablement lors de l'une des attaques avaro-slaves contre Thessalonique. – Morrisson. [1737

Çantay D., *Byzantine coins from Macedonian tower salvage excavations in Edirne/Türkiye.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow, 2009, 87. – 176 coins of all periods of Byzantine history. – Baker. [1738

Demirel Gökalp Z., *Yalvaç Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde Bulunan Bizans Altın ve Gümüş Sikkeleri* (Byzantinische Gold- und Silbermünzen im Archäologischen Museum von Yalvaç). – **Alp A. O.** (Hrsg.), *Ebru Parman'a Armağan. Sanat Tarihi ve Arkeoloji Yazıları* (Nr. 1977) 203–222. 32 Abb. – Münzen von Anastasios bis Manuel Komnenos. – Dennert. [1739

Dzanev G., *Колективна находка на солиди от X век в Абритус* (A collective find of solidi from the 10th century in Abritus). – **Georgiev P.** (ed.), *Изследвания по българска средновековна археология. Сборник в чест на проф. Рашо Рашев* (Nr. 1983) 375–384. Ills. Bulgarian with English summary. – Discovered in the late ancient castellum of Abritus. 10 of solids belong to Constantine VII with Romanos II (945–959) and 1 solid (nomisma-histamenon) was made during the reign of Nicephoros II Phokas with Basil (963–969). With catalogue. – Nikolov. [1740

Gandila A., *The early Byzantine coin circulation in the eastern provinces: a statistical approach.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 90. – Attempts a statistical overview of coin production and circulation based on the holdings of the major collections. – Baker. [1741

Gökyıldırım T., *Geç Roma Solidus definesi (2001).* – **Tekin Ö./Erol A.** (eds.), *Ancient history, numismatics and epigraphy in the Mediterranean World. Studies in memory of*

Clemens E. Bosch and S. Atlan and in honour of N. Baydur (Nr. 1956) 161–177, 70 monnaies ill. – Publication soignée, avec étude des coins, de 68 solidi et 2 doubles solidi inédits du milieu du Ve siècle achetés par le Musée archéologique d'Istanbul en 2001 et provenant d'une trouvaille plus large dispersée sur le marché, dont on pourrait sans doute trouver trace dans les catalogues de vente des années 2000 (le double solidus d'Eudocie n° 64 est de mêmes coins que Tkalec, 18 II 2002, lot 422). Les émissions sont présentées dans l'ordre chronologique des souverains (d'Eudoxie et Honorius à Valentinien III et Justa Grata Honoria) et classées ensuite à l'intérieur de chaque règne par ordre alphabétique des légendes de revers (44 Constantinople, 21 Ravenne et 5 Rome). La proportion extraordinairement élevée des liaisons de coins (récapitulée p. 165–167), les anomalies de plusieurs des très nombreux inédits du trésor (par ex. un revers IMP XXXXII de Théodose II associé à un droit d'Honorius), et les problèmes de chronologie qu'il soulève ne manqueront pas de susciter des interrogations et une réflexion ultérieure. – Baker. [1742

Guruleva V., *The circulation and use of Byzantine coins in the Crimea.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 91. – Analyses local and Constantinopolitan Byzantine coins in Cherson and other areas of the Crimea. – Baker. [1743

Hadji-Maneva M., *Early Byzantine coin circulation in Macedonia Secunda.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 92. – Discusses 18 hoards and numerous single finds of the 6th and 7th centuries. – Baker. [1744

Lavysh K./Wołoszyn M., *Byzantine coins from the area of Belarus.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 95. – 30 Byzantine coins in 16 finds emanate from the territory of Belarus, mostly middle Byzantine. – Baker. [1745

Lianta E., *The Thessalonica/2007 hoard of Byzantine thirteenth-century billon trachea.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 96. – A new hoard from the 1210 s is able to bridge the gap between Direct Copies and Latin Imitatives. – Baker. [1746

Lightfoot C. S., *An important group of late-7th century coins from Amorium.* – **Tekin Ö./Erol A.** (eds.), *Ancient history, numismatics and epigraphy in the Mediterranean World. Studies in memory of Clemens E. Bosch and S. Atlan and in honour of N. Baydur* (Nr. 1956) 223–226. – According to the author, six late 7th century copper coins contribute to the general picture of importance and prosperity of this city even during the Dark Ages. Nevertheless, the fact that these coins are so tightly dated (685–698) and were found in a later context seems to call for caution. Is it possible that this was originally a hoard which was inadvertently disassembled and distributed? As such the coins would necessitate a completely different interpretation to six fortuitous contemporary losses. – Baker. [1747

Maladakis V., *Coinage and money in the "Years of Insecurity": the case of late Byzantine Chalkidiki.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 96. – Proposes a study which combines general historical developments, economic and fiscal structures, and monetary finds. – Baker. [1748

Mantalara L., *Τα νομίσματα.* – **Kalpaxes Th.** (Hrsg.), *Ελεύθερνα Τομέας ΙΙ. 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα* (Nr. 1261) 319–334. 3 Abb. – Die bei der Ausgrabung eines mittelbyzantinischen Hauses in Eleutherna auf Kreta gefundenen Münzen. Es handelt sich hauptsächlich um Bronzemünzen von der hellenistischen Zeit bis in die ersten Jahre der venezianischen Herrschaft. – Foskolou. [1749

Metcalf D. M., *Byzantine Cyprus 491–1191* (Nr. 1080). – Berger.

Moorhead S., *Early Byzantine copper coins found in Britain. A review in light of new finds recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme.* – **Tekin Ö./Erol A.** (eds.), *Ancient history, numismatics and epigraphy in the Mediterranean World. Studies in memory of Clemens E. Bosch and S. Atlan and in honour of N. Baydur* (Nr. 1956) 263–274. – Discusses previously reported finds of early Byzantine copper coins and rejects the widely held opinion that only very few of these are genuine early medieval losses. Adds new data for the period 498–668 and establishes patterns of import and distribution. The shift from the Eastern imperial mints to Carthage between the sixth and seventh centuries is particularly noteworthy. – Baker. [1750

Pavoni M. G., *Villa di Cordignano (Treviso): monete dal santuario. Campagne di scavo 2004 e 2005.* Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto 23 (2007) 44–48. – Ritrovamento di alcune monete anche di IV secolo (coniazioni di Costantino I, Costantino II, Costante, Costanzo II, Giuliano, Valente). – Bianchi. [1751

Razmovska-Bacevska D., *A hoard of coins of John Asen II (1230–1241) and the Thessalonikan despots.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 101. – A recent discovery which appears to be later than the usual trachy hoards of the area manages to combine a substantial number of specimens of Asen with issues of the Empire at Thessalonike. Other finds of Asen identify the mint unmistakably as Ohrid. – Baker. [1752

Sebastiani A., *Butrinto. Relazione preliminare dello scavo presso il Pozzo di Iunia Rufina* (Nr. 1216). – Bianchi.

Šeparović T., *Discovery of a hoard of coins dated to the fifth and sixth centuries in Klapavice in the hinterland of ancient Salona.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 102. – A hoard of gold and silver (sic!) coins is dated to 535–536. – Baker. [1753

Tekin O., *An eleventh century hoard of Byzantine folles from the Marmaray-Metro salvage excavation at Yenikapı-İstanbul.* Anatolia Antiqua 17 (2009) 279–288, dont une pl. – 176 folles agglomérés trouvés dans un mur du secteur est de la fouille. La composition (1 Constantin VII, classe 5, 10 anonymes des classes F à J, 142 Nicéphore III et 17 indéterminés) donne le terminus post quem de cette construction dans une zone déja envasée du port théodosien. – Morrisson. [1754

Ünal C., *Palaeologian coin finds of Kadikalesi/Anaia and their reflections.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 105. – Coins particularly of Michael VIII and Andronikos II. – Baker. [1755

Žekova Ž., *Колективна находка с фолиси на император Константин VII от района на Ришки проход* (A hoard of folles of Emperor Constantine VII from the Rishki Pass).

– **Georgiev P.** (ed.), *Изследвания по българска средновековна археология. Сборник в чест на проф. Рашо Рашев* (Nr. 1983) 368–374. Ills. With English summary. – 10 specimina of the class 5 Constantinople coinage made in the period 945–950. One coin is a original Constantinople issue, others are imitations. With catalogue. – Nikolov. [1756

d. Beiträge zu Einzelmünzen (chronologisch)

Avdev S., *Сребърните дирхеми на император Андроник II и сина му Михаил IX (1294–1320)* (Silver dirhams of Emperor Andronikos II and his son Michael IX, 1294–1320). Numismatica, sphragistica and epigraphica 4 (2008) 115–120. Ills. With English summary. – A metrological-statistical study of a very rare type of Byzantine silver coins. – Nikolov. [1757

Bendall S., *Clipped silver trachea of John III Vatatzes of Nicaea (1222–54).* Numismatic Circular 117 (July 2009) 102–103. – The author continues his previous enquiries into the practice of hammering and clipping of electrum and silver coins at the turn of the thirteenth century as evidenced in the recent hoard of anonymous coins attributed to Andronicus I Gidon. This had been observed on issues of the Komnenian emperors and of Trebizond, and the author associates three new specimens of John III with the same phenomenon. – Baker. [1758

Dočev C., *Нов вариант латинска медна имитация (тип J) от серия D-W (1215–1250). Опит за датировка* (New variant of a Latin copper imitation [type J] of series D-W, 1215–1250. An attempt at dating). Numismatica, sphragistica and epigraphica 4 (2008) 95–102. Ills. With English summary. – The coin (weight 4, 35 g; size 29–36 mm) was found at the Forty Martyrs Monastery in Veliko Tărnovo, Bulgaria. Dated to the period of 1222–1230. – Nikolov. [1759

Guruleva V./Kramorovsky M., *Silver Basilicon of Andronicus III found at Solkhat/ Krym.* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 92. – A rare issue found in archaeological context. – Baker. [1760

Karukstis C., *Was pseudo-Byzantine coinage primarily of municipal origin?* XIV International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009. Abstract of Papers. Glasgow 2009, 93. – Based on an enlarged database and a detailed analysis of dies the author attempts to re-read the post-Byzantine copper issues of Greater Syria in terms of organization and function. – Baker. [1761

Lichocka B., *Fel Temp Reparatio. Deux exemples de Deir el-Berchèh.* Études et Travaux 21 (2007) 83–90. 3 Abb. – Münzen der Zeit Constantius' II. – Grossmann. [1762

Markov N., *Еталонна тежест (екзагия) от средновизантийския период, намерена в Северозападна България* (Standard weight [exagia] from the middle Byzantine period, found in north-western Bulgaria). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (Hrsg.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova* (Nr. 1991) 243–248. Ill. With English summary. – The weight served during the first half of 11th the century for settlement of weight of the coins of the last emission of histamena of emperor Basil II (975–1025) and his brother emperor Constantine VIII (1025–1028). – Nikolov. [1763

Morrisson C., *Araba Yarışçısı Olarak Muzaffer İmparator / The emperor in triumph as charioteer. – Hippodrom / Atmeydanı. İstanbul'un Tarih Sahnesi – A stage for Istanbul's history* (Nr. 2019) 44–48. – Berger. [1764

Penčev V., *Otnovo za monetite na Teodor (Petr) Belgun* (Once more about the coins of Theodore [Peter] Belgun). Numizmatika i sfragistika (Sofia) 6/2 (1999) 79–88. – Two new specimens bought by the National Museum in Sofia bear an inscription to the right of the ruler's image which could be interpreted as BOVN (for Belgoun). This and the predominance of Bulgarian provenances lead to contest the atribution to Theodore Branas favoured by Bendall and Morrisson (RN 1994) and to reaffirm that to Theodore (Peter) Belgoun. – Morrisson. [1765

Penčev V., *Рядка медна скифата на солунския император Теодор Комнин* (Rare copper skyphata of Thessalonian Emperor Theodore Komnenos). Numismatica, sphragistica and epigraphica 4 (2008) 103–106 11 ills. Bulgarian with English summary. – Nikolov. [1766

Pottier H., *Justinien et la pandémie de peste à Constantinople.* Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique 64/5 (2009) 86–87. – Les visages déformés de certains folles des années 15 et 16 représenteraient l'empereur malade (Procope BP II, xxiii, 6) affichant ainsi la part qu'il prenait aux souffrances de la population. – Morrisson. [1767

Pottier H., *Monnaies divisionnaires byzantines de bronze, rares ou inédites.* Bulletin du Cercle d'Études numismatiques (Bruxelles) 45/3 (2008) 96–100. ill. – Ces fractions du follis jusqu'au dernier décanoummion frappé sous Léon III sont présentées avec de pertinentes remarques notamment métrologiques. – Morrisson. [1768

Vladimirova-Aladžova D., *Златни монети на Филипик Вардан* (Gold Coins of Philipic Vardan). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (Hrsg.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova* (Nr. 1991) 59–62. 4 ill. Bulgarian with English summary. – Solidi and tremissis from National Archaeological Museum in Sofia. – Nikolov. [1769

Zervos O. H., *New light on an enigmatic issue of late Byzantine coppers.* Numismatic Circular 117/4 (2009) 163–164. – Copper trachea of small module, octagonal clip, low weight, and bearing the unusual St. Michael/Emperor combination are found at Corinth in small quantities. Otherwise only known from excavations in Argos, the author attributes this issue to a local mint after 1204. – Baker. [1770

B. SIGILLOGRAPHIE

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Jordanov I., *Византийски печати от територията на днешна България с изображения на свети Георги Куспериотис* (Byzantine seals from the territory of present-day Bulgaria featuring St. George Kouperiotis). – **Rašev R./Vitljanov S./Sivriev S./Panajotov V./Stojanova G.** (Hrsg.), *Проф. д. и. н. Тотю Тотев и столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1989) 194–199. num. figs. Bulgarian with English summary. – Several seals from 12th–13th c. – Nikolov. [1771

Manganaro G., *Sigilli diplomatici bizantini in Sicilia.* Jahrbücher für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 53–54 (2003–2004) 73–90. – D'Aiuto. [1772

Šandrovskaja V., *К изображению Богоматери Агиосоритиссы на византийских печатях* (Zur Darstellung der Gottesmutter-Hagiosoritissa auf den byzantinischen Bleisiegeln). – **Rašev R./Vitljanov S./Sivriev S./Panajotov V./Stojanova G.** (Hrsg.), *Проф. д. и. н. Тотю Тотев и столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1989) 188–193. 9 Abb. Russisch mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Beispiele aus dem 11. und 12. Jh. – Nikolov. [1773

Šandrovskaja V. S., *Vizantijskie pečati s izobraženiem Christa v rost* (Byzantinische Siegel mit der Darstellung Christi als Standfigur). Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 39 (2009) 164–170. 1 Abb. – Ausgehend von einem (bekannten) Siegeltypus des Ioseph Balsamon wird eine Liste der nicht-kaiserlichen Siegel mit einer Darstellung Christi als Standfigur vorgelegt. – Seibt. [1774

b. Kataloge und Beiträge zu Einzelfunden

Alekseenko N. A., *Cerkovnaja sfragistika: Sacrum et profanum Konstantinopol'skogo patriarchata.* Sacrum et profanum 4. Sevastopol' 2009, 25–29. 4 Abb. – Vier Siegel aus Privatbesitz auf der Krim: Eustathios, Metropolit von Tarsos, Ioannes Bischof (Ende beschädigt), Theodoros Presbyteros (Ende fragmentiert); Ioannikios Megas Oikonomos (Parallelstück zu Laurent, Corpus V 58). – Seibt. [1775

Alekseenko N. A., *Neskol'ko novych pečatej vostočnych provincij Vizantii iz častnych sobranij.* Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 39 (2009) 188–208. 3 Taf. – Von den acht Siegeln einer (nicht näher genannten) Privatsammlung sind sieben abgebildet. Darunter ein Kommerkiarier der beiden Kilikien (700–702), Orestios, Stratege von Kappadokia, Samuel Alusianos, Bestarches und Dux von Edessa (ein Parallelstück zu Wassiliou-Seibt, Österreich II 251); das (nicht abgebildete) Siegel des Isidoros, Metropolit von Tarsos, ist offenbar ein Parallelstück zu Cheynet, Zacos 47. – Seibt. [1776

Alekseenko N. A., *Pečati predstavitelej Vizantijskoj aristokratii v Tavrike: novye personaži.* Materialy po Archeologii, Istorii i Etnografii Tavrii 14 (2008) 417–424. 1 Taf. – 1. Theodoros Hagiostephanites; 2. Metrisches Siegel des Drimys Michael; 3. Nikephoros Diabatenos Praipositos Patrikios. – Seibt. [1777

Alekseenko N. A., *Pečati s rodovymi imenami iz Chersonskogo archiva. Vizantija v kontekste mirovoj kul'tury.* Trudy Gosud. Ermitaža, 42. St. Petersburg 2008, 265–275. – Nr 2 f.: Anastasios Ma[.]schul, vielleicht Maischul oder Marschul; Nr. 4: Mosik Tzulas; Nr. 5f.: Konstantin Argyromytes (der Beiname findet sich auch in der Vita des Nikon Metanoeite (c. 65); Nr. 7: Der bekannte metrische Siegeltypus des Nikolaos Machetarios ist zu früh datiert; eher 11./12. Jh. – Seibt. [1778

Alekseenko N. A., *Нумизматические параллели в сфрагистике византийского Херсона* (Numismatic parallels in sphragistics of Byzantine Cherson). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 79–89. – Ivanov. [1779

Auktion Classical Numismatic Group 82, 2009. – 1152 Bleisiegel: Σφράγισμα Θεοδώρου Δούκα; das Monogramm in der Mitte ist sicher nicht Θεοδώρου aufzulösen; vgl. Seibt, JÖB 40 (1990) 271–273 (Synadenos). – Seibt. [1780

Auktion Gorny & Mosch 180, 12. 10. 2009. – 512–515 Siegel: 512 Kaiser Anastasios II. (aus Lanz 144, 810); 513 Ekklesekdikoi der Hagia Sophia; 514 Nikephoros Alyates, Kanikleios, Parallelstück zu Seibt/Zarnitz 3.1.3; 515 Michael ὁ τοῦ Εὐθυμίου, Magistros und Richter der Thrakesier. – Seibt. [1781

Auktion Hirsch 261, 7.–8.5.2009. – 866 Kaisersiegel Michaels VII. Dukas. – Seibt. [1782

Auktion Hirsch 263, 24.–26. 9. 2009. – 3022–3024 Siegel: 3022 Monogrammsiegel des Menas (sicher nicht Manuel) Hypatos (1. Hälfte 8. Jh.); 3023 Monogrammsiegel eines Ioannes ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων (7. Jh.); 3024 Kaisersiegel des Botaneiates. 3025 wohl Fälschung. – Seibt. [1783

Auktion Lanz 146, 25. 5. 2009. – 682 und 693–694 Siegel: 682 Kaisersiegel eines Andronikos Palaiologos; 693 Theophylaktos Ergodotes, Hypatos und Ethnarch; 694 Konstantin Skleros Proedros. – Seibt. [1784

Auktion Münz Zentrum Rheinland 152, 2. 9. 2009. – 750, 902, 915, 920, 931, 951, 975–987 byzantinische Siegel, zumeist Wiederholungen: 902 Kaisersiegel Michaels VI.; 931 Anna, Tochter Isaaks, des Bruders Ioannes' II.; 951 Kaisersiegel Theodoros' I. Laskaris; 982 metrisches Siegel eines Richters (δικασπόλος) Petros, angeblich von Thrakien (nur KEC lesbar!). 2172 Papstsiegel von Bonifatius VIII. – Seibt. [1785

Auktion Münz Zentrum Rheinland 151, 21.–22. 4. 2009. – 861–912 Plomben und frühe Siegel; 941–947 byzantinische Siegel; 1116–1118 Siegellots. 941 Basileios Diakonos (1. Hälfte 7. Jh.; auf dem Avers wohl Basileios-Büste); sonst bekannte Siegeltypen bzw. Wiederholungen. – Seibt. [1786

Cheynet J.-C., *Les sceaux de la famille Doukas provenant de l'ancienne collection Georges Zacos.* – **Chrysos E./Zachariadou E. A.** (Hrsg.), *Καπετάνιος και Λόγιος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ι. Πολέμη / Captain and Scholar. Papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemes* (Nr. 1978) 35–62. 23 Textabb. – Von den 24 Siegeltypen sind mehrere neu: 1. Christophoros, Protospathar und ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου (10./11. Jh.); 2. Michael Asekretis (1. Drittel 11. Jh.); 8. Bei diesem Typus des Ioannes Dukas Sebastos findet sich kein Artikel τῶν vor ἱερῶν; 11. Andronikos (Ende 11.–1. Drittel 12. Jh.); 12. Maria Sebaste (Ende 11.–1. Drittel 12. Jh.); 13. Ioannes (1. Hälfte 12. Jh.); 15. Ioannes (2. Hälfte 12. Jh.); 17. Fehllesung; wohl Siegel einer Eudokia Komnene (Hinweis A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt); 18. Fehllesung; am Ende nicht Δούκα(ν) sondern δίδου χάριν; 19. Konstantin Komnenodukas Sebastos (2. Hälfte 12. Jh.); am Ende ist αὐχοῦντος γένος zu lesen; 22. Konstantin Komnenos Dukas (kein Photo); 23. Das Photo der Rv.-Seite irrtümlich bei Nr. 18. – Seibt. [1787

Falkenhausen V. von/Prigent V., *Sceaux inédits des collections privées.* (Неизданные византийские печати из частных коллекций). – **Zacharova A. V.** (ed.), *Образ Византии: Сборник статей в честь О. С. Поповой* (Nr. 1981) 553–566. With Russian summary. – Etinhof. [1788

Jordanov I., *Seals of the Doukas family from the territory of modern Bulgaria.* – **Chrysos E./Zachariadou E. A.** (Hrsg.), *Καπετάνιος και Λόγιος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ι. Πολέμη / Captain and Scholar. Papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemes* (Nr. 1978) 151–181. 16 Textabb. – Von den 35 Bullen sind 12 Kaisersiegel. Auch die anderen Typen waren zumeist schon publiziert. 21. Unsichere Rekonstruktion eines Fragments; 23. Dieser Gregorios war ein Dux, kein Dukas; 25. ἀθληφόρων, nicht ἀνθηφόρων; 28. Gerade hier wäre ein Photo wichtig gewesen. – Seibt. [1789

Jordanov I., *The lead seals of epi tou manglaviou from Bulgaria.* Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 39 (2009) 171–182. 2 Taf. – Fast alle Siegeltypen waren schon bekannt. Interessant der Name XOTHAMIP. – Seibt. [1790

Kănev N., *Византийските титли вестарх и протовестарх и приносът на сфрагистиката за съставяне на листа на техните носители (втора половина на X – началото на XII в.)* (The Byzantine titles bestarches and protobestarches and the contribution of sphragistics to compiling the list of their bearers (2nd half of the 10th – beginning of the 12th c.). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 135–163. – Ivanov. [1791

Metcalf D. M., *Byzantine Cyprus 491–1191* (Nr. 1080). – Berger.

Mochov A., *Доместики схол Запада второй половины X — начала XII в. по данным сфрагистики* (The domestikos of the scholes of the West in the 2nd half of the 10th – beginning of the 12th c.). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 164–184. – Ivanov. [1792

Šandrovskaja V., *Эрмитажные печати Катафлоров* (The Hermitage seals of the Kataphlores). Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 122–134. – Ivanov. [1793

Seibt W., *Philaretos Brachamios – General, Rebell, Vasall?* – **Chrysos E./Zachariadou E. A.** (Hrsg.), *Καπετάνιος και Λόγιος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ι. Πολέμη / Captain and Scholar. Papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemes* (Nr. 1978) 281–295. – Eine ungewöhnlich große Zahl von Siegeltypen erlaubt einige Korrekturen an der Karriere des Mannes: Ca. 1072–1074 Kuropalates und Stratopedarch des Ostens; 1074–1078 Kuropalates Dux (wohl primär als Rebell); 1078 Kuropalates und Dux von Antiocheia; 1078–1081 Protokuropalates und Domestikos des Ostens; 1081 (vielleicht schon von Botaneiates ernannt) – ca. 1082 Sebastos und Domestikos des Ostens; ca. 1082–1084/1086 Protosebastos und Domestikos des Ostens; nach der Unterwerfung unter den Sultan kann er in gewissem Sinne als dessen Vasall angesprochen werden, ein Vasall der Byzantiner war Philaretos aber zu keinem Zeitpunkt. – Seibt. [1794

Stavrakos Ch., *Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Mystras.* BZ 103 (2010) 129–144. – Berger. [1795

Stepanenko V. P./Alekseenko N. A., *Fema Iverija v XI v. (po dannym sfragistiki).* Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 39 (2009) 234–241. 1 Taf. – Ein neuer Siegeltypus (Nr. 1) nennt einen Michael als Protospathar und Katepano von Iberia; der Familienname ist höchstwahrscheinlich Iasites und nicht Opas zu lesen; der Mann sollte später erneut dort das Kommando übernehmen. Der andere Michael (Nr. 3) war sicher Bischof von Panion, keineswegs von Ani. – Seibt. [1796

Stepanova E. V., *Duki i katepany Fessaloniki XI v.* Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 39 (2009) 219–233. 7 Abb. – Neue Siegeltypen belegen Theod[oros] Anthypatos Patrikios und Dux von Thessalonike, Pastilas (Vorname verloren) Proedros und Dux von Thessalonike und Serrai sowie Orestes, Protospathar ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος und Katepano von Thessalonike und Bulgarien (vor 1025). – Seibt. [1797

Stepanova E. V., *Nachodki pečatej v Sudake.* – **Mogaričev Ju. M./Sazanov A. V./Stepanova E. V./Šapošnikov A. K.**, *Житие Стефана Сурожского в контексте истории Крыма иконоборческого времени* (Nr. 738) 175–193. 239–242 (englisches Resümee). – Historische Auswertung der zumeist schon früher publizierten Siegel aus Sudak. Die Bullen des 7. Jahrhunderts bis zur Einrichtung eines byzantinischen Themas an der Südküste der Krim gegen Ende der Regierung des Theophilos reichen aber nicht für die These aus, dass das Provinzialsystem, wie es unter Justinian wieder eingerichtet worden war, weiter fortbestanden hätte. Ebenso wie Cherson war die Stadt Sugdaia in dieser Periode um gute Beziehungen, besonders Handelsbeziehungen, zu Byzanz (und dem Chazarenreich) bemüht, stand aber sicher nicht unter direkter byzantinischer Verwaltung. – Seibt. [1798

Stepanova E. V., *Vizantijskie pečati, najdennye v Kerči i Tamanskom poluostrove, iz sobranija N. P. Lichačeva.* Materialy po Archeologii, Istorii i Etnografii Tavrii 13 (2007) 364–374. – Fünf Siegel, die Lichačev einst in Kerč (Bosporos) erwarb, sechs aus der gegenüber liegenden Halbinsel Taman, dazu ein weiteres, das später in die Ermitaž kam. Die Mehrheit der Stücke war schon von Lichačev ediert worden. – Seibt. [1799

Wassiliou-Seibt A.-K., *Stephanos Kontostephanos Komnenos und sein Siegel: ein Identifizierungsvorschlag.* Captain and Scholar – **Chrysos E./Zachariadou E. A.** (Hrsg.), *Καπετάνιος και Λόγιος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ι. Πολέμη / Captain and Scholar. Papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemes* (Nr. 1978) 343–348. 3 Textabb. – Ein Wiener Siegelfragment wird mit Hilfe eines ähnlichen Stückes in Dumbarton Oaks ergänzt zu: Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ κρατόρων τριῶν κλάδου Κοντοστεφάνου Κομνηνανθοῦς Στεφάνου, und dem Mann zugewiesen, der 1193 Dux von Kreta war, dem Sohn des Ioannes Kontostephanos Komnenos. Dagegen wird eine andere Bulle aus Dumbarton Oaks, die einen Homonymos nennt und die Legende: Ὁμώνυμόν σον Κομνηνὸν τὸν ἐκ γένους, μάρτυς, Κοντοστέφανον σκέποις καὶ στέφοις aufweist, mit dessen Cousin ersten Grades verbunden, der zusammen mit seinem Vater Andronikos, dem μέγας δούξ, und mehreren Brüdern von Andronikos I. geblendet wurde. – Seibt. [1800

Auktion Gorny & Mosch 181, 12.–13. 10. 2009. – 2800–2814 Siegel: 2805 Metrisches Siegel des Ariebes Sebastos (12. Jh., Av.: Chairetismos); 2806 Atuemes Senachereim, Proedros; 2807 einer neuer Exaktor, Krites am Hippodrom und von Anatolikon; 2808 Gregorios Tzionites, Patrikios; 2809 Gregorios Taronites, Proedros; 2810 Manuel Kyritzes; 2811 Theodoros Phrangopulos, Parallelstück zu Seibt/Zarnitz 3.3.4. – Seibt. [1801

c. Einzelsiegel

Alekseenko N. A., *Pečat' Mitrofana Smirnskogo iz Chersona: ssyl'nyi mitropolit v Tavrike.* Sacrum et Profanum 3. Sevastopol' 2007, 11–16. – Siegel des Metrophanes, Metropolit von Smyrna († 910), von der Krim, wohin er zeitweise exiliert worden war.

Auf dem Avers eine Büste des hl. Polykarpos; die Anrufungslegende beginnt offenbar bei 9 h. – Seibt. [1802

Alekseenko N. A., *Torgovlja tkanjami i eksport odeždy v Vizantii po dannym sfragistiki.* Rossija i mir: Panorama istoričeskogo razvitija. Ekaterinburg 2008, 174–178. – Edition eines Parallelstückes zu Jordanov/Zhekova, Šumen 253: Die Rückseite des Siegel des Philotheos Protospathar und Hyparchos weist die Legende ἱμάτιν ἐξωπρατικόν auf; es handelt sich wohl um eine Kontrollstelle für die Ausfuhr (wertvoller) Gewänder. – Seibt. [1803

Alekseenko N. A., *„Militaria Byzantina" v Tavrike.* Bosporos Studies 21 (2009) 350–356. – Bei Cherson wurde ein Parallelstück zu Zacos/Veglery 2885 gefunden, das lateinische Siegel eines Ioannes cubicularius, imp. spatharius und magister (militum) Byzacenae, das aber sicher nicht aus der Zeit Justinians I. stammt, eher aus der Justinians II.! – Seibt. [1804

Georgiades N. Th., *Σφραγίδα του σεβαστού Θεόδοτου Καλόθετου (13ος μ. Χ. αιώνας) από τους Σιταγρούς Δράμας.* Byzantiaka 27 (2008) 287–291 (ohne Abb.). – Die Theotokos Dexiokratusa auf dem Avers trägt den Beinamen Galesiotissa, die Rv.-Legende lautet: Ὦς ἐν ψυχῇ σε κἂν γραφαῖς τυπῶ, κόρη, Καλόθετος σεβαστὸς ὁ Θεοδότης (2. Hälfte 13. Jh.). – Seibt. [1805

Jordanov I., *Печат на Фаразман, стратег на Струмица (XI в.), от колекцията на Археологическия музей при БАН в София* (Ein Siegel des Pharasman, Strategen von Strumitza [11. Jh.], aus der Sammlung des Archäologischen Museums an der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sofia). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 629–633 (Bulgarisch). – Festgestellt wird das Vorhandensein einer neuen Verwaltungseinheit: der Strategie Strumitza. / Bereits angezeigt als BZ 102 (2009) Nr. 1624. – Nikolov. [1806

Jordanov I., *Печати на византийския пълководец Михаил, командуващ византийската армия при Преслав в 1053 г.* (The seals of the Byzantine general Michael, the commander of the Byzantine army at Preslav in 1053). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 114–121. – Ivanov. [1807

Jordanov I., *Средновековни български и византийски печати (IX–X в.) с етнонима Βουλγάρων* (Nr. 2179). – Nikolov.

Šandrovskaja V., *Михаил Грамматик, куратор «Внутренней Иверии»* (Michael Grammatikos, the curator of "Inner Iberia"). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 90–95. – Ivanov. [1808

Sebastiani A., *Butrinto. Relazione preliminare dello scavo presso il Pozzo di Iunia Rufina* (Nr. 1216). – Bianchi.

Stavrakos Ch., *Η πόλη της Ναυπάκτου ως πρωτεύουσα του θέματος Νικοπόλεως. Νέα δεδομένα για το ρόλο της στην ευρύτερη περιοχή των παραλίων και των νησιών του Ιονίου (9ος – 10ος αιώνας μ.Χ.)* (Nr. 1242). – Stavrakos.

Stoimenov D./Ovčarov N., *Бележки върху ранната кариера на византийския император Константин IX Мономах (1042–1055) според неизвестен негов моливдовул от Перперикон* (Notizen über die frühe Laufbahn des byzantinischen Kaisers Konstantin IX. Monomachos [1042–1055] nach seinem bisher unbekannten Bleisiegel aus Perperikon). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./ Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 623–628. – Text: „Protospatarios und Oikonomos der frommen Häuser". – Nikolov. [1809

Totev T., *K voprosu ob olovjannoj pečati episkopa Nikolaja iz Pliska.* Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 39 (2009) 183–187; 1 Taf. – Ein sicherlich misslungener Versuch, den problematischen Bischofssitz ΘΕΟΒΟV[Λ]ΕΙΑ zu interpretieren; vgl. dazu Jordanov, Corpus I 32.1. – Seibt. [1810

Wassiliou-Seibt A.-K., *Der Familienname Pegonites auf byzantinischen Siegeln und in anderen schriftlichen Quellen.* – **Kotzabassi S./Mavromatis G.** (Hrsg.), *Realia Byzantina* (Nr. 1969) 303–319. – Vom 11.–13. Jh. werden 17 Personen, die vor allem sigillographisch belegt sind, behandelt, mit entsprechender Vorsicht bei in etwa synchronen Homonymoi. In einem Appendix folgen zwei fragliche Bullen, ferner ein Peganites, sowie ein ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Πηγονίτου. – Seibt. [1811

Šandrovskaja V. S., *Neizvestnyj pravitel' femy Servii.* Antichnaia drevnost' i srednie veka 39 (2009) 209–218, 1 Abb. – Siegel des Sebatas (Sevad), (wohl Sohn eines) Senacherim, Protospathar und Stratege von Serbia (στρατηγὸς θέματος Σερβίου) aus dem früheren 11. Jh.; auf dem Avers Grigor der Erleuchter. – Seibt. [1812

9. EPIGRAPHIK

A. ALLGEMEINE DARSTELLUNGEN

Nachtergael G./Pintaudi R., *«Un seul dieu, celui qui vient en aide»: nouveaux témoignages épigraphiques.* Aegyptus 86 (2006 [2008]) 69–79. 4 fig. – Su tre nuove attestazioni di provenienza egiziana, in epigrafi conservate al Museo Egizio del Cairo, ai National Museums of Scotland di Edimburgo e nella cappella di Teodosia ad Antinoe. – D'Aiuto. [1813

Ruggieri V., *La flessione della scrittura nell'immagine (V–VI sec.). – Comunicazione e ricezione del documento cristiano in epoca tardoantica. XXXII Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, Roma, 8–10 maggio 2003* (Nr. 2007) 75–87. – D'Aiuto. [1814

Tzitzibassi A., *Μετρώντας το χρόνο: συστήματα υπολογισμού του σε επιγραφές του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού/ Counting time: systems for measuring time in the inscriptions of the Museum of Byzantine Culture/ Mesurant le temps: systemes de mesure du temps sur des incriptions au Musée de la Civilisation Byzantine* Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού/ Museum of Byzantine Culture/ Musée de la Civilisation Byzantine 13 (2006) 63–90. Mit 8 Abb. – Kurze Studie zur Zeitmessung anhand einiger Inschriften des Museums für byzantinische Zivilisation von Thessalonike. – Foskolou. [1815

B. SAMMLUNGEN UND EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN

(aa) Konstantinopel und Umgebung

Luciani V., *La situla bronzea di S. Marco a piazza Venezia: una proposta di rilettura* (Nr. 1448). – Bianchi.

(bb) Balkanhalbinsel

Bulgarien

Garabedjan A., *За арменското присъствие в българските земи през Средновековието* (Nr. 1103). – Nikolov.

Gerasimova V., *Надписи върху потир от Мелник* (Inschriften an einem Kelch aus Melnik). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 648–651. 2 Abb. – In griechischer Sprache, aus dem 13.–14. Jh. – Nikolov. [1816

Pillinger R., *Строителният надпис на Йоан в Сандански и неговата монументална среда* (The epigraph of the founder Johannes in Sandanski and its monumental environment). Numismatica, sphragistica and epigraphica 4 (2008) 217–228. Ills. With English summary. – The author endeavours to establish a connection between the mosaic epigraph, excaved at the church in the present Bulgarian town Sandanski, and other ancient remains of monumental structures at this place (6th c. AD). – Nikolov. [1817

Prinzing G., *Pliska in the view of Protobulgarian inscriptions and Byzantine written sources* (Nr. 1188). – Brandes.

Serbien

Garabedjan A., *За арменското присъствие в българските земи през Средновековието* (Nr. 1103). – Nikolov.

Kroatien (bes. Dalmatien, Istrien)

Garabedjan A., *За арменското присъствие в българските земи през Средновековието* (Nr. 1103). – Nikolov.

(cc) Griechenland

Festland und nahegelegene Inseln

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Ägäis

Mpitha I., *Σχόλια στην κτητορική επιγραφή του Αγίου Γεωργίου Παχυμαχιώτη στη Λίνδο της Ρόδου (1394/5).* Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 30 (2000) 159–168. 4 Abb. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Die Verf. untersucht die in das Jahr 1394/95 datierte Stifterinschrift in der Kirche des Hagios Georgios Pachymachiotes in Lindos auf der Insel Rhodos, in Bezug auf den sozialpolitischen Hintergrund ihrer Zeit. – Albani. [1819

(dd) Asiatische Türkei

Asien (Provinz)

Mitchell M. M., *Looking for Abercius: reimagining contexts of interpretation of the "Earliest Christian inscription".* – **Brink L./Green D.** (eds.), *Commemorating the dead. Texts and artefacts in context. Studies of Roman, Jewish, and Christian burials* (Nr. 2054) 303–335. 10 Abb. – Dennert. [1820

Ricl M., *Epigraphic survey in the Küçük Menderes valley. – 26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı. 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Nr. 1994) I 267–272. – P. 271, fig. 1: Byzantine epistyle block with inscription. – Laflı. [1821

Bithynien und Pontos

Erciyas B./Sökmen E., *Komana Antik Kenti ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırması 2007* (2007 field surveys in Komana and its surroundings). – *26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı. 26–30 Mayıs 2008, Ankara* (Nr. 1994) I 289–306. – P. 306, fig. 306: A Byzantine church at Ormandibi. – Laflı. [1822

(ff) Vorderer Orient, Afrika

Ägypten

Dijkstra J. H. F./Van der Vliet J., *"In year one of king Zachari". Evidence of a new Nubian king from the monastery of St. Simeon at Aswan.* Beiträge zur Sudanforschung 8 (2003) 31–39. 2 Abb. – Die Neulesung einer auf 962 n. Chr. datierbaren Inschrift zwingt dazu, die bisher auf Grund typologischer Überlegungen in die erste Hälfte des 11. Jh.s datierte Kirche des Hadra-Klosters bei Aswan auf die Mitte des 10. Jh.s vorzuziehen, was möglicherweise auch Einfluß auf die typologisch verwandten Achtstützenbauten im Byzantinischen Reich, vor allem in Griechenland hat. – Grossmann. [1823

(gg) Italien

Cosentino S., *Sul cosiddetto reliquiario di s. Basilio conservato nella chiesa di S. Francesco in Oristano.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 169–184. 4 fig. f.t. – Sul reliquiario, attribuibile al X–XI secolo ma profondamente rimaneggiato in epoca più vicina a noi, e sulla sua iscrizione greca: l'epigrafe, che lo identifica come contenente la reliquia del capo di s. Gregorio di Nazianzo, viene ripubblicata fornendo una ricostruzione del testo differente da quelle sinora correnti, e discussa riesaminando complessivamente la storia della tradizione delle reliquie del Nazianzeno. – D'Aiuto. [1824

Jacob A., *La cultura bizantina e postbizantina nel Salento meridionale* (Nr. 193). – D'Aiuto.

Rizzone V. G., *Vecchie e nuove, vere e presunte iscrizioni tardo-antiche dalla campagna netina.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 17–26. 4 fig. f.t. – Aggiunge alcune iscrizioni rupestri ed epigrafi tardoantiche in greco al dossier delle iscrizioni del territorio di Noto (Sicilia sud-orientale). – D'Aiuto. [1825

10. BYZANTINISCHES RECHT

A. ALLGEMEINE DARSTELLUNGEN ÜBERGREIFENDEN CHARAKTERS

Liebs D., *Zur Geschichte der Volksrechte im Römischen Reich. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini. II* (Nr. 1973) 449–472. – Goria. [1826

Malenica A., *The history of Roman law.* Novi Sad, The Faculty of Law Publishing Center 2008 (2009). 182 S. ISBN 978-86-7774-043-6. – Verf. berücksichtigte die Entwicklung des römischen Rechts in byzantinischer und postbyzantinischer Zeit sowie dessen Rezeption in die Gesetzgebungen des 19. Jh.s. – Troianos. [1827

Papagianne E. S., *Περὶ «ψυχικῶν» καὶ «μνημοσύνων». Τὸ νομικὸ ὑπόβαθρο μίας ἠθικῆς ὑποχρέωσης. – Αντίδωρο στον ομότιμο καθηγητή Μητροπολίτη Τυρολόης και Σερεντίου Παντελεήμονα Ροδόπουλο* (Nr. 1984) 171–187. – Verf.in untersucht eine wichtige Seite der Intestaterbfolge im byzantinischen Recht, indem sie sich mit den „Psychika" und „Mnemosyna" befaßt, nämlich den an die Kirche für das Seelenheil des Verstorbenen aus dessen Nachlaß fallenden Teilen (τριμοιρία). – Troianos. [1828

Schmoeckel M./Schubert W. (Hrsg.), *Handbuch zur Geschichte des Notariats der europäischen Traditionen.* Rheinische Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte, 12. Baden-Baden, Nomos-Verlag 2009. ISBN 978-3-8329-4068-3. – Daraus angezeigt Nr. 1836. – Troianos. [1829

Troianos S. N., *Βιβλιογραφική επισκόπηση βυζαντινού δικαίου (2007/8).* Βυζαντιακά 27 (2008) 329–346. – Zusammenstellung der griechischen Rechtsliteratur der Jahre 2007 und 2008. – Troianos. [1830

Troianos S. N., *Δικαϊκά προβλήματα του Ανατολικού Ιλλυρικού στις ιουστινιάνειες Νεαρές. – Αντίδωρο στον ομότιμο καθηγητή Μητροπολίτη Τυρολόης και Σερεντίου Παντελεήμονα Ροδόπουλο* (Nr. 1984) 161–169. – Verf. behandelt fünf an die jeweiligen praefecti praetorio per Illyricum adressierte rescripta bzw. sanctiones pragmaticae aus den Jahren 535–541, und zwar: a. Nov. 33 in Verbindung mit den Nov. 32 und 34 (über Darlehen an Bauern); b. Nov. 162 und Nov.-App. I (über Schenkungen unter Eheleuten und über den Status der Grundhörigen und deren Abkömmlinge); c. Nov. 165 in epitomierter Form (Bestätigung der Konstitution des Zenon [C. 8.10.12] und der Nov. 63); d. Nov. 153 (über ausgesetzte Säuglinge). – Troianos. [1831

B. WELTLICHES RECHT

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Blanch Nougués J. M., *Las fundaciones en derecho romano: Las piae causae de Derecho Postclásico y Justinianeo. Régimen jurídico de las fundaciones en Derecho romano.* Madrid, Dykinson 2008. 345 p. ISBN 978-84-9772-985-7. – Die Studie besteht aus 5 Abschnitten: 1. Una aproximación a la formación histórica del concepto de persona jurídica; 2. Las fundaciones en derecho romano: las fundaciones privadas romanas; 3. Las fundaciones en Derecho romano: las llamadas fundaciones alimentarias públicas romanas; 4. Las fundaciones en derecho romano: las piae causae de derecho postclásico y justinianeo; 5. Las fundaciones en el derecho común y español. – Signes. [1832

Brandsma F., *Im Westen nichts Neues. Das Abstraktionsprinzip und das byzantinische Recht.* Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law 8 (2009) 127–133. – Zur Antinomie zwischen D. 41.1.36 und 12.1.18 bezüglich der causa traditionis, die bereits der Scholiast Konstantinos Nikaios (BS 1539/26–1540/8) auflöste. – Brandes. [1833

Dovere E., *Medicina legum. Materiali tardoromani e formae dell'ordinamento giuridico* (Nr. 1963). – Goria.

Galgano F., *"Transmissio delationis". Vicende di una pratica successoria.* Città del Vaticano, Lateran University Press 2007. 143 p. [senza ISBN.] – Goria. [1834

Nörr D., *'Notae legentis' (a proposito di 'Diritto romano e diritti orientali' di Edoardo Volterra).* Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano 103–104 (= 3a S. 42–43, 2000–2001 [2009]) 793–805. – Goria. [1835

Saradi-Mendelovici H., *A history of the Greek notarial system.* – **Schmoeckel M./ Schubert W.** (Hrsg.), *Handbuch zur Geschichte des Notariats der europäischen Traditionen* (Nr. 1829) 523–557. – Die S. 523–551 sind der Entwicklung des Notariats in byzantinischer und postbyzantinischer Zeit gewidmet. – Troianos. [1836

Scotti F., *Il deposito nel diritto romano.* Testi con traduzione italiana e commento. Strumenti didattici per i corsi romanistici. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Torino, Giappichelli 2008. XXVIII, 244 p. ISBN 978-88-348-8599-4. – Alle p. 1–3 sono

tradotti e commentati i passi di I. 3,14,3 e 4,1,17 (19); alle p. 176–181 vi sono due costituzioni di Giustiniano: C. 4,34,11 e 12. – Goria. [1837

b. Texte und Literatur zu Quellen

Frühbyzantinisches Recht (bis 527)

Acerbi S., *Intolerancia dogmática en el siglo V: un estudio de la legislación imperial antiherética (CTh. XVI, 5, 6 – C.I. I, I, 3 – ACO II, III, 3)* (Nr. 341). – Signes.

Bianchini M., *Temi e tecniche della legislazione tardoimperiale.* Torino, Giappichelli 2008. VIII, 535 p. ISBN 978-88-348-8660-1. – Sono qui raccolti, e arricchiti da un indice delle fonti, 28 saggi della Studiosa genovese, relativi tutti alla legislazione tardoimperiale d'Oriente e d'Occidente e pubblicati nel corso di oltre 35 anni di studi. Sono raggruppati in tre parti: I) Tecnica e politica legislativa, II) Impero e Cristianesimo, III) Persone e famiglia. – Goria. [1838

Escribano Paño M. V., *Intolerancia y exilio. Las leyes teodosianas contra los eunomianos.* Klio 89 (2007) 184–207. – Brandes. [1839

Franciosi E., *"Qui agitandi munus exercent": brevi note in margine a CTh. 15.7.7. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini. II* (Nr. 1973) 107–119. – Sugli aurighi e le corse dei carri. – Goria. [1840

Lambertini R., *Immeritato oblio di una legge postclassica in tema di rappresentazione. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini. II* (Nr. 1973) 439–448. – CTh. 9,42,9 avrebbe dato inizio a una riforma, ampliata poi da CTh. 5,1,4 = C. 6,55,9. – Goria. [1841

Marcone A., *Giubileo costantiniano. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini. II* (Nr. 1973) 713–722. – Sulle manifestazioni per celebrare i 1700 anni dal 306, data della proclamazione di Costantino come imperatore. – Goria. [1842

Saggioro A., *Cristianesimo e giudaismo nel Codice Teodosiano: una disgregazione dell'identità?* (Nr. 402). – D'Aiuto.

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Sciortino S., *Intorno a Interpretatio Theodosiani 9.39 'De calumniatoribus'.* Annali del Seminario giuridico della Università di Palermo 52 (2007–2008) 213–280. – Goria. [1844

Scognamiglio M., *"Nullum crimen sine lege". Origini storiche del divieto di analogia in materia criminale.* Università degli Studi di Salerno. Dipartimento di Diritto Pubblico Generale e Teoria delle Istituzioni. Sezione di Teoria Generale del Diritto. Quaderni, n. 1. Brunolibri, Salerno 2009. 188 p. ISBN 978-88-86836-52-4. – Il diritto tardoimperiale è considerato alle p. 143–157. – Goria. [1845

Stolte B. H., *The use of Greek in the Theodosian Code.* Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law 8 (2009) 147–159. – Zeigt anhand einiger prägnanter Beispiele, daß schon sehr früh im Osten des Reiches eine griechische Rechtskultur

existierte und daß der allgemeine Eindruck einer flächendeckenden lateinischen Jurisdiktion zu hinterfragen ist. – Brandes. [1846

Tondo S., *Restaurazione dell'impero nel segno del dominato.* Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano 103–104 (= 3a S. 42–43, 2000–2001 [2009]) 117–172. – Soprattutto sulla caratterizzazione religiosa del potere supremo in Diocleziano e in Costantino. – Goria. [1847

Tzortzakake-Tzaridu S., *Sacra sunt quae deo consecrata sunt: Τα res sacrae κατά τη διδασκαλία των ιουστινιάνειων Εισηγήσεων. – Αντίδωρο στον ομότιμο καθηγητή Μητροπολίτη Τυρολόης και Σερεντίου Παντελεήμονα Ροδόπουλο* (Nr. 1984) 259–272. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Verf.in berücksichtigte nicht nur die die res sacrae betreffende Institutionenstelle 2.1.8, sondern auch deren Quelle, eine in den Codex (1.2.21) aufgenommene Konstitution vom Jahr 529. – Troianos. [1848

Zanon G., *Indicazioni di metodo giuridico dalla "Consultatio veteris cuiusdam iurisconsulti".* Law and Argumentation. Laboratorio di metodologia giuridica, 6. Napoli, Jovene 2009. X, 253 p. ISBN 88-243-1876-2. – Goria. [1849

Justinianisches Recht

Briguglio F., *Studi sul procurator. I. L'acquisto del possesso e della proprietà.* Seminario giuridico della Università di Bologna, 231 (rectius, 230/bis). Milano, Giuffré 2007. XII, 635 p. ISBN 88-14-13030-2. – Fonti del sec. VI sono trattate soprattutto alle p. 181–197 e 406–408, note 302 e 305. – Goria. [1850

Goria F., *C. 3.1.12 e la celerità del processo civile come valore nella legislazione giustinianea.* – **Trisciuoglio A.** (a cura di), *Valori e principii del diritto romano. Atti della Giornata di studi per i 100 anni di Silvio Romano, Maestro di Istituzioni (Torino, 12 ottobre 2007)* (Nr. 1985) 129–144. – Goria. [1851

Gutiérrez-Masson L., *"Actio ad implendam legitimam firmitatem testamenti conservandi causa". La preterición testamentaria parcial en derecho romano.* Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano 103–104 (= 3a S. 42–43, 2000–2001 [2009]) 185–212. – Tratta della nov. 115,3, ma anche di fonti successive, come Bas. 39,1,57 con gli scolii relativi, e di Harm. 5,10,3. – Goria. [1852

Melluso M., *Papiniano "contestato"? Occasio e ratio legis in Novella 108. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini. II* (Nr. 1973) 755–787. – Goria. [1853

Schiavo S., *Esecuzione personale dei debitori e carcerazione privata nelle costituzioni imperiali di età postclassica e giustinianea.* Annali dell'Università di Ferrara. N.S. Sez. V: Scienze giuridiche 21 (2007) 55–105. – Goria. [1854

Schipani S., *Rileggere i "Digesta". Enucleare i principii. Proporli.* – **Trisciuoglio A.** (a cura di), *Valori e principii del diritto romano. Atti della Giornata di studi per i 100 anni di Silvio Romano, Maestro di Istituzioni (Torino, 12 ottobre 2007)* (Nr. 1985) 51–70. – Sulla fortuna dei Digesti nell'età contemporanea. – Goria. [1855

Trisciuoglio A., *Fideiussio iudicio sistendi causa e idoneità del fideiussore nel diritto giustinianeo e nella tradizione romanistica.* Università di Torino. Memorie del Dipar-

timento di Scienze giuridiche, Serie V, 43. Napoli, Jovene 2009. VIII, 201 p. ISBN 88-243-1869-X. – Goria. [1856

Van der Wal N., *Die Unterschiede zwischen der griechischen Gesetzessprache des sechsten Jahrhunderts und der Sprache der Schuljuristen.* Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law 8 (2009) 161–170. – Bei der Verwendung von bestimmten Latinismen in der „Gesetzessprache" handelte es sich um „Fremdkörper in griechischen Gesestzen, die dazu dienten, den Text eindrucksvoller zu gestalten". „Die Fachworte der Juristensprache dagegen wurden zwar mit lateinischen Buchstaben geschrieben; man betrachtete sie aber trotzdem als griechische Worte und konjugierte und deklinierte sie dementsprechend." – Brandes. [1857

Zoz M. G., *Scioglimento del matrimonio: riflessioni in tema di affidamento e mantenimento dei figli.* Iura 56 (2006–2007 [2008]) 123–135. – Alle p. 132 ss. considera anche la nov. 117,7. – Goria. [1858

Von Justinian bis zur Makedonenzeit (565–867)

Pulitanò F., *"De eo quod certo loco". Studi sul luogo convenzionale dell'adempimento nel diritto romano.* Università degli Studi di Milano. Facoltà di Giurisprudenza. Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Diritto privato e Storia del diritto – Sezione di Diritto romano e Diritti dell'antichità, 43. Milano, Giuffré 2009. VIII, 370 p. ISBN 88-14-14456-7. – Alle p. 151–154; 157 viene esaminata la parafrasi di Teofilo, 4,6,33c; in altri contesti si tiene anche conto di testo e scolii dei Basilici. – Goria. [1859

Signes Codoñer J., *The Corpus of Leo's Novels. Some suggestions concerning their date and promulgation.* Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law 8 (2009) 1–33. – Durch eine ausgesprochen scharfsinnige Analyse kommt der Verf. (bisherige Vorstellungen korrigierend) zu folgenden Ergebnissen: 1) Die Novellen Leons wurden insbes. zwischen ca. 887 und 893 promulgiert (und nicht gleichzeitig in einer Sammlung veröffentlicht). 2) Die Novellen 2–68 wurden ca. 893 in einer thematisch geordneten Sammlung vereint. Die anderen Novellen wurden danach ohne thematische Ordnung erlassen. 3) Die Sammlung der 113 Novellen wurde erst am Ende der Regierung Leons (oder nach seinem Tod) veranstaltet. Davor scheint es bereits chronologisch geordnete Sammlungen gegeben zu haben. 4) Erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jh.s wurde die Sammlung der 113 Novellen mit einer Zählung versehen. 5) Zwischen der Promulgierung der Novellen und der Entstehung der Basiliken gibt es keinen ursächlichen Zusammenhang. 6) Leon begriff seine Gesetzgebung als Korrektur von Widersprüchen der vorhandenen Normen und widmete sich der Lösung auftretender konkreter Rechtsprobleme. – Brandes. [1860

Von der Makedonenzeit bis 1204

Litavrin G. G., *Мария Склирена – фаворитка Константина IX Мономаха или вдова-монахиня? Из комментария к Пире – сборнику судебных решений юриста XI в.* (Maria Skleraina – Favoritin von Konstantinos IX. Monomachos oder Witwe-Nonne? Aus den Kommentaren in der Peira, einer Sammlung von Gerichtsentscheidungen eines Juristen aus dem 11. Jh.). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./**

Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S. (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 153–164. – Nikolov. [1861

Metro A., *La plurisecolare vicenda del deposito retribuito. – Studi in onore di Remo Martini. II* (Nr. 1973) 789–808. – Considera anche degli scolii dei Basilici. – Goria. [1862

Penna D., *Venetian judges and their jurisdiction in Constantinople in the 12th century. Some observations based on information drawn from the chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos to Venice in 1198.* Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law 8 (2009) 135–146. – Ausführliche Untersuchung des bekannten Privilegs für die Venezianer aus dem Jahre 1198 (Dölger/Wirth, Regesten Nr. 1647) hinsichtlich der Zuständigkeiten bei Gerichtsverfahren zwischen Venezianern und byzantinischen Bürgern. Unter bestimmten Umständen sprach ein venezianischer Richter Recht – ein Umstand, der bis dahin einmalig in der byzantinischen Geschichte war. – Brandes. [1863

Pulitanò F., *"De eo quod certo loco". Studi sul luogo convenzionale dell'adempimento nel diritto romano* (Nr. 1859). – Goria.

Van Bochove T., *Index titulorum II: IPc, the partial index of the Basilica in cod. Paris. gr. 1349.* Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law 8 (2009) 35–104. – „IPc" bezeichnet einen partiellen Index der Basiliken (Bücher 45–50) in der im Titel genannten Basilikenhandschrift (= Pc in der Groninger Basilikenausgabe). Nach einer eingehenden und nicht nur in methodischer Hinsicht vorbildlichen Analyse folgt S. 60–101 die kritische Edition (nebst einer englischen Übersetzung). – Brandes. [1864

Van Bochove T., *Scholia and index titulorum. On the relations between the apparatus of scholia in cod. Paris. gr. 1349 and IPc.* Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law 8 (2009) 105–126. – Eingehende Untersuchung des Verhältnisses zwischen Zitaten aus dem Corpus iuris in der im Titel genannten Handschrift und dem partiellen Index titulorum in eben diesem Parisinus. Dies erlaubt eine nähere Einsicht in die Arbeitsweise der Schreiber beim Verfassen der Basiliken. – Brandes. [1865

Spätbyzantinisches Recht

Teoteoi T., *Le droit de préedemption à Byzance, au temps des Paléologues.* – **Teoteoi T.**, *Byzantina et Daco-Romana. Studii de istorie şi civilizaţie bizantină şi românească* (Nr. 1988) 107–129. – Marinescu. [1866

C. KIRCHENRECHT

a. Allgemeine Darstellungen

Chatziantoniu E., *Η παραχώρηση εκκλησιαστικών εδρών κατ' επίδοσιν.* Byzantiaka 27 (2008) 117–166. – Kotzabassi. [1867

Gallaro G./Salachas D., *The "Ritus Sacer" of the sacrament of the marriage in the Byzantine churches* (Nr. 762). – D'Aiuto.

Gianku Th., *Ἑρμηνευτικὸς σχολιασμὸς στὸν 68ο ἀποστολικὸ κανόνα ἀπὸ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τοῦ Πηδαλίου καὶ τὸν Χριστόφορο Προδρομίτη. – Αντίδωρο στον ομότιμο καθηγητή Μητροπολίτη Τυρολόης και Σερεντίου Παντελεήμονα Ροδόπουλο* (Nr. 1984) 69–93. Mit englischer Zusammenfassung. – Auf der Grundlage zweier im ausgehenden 18. Jh. entstandener kanonischer Sammlungen untersucht Verf. den die Gültigkeit der von Andersgläubigen vorgenommenen Priesterweihen und Taufen betreffenden 68. apostolischen Kanon in Verbindung mit der kirchlichen Praxis der frühbyzantinischen Zeit. – Troianos. [1868

Kostopulos K., *Περί την ορολογία των ιερών κανόνων του Μ. Βασιλείου. Υπό το φως και του λοιπού έργου του.* Athen, Εκδόσεις Γρηγόρη 2009. 472 S. ISBN 978-960-333-575-7. – Dissertation im kanonischen Recht an der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Athen. Im Lichte des gesamten Werkes Basileios des Großen geht Verf. auf die terminologischen Besonderheiten seiner kanonischen Briefe ein. – Troianos. [1869

Nikopulos B. E., *Η περί ανθρωποκτονίας διδασκαλία του Μ. Βασιλείου και η επίδρασή της στο σύγχρονο ποινικό δίκαιο.* Athen, Juristische Bibliothek 2009. 134 S. ISBN 978-960-272-217-7. – Bei der Auslegung der Lehre Basileios des Großen über den Totschlag berücksichtigte der Autor leider nur die strafrechtliche, nicht aber die umfangreiche einschlägige kanonistische Literatur. – Troianos. [1870

Pules G. A., *Τὸ κανονικὸ ἀδίκημα τῆς αἵρεσης. – Αντίδωρο στον ομότιμο καθηγητή Μητροπολίτη Τυρολόης και Σερεντίου Παντελεήμονα Ροδόπουλο* (Nr. 1984) 235–257. – Verf. behandelt das Thema historisch unter Heranziehung einerseits der die Ahndung der Häresie betreffenden weltlichen Gesetze und andererseits der einschlägigen kirchlichen Kanones. – Troianos. [1871

b. Text und Literatur zu Quellen

Gkabardinas G., *Οἱ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ ἀσύλου ἀπόψεις τοῦ Νικολάου Καβάσιλα στὸ λόγο του «Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλέου βωμοῦ»* (Nr. 687). – Troianos.

Pitsakes K. G., *Φώτιος … ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ταράσιος. Σχετικά μὲ μία παράδοξη «ταύτιση».* – **Kotzabassi S./Mavromatis G.** (Hrsg.), *Realia Byzantina* (Nr. 1969) 197–206. – Kotzabassi. [1872

Pules G. A., *Αὐτοκτονία καί εὐθανασία: Μία ἰδιαζόντως χαρακτηριστική περίπτωση συναφείας ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἀδίκου.* – **Kotzabassi S./Mavromatis G.** (Hrsg.), *Realia Byzantina* (Nr. 1969) 213–222. – Kotzabassi. [1873

11. FACHWISSENSCHAFTEN

A. MATHEMATIK, PHYSIK, ASTRONOMIE, ASTROLOGIE

Merianos G./Sakorraphu K., *Ο βυζαντινός λόγιος και ο αναγεννησιακός αστρονόμος: Η μετάφραση των επιστολών του Θεοφύλακτου Σιμοκάττη από τον Νικόλαο Κοπέρνικο* (Nr. 22). – Leontsini.

Bautista Ruiz H., *Prácticas astrológicas en Bizancio durante la época iconoclasta: la figura de León el Filósofo.* Erytheia 30 (2009) 59–80. – Signes. [1874

Brentjes S., *Arithmetic.* Encylopaedia of Islam^3 2009 Lieferung 2, 96–101. – Brandes. [1875

Burnett C., *Abū Ma'shar.* Encylopaedia of Islam^3 2007 Lieferung 3, 64–67. – Bedeutender arabischer Astronom/Astrologe (gest. 886); einige seiner Werke wurden ca. 1000 ins Griechische übersetzt. – Brandes. [1876

Burnett C., *Astrology.* Encylopaedia of Islam^3 2007 Lieferung 2, 165–175. – Umfangreiche Bibliographie. – Brandes. [1877

Friberg J., *Amazing traces of a Babylonian origin in Greek mathematics.* Hackensack, New Jersey/London, World Scientific Publishing 2007. 496 p. ISBN 978-981-270-452-8. – Provocative title of this work which explores the Babylonian precursors (and origins) of some Greek mathematical theories, from Euclid to other scientists whose works were read, used, and also commented on in Byzantium, including Theon of Smyrna (ca. 70–ca. 135 A.D.), Diophantus of Alexandria (3rd c. [?]), Theodorus of Cyrene (5th c. B.C.). – Touwaide. [1878

Hannan R., *Time in Antiquity.* Sciences in Antiquity. London/New York, Routledge 2009. 206 p. ISBN 978-0-415-33155-5. – This short work appears in a series devoted to major scientific disciplines in antiquity with such volumes published so far as ancient medicine (V. Nutton), meteorology (L. Taub), mathematics (S. Cuomo), Cosmology (R. Wright), natural history (R. French), and astrology (T. Barton). The present volumes focuses on 5 topics about time: the cosmic time, marking time, telling time, measuring time, and the conceptions of time. The text includes abundant notes referring to the primary sources and unfortunately grouped at the end of the volume, as well as some figures and illustrations. Though focused on Antiquity, it will be useful for any study on the tradition of classica science to later ages. – Touwaide. [1879

Katsiampura G., *Από την Κωνσταντινούπολη στη Βενετία: εκδόσεις και αναγνώσεις ενός βυζαντινού Quadrivium.* – **Blachakes G./Nikolaides Th.** (eds.), *Βυζάντιο – Βενετία – Νεώτερος ελληνισμός: μία περιπλάνηση στον κόσμο της ελληνικής επιστημονικής σκέψης. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Αθήνα, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2003* (Nr. 2001) 139–146. – The appearance of the Anonymi Heiberg "Logica et Quadrivium" (11th c.) in 16th c. printed editions and the reasons of its false attribution to Michael Psellos by some intellectuals of Humanism. – Telelis. [1880

Luku D., *Δύο χειρόγραφα περσικής αστρονομίας της συλλογής του Βησσαρίωνα* (Nr. 79). – Telelis.

Miller M. M. (Hrsg.), *Die hermetischen Schriften. Corpus Hermeticum.* Hildesheim/ Zürich/New York, Georg Olms Verlag 2009. XL, 590 S. ISBN 978-3-487-13972-2. – This is the German translation of the Corpus Hermeticum by Maria Magdalena Miller (1898–1990) on whose intellectual itinerary Alexander Schmid wrote the introductory chapter ("Neues Licht auf alte Thesen. Maria Magdalena Miller, Nag Hammadi und die Forschung zum Corpus Hermeticum", p. XV–XXXVII) as a key to the translation. As such, this translation is more of a piece in the history of scholarship than on hermetism itself. Nothwithstanding, it will be of interest for the study of hermetism and any possible new approach. – Touwaide. [1881

Nikolaides Th., *Από την Ανατολή στη Δύση και από τη Δύση στην Ανατολή: Πτολεμαϊκοί και νεώτεροι στο Βυζάντιο.* – **Blachakes G./Nikolaides Th.** (eds.), *Βυζάντιο – Βενετία – Νεώτερος ελληνισμός: μία περιπλάνηση στον κόσμο της ελληνικής επιστημονικής σκέψης. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Αθήνα, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2003* (Nr. 2001) 169–175. – General overview of the circulation and diffusion of astronomical knowledge among Byzantium, Arabs, and Latin West and its importance through the age of Kepler. – Telelis. [1882

Thomaides G./Kastanes N., *Οι δρόμοι του ημίτονου: Από τη Βενετία στη νεοελληνική παιδεία και πίσω στη βυζαντινή παράδοση.* – **Blachakes G./Nikolaides Th.** (eds.), *Βυζάντιο – Βενετία – Νεώτερος ελληνισμός: μία περιπλάνηση στον κόσμο της ελληνικής επιστημονικής σκέψης. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Αθήνα, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2003* (Nr. 2001) 67–90. – Discussion of the introduction of trigonometric "sinus" terminology in early modern Greek mathematical textbooks and its Byzantine and Arabic origin. The purely Greek "chords" – terminology introduced by Claudius Ptolemaeus – was transformed in some astronomical texts of the 14th c. into terms directly influenced by Arabic astronomical terminology. Although, in early modern Greek mathematical textbooks the direct translation of Latin "sinus" was adopted. – Telelis. [1883

Zorzi M., *Bessarion's scientific manuscripts, now in the Marciana Library* (Nr. 224). – Telelis.

B. NATURWISSENSCHAFTEN (ZOOLOGIE, BOTANIK, MINERALOGIE, ALCHEMIE)

Donadieu P./KüterH./Mani R. (a cura di), *La cultura del paesaggio in Europa tra storia, arte e natura. Manuale di teoria e pratica.* Giardini e paesaggio, 24. Firenze, Olschki 2008. XII, 189 p. ISBN 978-88-222-5840-3. – This book offers a series of approaches to the concept of "environment" (paesaggio) so as to constitute a reference work for historical research. The major themes are the following: the evolution of the notion of "environment" in modern times; ideas, representations and perceptions of the environment in Europe; "places of memory" (luoghi della memoria); the legacy (of ancient, viz traditional, knowledge) and cultural constructs; nature and environment as topics for discussion in German politics; reflections for a sustainable management of environment; the transformation of rural and peri-urban environments. Although its subtitle defines it as a practical manual, the work is more conceptual and will serve as a

reference for further research on enviroment, be it Mediterranean, European, Byzantine, or other. – Touwaide. [1884

Litsas N. G., *Η Αλχημία από τον 10ο αιώνα έως το 1204.* Αρχαιολογία και τέχνες 108 (2008) 8–22. – Populärer Aufsatz ohne Fußnoten. – Berger. [1885

Litsas N. G., *Η Αλχημία από τους ύστερους βυζαντινούς έως τους νεότερους χρόνους.* Αρχαιολογία και τέχνες 108 (2008) 6–7. – Populärer Aufsatz ohne Fußnoten. – Berger. [1886

Litsas N. G., *Η Αλχημία στα βυζαντιά χρόνια.* Αρχαιολογία και τέχνες 107 (2008) 34–48. – Populärer Aufsatz ohne Fußnoten. – Berger. [1887

Litsas N. G., *Η Αλχημία στο Βυζάντιο από το 1204 έως το 1453.* Αρχαιολογία και τέχνες 108 (2008) 23–39. – Populärer Aufsatz ohne Fußnoten. – Berger. [1888

Litsas N. G., *Οι αλχημιστές μέχρι τον 10ο αιώνα στο Βυζάντιο.* Αρχαιολογία και τέχνες 107 (2008) 49–62. – Populärer Aufsatz ohne Fußnoten. – Berger. [1889

McCabe A., *Hippodrom'un Atları / The horses of the Hippodrome. – Hippodrom / Atmeydanı. İstanbul'un Tarih Sahnesi – A stage for Istanbul's history* (Nr. 2019) 69–81. – Berger. [1890

C. MEDIZIN, PHARMAZIE

Boehm I./Luccioni P. (éds.), *Le médecin initié par l'animal. Animaux et médecine dans l'antiquité grecque et latine. Actes du colloque international tenu à la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée – Jean Pouilloux les 26 et 27 octobre 2006.* Collection de la Masion de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 39. Série littéraire et philosophique, 12. Lyon, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 2008. 264 p. ISBN 978-2-35668-002-0. – Contains 12 studies on the theme of the relationships between man and animal, particularly in the field of medicine: not only the use of animal substances as medicines, but also the ways man and animal use natural substances as medicines, venomous animals, and even Cheiron and Hippocrates. Provides keys for the understanding of materia medica, drug discovery and the symbolism of animals in the ancient and later medical culture, including Byzantium. – Touwaide. [1891

Bourbon F. (éd.), *Hippocrate, Tome XII, 1re partie: Nature de la Femme.* Collection des Universités de France, 465. Paris, Les Belles Lettres 2008. CXLI, 277 p. ISBN 978-2-251-00548-5. – This long Hippocratic treatises, known so far through the Littré edition (vol. 7 [1851], p. 312–430) is edited here on the basis of an exhaustive analysis of the Greek manuscript tradition (27 manuscripts, most of them already known through Diels' catalogue) analyzed p. LXXIX–CXXIV. It adds a further piece to the Hippocratic edition whose publication in the French collection started in the late 1960 s and counts 12 volumes so far. Also it fills a gap in current literature, as the treatise has not been included so far in the Loeb edition in spite of the progress made during the last decades of the 20th century. – Touwaide. [1892

Bryonidu-Giangu M. (ed.), *Η Ιατρική στην Κύπρο απο την αρχαιότητα μέχρι την ανεξαρτησία.* Leukosia, Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Ομίλου Λαϊκής 2006. 466 p. ISBN 9963-658-

15-6. – This large size and lavishly illustrated volume on the history of medicine in Cyprus includes 8 chapters proceeding mainly by time period: Antiquity, Byzantium, the Middle Ages (actually the 13th and 14th centuries), the Ottoman Period, and the English domination. The chapter on Byzantium (p. 70–99), by A. A. Demosthenous, deals with the christianization of medicine, hospitals and charitable institutions, the learning of medicine, diet and health, and the death, and includes a bibliography. – Touwaide. [1893

Burnett B. (ed.), *Ibn Biklarish's Book of Simples. Medical remedies between three faits in twelfth-century Spain.* London, The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2008. 176 p. ISBN 978-0-19-954306-9. – "In October 2003 the Arcadian Library acquired an Arabic manuscript consisting entirely of a previously unnoticed copy of the Kitab al-Musta'ini of Ibn Baklarish, an important book of materia medica written in the Iberian peninsula at the turn of the eleventh to the twelfth century … in the colophon the anonymous scribe states that he completed this copy on 18 Juanuary 1130 A.D." (p. 7). This book contains a reproduction (in color) and a thorough study of the manuscript, which bears traces of its use by Arabic speaking, Jewish, and Latin speaking readers. As such, it allows for a study of the multi-cultural environment of the medieval Mediterranean. – Touwaide. [1894

Chétanian R. V., *Catalogue des fragments et manuscrits grecs du Matenadaran d'Erevan.* Turnhout, Brepols 2008. 240 p. ISBN 978-2-503-52979-0. – Describes manuscript M 141: one folio from 7th/8th century manuscript of Dioscorides, De materia medica, in majuscule, with a part of the representation of a plant. – Touwaide. [1895

Dal Covolo E., *I cristiani dei primi secoli e la medicina, l'assistenza e la cura dei malati* (Nr. 997). – D'Aiuto.

Ferngren G. B., *Medicine and health care in early Christianity.* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press 2009. xi, 246 p. ISBN 978-0-8018-9142-7. – A leading historian of the relationships between medicine and religion in antiquity and late antiquity delivers here what may be the synthesis of a life of scholarly research on classcial medicine and Christianity. According to its preface "this volume addresses in a connected way the early Christian reception of Greek medicine and the origin and development of Christian medical philanthropy in the first centuries of the Christian era" (p. ix). It relies extensively on the primary sources, as well as on an abundant secondary literature quoted in more than 50 dense pages (p. 155–208), unfortunately at the end of the volumes rather than in footnotes, followed by an equally dense bibliography (p. 209–237) and an index (names and topics; p. 239–246). It will constitute a useful complement and, probably, an update to such classic as O. Temkin, Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians, 1991. – Touwaide. [1896

Garofalo I./Debru A. (éds.), *Galien, Tome VIII: L'anatomie des nerfs; L'anatomie des veines et des artères.* Collection des Universités de France. Paris, Les Belles Lettres 2008. 129 p. ISBN 978-2-251-00544-7. – This is the fourth volume of Galen program launched in 2000 (for the first published volume, see Galien, Tome II: Exhortation à l'étude de la médecine; Art médical. Texte établi et traduit par Véronique Boudon, 2002). It contains two minor treatises mainly known so far through the edition by Kühn, II (1823), p. 831–856 and 779–831, respectively. Both are known through six

Greek manuscripts (from the 12th to the 16th century) and an Arabic version whose source predates the archetype of currently preserved Greek manuscripts. – Touwaide. [1897

Goldschmidt A., *The evolution of Chinese medicine. Song dynasty, 960–1200.* Needham Research Institute Series. London/New York, Routledge 2009. 272 p. ISBN 978-0-415-42655-8. – Though out of the geographic area covered here, is of interest not only for possible comparative studies, but also because of the relationships and exchanges between Byzantium and China, which are not so well known so far and are currently the object of fresh research. Drugs and medicines were imported from Byzantium to China (as well as exotic materia medica from China to Byzantium) and generated transformation of traditional medical thinking as the same types of the phenomena under consideration in the present study. – Touwaide. [1898

Gundert B. (Hrsg.), *Galen, Über die Verschiedenheit der Symptome.* Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 5, 1. Berlin, Akademie Verlag 2009. 367 S. ISBN 978-3-05-004523-8. – This relatively short Galenic treatise (vol. 7, p. 42084 in Kühn's edition [1824]), most probably written during the decade180 A.D. (see p. 176), is edited here on the basis of an exhaustive analysis of the Greek tradition (23 manuscripts, one of which [Vindob. med. gr. 15] was not included in Diels' list, and three of which [Paris. gr. 2284, Voss. gr. F 11, and Lips. gr. 51] were incorrectly identified ibidem), the Latin translation made on the basis of the Greek text, the so-called Oriental tradition (by O. Overwien), the Latin translation made on the basis of the Arabic text, the printed editions and the Renaissance Latin translations. The edition here includes an apparatus fontium and an apparatus criticus, and is followed by notes of commentary referring, among others, to similar passages within the immense Galenic oeuvre, and by an Index nominum and an Index verborum. – Touwaide. [1899

Karamperopulos D., *Βυζαντινή Θεραπευτική.* – **Blachakes G./Nikolaides Th.** (eds.), *Βυζάντιο – Βενετία – Νεώτερος ελληνισμός: μία περιπλάνηση στον κόσμο της ελληνικής επιστημονικής σκέψης. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου, Αθήνα, 7–9 Νοεμβρίου 2003* (Nr. 2001) 91–100. – Brief presentation of portraits of the most important Byzantine medical doctors and authors of medical texts. – Telelis. [1900

Kušč T., *Образ врача в литературе позднепалеологовской Византии* (The image of a doctor in the Late-Palaeologan literature). Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka 38 (2008) 246–257. – Ivanov. [1901

Lloyd G., *Tao e Logos. Scienza e medicina nell'antichità: Cina e Grecia.* Bibliotheca, 6. Edizione italiana a cura di Lorenzo Perilli. Pisa, Edizioni della Normale 2009. 338 p. ISBN 978-88-7642-361-1. – This volume is the Italian translation of: The way and the word. Science and medicine in early China and Greece, originally published in 2002 by Yale University Press. It includes a short preface to the present translation by the authors, and a bibliography (in Italian) on the history of Chinese science by the translator. According to the presentation of the cover «L'originalità di questo libro consiste nel presentare un avvincente esame comparato delle antiche civiltà della Cina e della Grecia, illustrantone metodi, organizzazione, forme del sapere». – Touwaide. [1902

McCabe A., *Imported materia medica, 4th–12th centuries, and Byzantine pharmacology* (Nr. 978). – Stathakopoulos.

Michot Y., *L'Opium et le Café. Edition et traduction d'un texte arabe anonyme, précédées d'une première exploration de l'opiophagie ottomane et accompagnée d'une anthologie.* Beyrouth, Les Editions Albouraq 2008. 262 p. ISBN 978-2-84161-373-1. – Deals with the topic of addiction to opium and use of coffee in Ottoman society, relying, however, on the whole body of data on opium, drug consumption, and materia medica of the earlier periods, from Antiquity to the early 18th century, passing through Byzantium, the Arabic World, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. A useful first analysis of a topic too often approached, but rarely in an appropriate way. – Touwaide. [1903

Scarborough J., *Pharmacy and drug lore in antiquity.* Variorum Collected Studies Series. Farnham/Burlington VT, Ashgate 2010. xvii, 354 p. ISBN 978-0-7546-5954-9. – In spite of its title, contains only two studies related to Byzantium. Nevertheless, the collection of essays, spanning from 1978 to 2002 and dealing with classical Greece and Rome, may be of interest for the study of Byzantium, among others because they include data on texts, substances, and practices that were transmitted from classical antiquity to Byzantium. – Touwaide. [1904

Stolberg M., *Die Harnschau. Eine Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte.* Köln, Weimar, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 2009. 285 S. ISBN 978-3-412-20318-4. – Analysis of urin was a key element in the diagnosis of pathology in ancient medicine. The present book analyzes it in the late Middle Ages in 5 chapters: the analysis of urin in daily life, the theoretical basis of urin analysis, the meaning and function of urin analysis, its representation in early-modern arts, and what could be called the waning of urin analysis. Sources for the study include manuscript documents (listed p. 251–252) and a wide range of printed editions of medical texts (listed p. 252–263) among which Galen and Hippocrates, but also such a Byzantine as Actuarius, De urinis. Also, the work takes into consideration the abundant secondary literature (listed p. 264–277). Unfortunately, references to primary sources and secondary literature have to be found in endnotes rather than in footnotes. Although there is an increasing number of studies on the history of urology (including in antiquity and Byzantium), no synthesis is currently available on the topic of urin analysis. The present books compensates for this lacuna. – Touwaide. [1905

Totelin L. M. V., *Hippocratic recipes. Oral and written transmission of pharmacological knowledgte in fifth- and fourth-century Greece.* Studies in Ancient Medicine, 34. Leiden/Boston, Brill 2009. 366 p. ISBN 978-90-04-17154-1. – This book is about the formulas for medicines in the Corpus Hippocraticum. Although its topic is not included in the time period covered by the journal, it is relevant for two reasons: first, the work provides a great wealth of material on the medicines in the Corpus Hippocraticum, that is, on the therapeutic that was practiced in the Byzantine empire. Second, the work proposes an original approach to ancient pharmacology by applying anthropological theories. On this point, its main concept is that of "haute médecine", modelled on the notion of "haute cuisine". However misleading such concept might be (as pharmacology is not a sector of human activity as susceptible to fashion and rapid reorientation as the "haute cuisine", but is much more driven by long-term, deeply rooted, and

systemic processes), it may open an interesting discussion on the interpretation of ancient pharmacology and its history. – Touwaide. [1906

Vallejo Girvés M., *Un viajero singular, Alejandro de Trales, médico.* – **Tovar J. R./ Vallejo Girvés M./Gómez Espelosín J.** (Hrsg.), *Viaje y Visiones del Mundo* (Nr. 2050) 145–160. – Signes. [1907

E. AGRARWISSENSCHAFT

Anagnostakes E., *Βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός. Το παράδειγμα της Βιθυνίας* (Nr. 1009). – Telelis.

Anagnostakes E., *Βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός. Το παράδειγμα της Βιθυνίας* (Nr. 1009). – Telelis.

Karaghianni O., *Il paesaggio dei territori greci sotto il dominio veneziano attraverso materiale cartografico (XVI–XVIII sec.).* – **Maltezou Ch./Tzavara A./Vlassi D.** (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.). Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Venezia, 3–7 dicembre 2007* (Nr. 2029) 541–549. – Gasparis. [1908

Lewit T., *Absent-minded landlords and innovating peasants? the press in Africa and the eastern Mediterranean.* – **Lavan L./Zanini E./Sarantis A.** (eds.), *Technology in transition A.D. 300–650* (Nr. 2058) 119–139. – Berger. [1909

Stackelberg K. T. von, *The Roman gardens: space, sense, and society.* Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies. London/New York, Routledge 2009. 182 p. ISBN 978-0-415-43823-0. – An attempt to renew the topic of ancient garden history. To this end, it associates archeological evidence with information from primary sources (literature), and interprets this material by means of modern theories on space and space perception. Its four chapters reflects this approach: Entering Roman garden space; The logic of Roman garden space; Experiencing the Roman garden; and Garden space, sense, and society. Though not directly dealing with Byzantium, it will be of interest for historians of Byzantium, be they interested in urban construction and space management, house architecture and gardens, and environment and private space creation, development and management. – Touwaide. [1910

Vitljanov S., *Ein Hortfund mit Eisengegenständen aus Pliska und das Problem der frühmittelalterlichen Agrartechnik in Bulgarien.* – **Henning J.** (ed.), *Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium, I: The heirs of the Roman West, II: Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans* (Nr. 2018) 393–402. 2 Abb. – Brandes. [1911

F. KRIEGSWISSENSCHAFT UND NAUTIK

Arakadaki M., *Guardie e torri di avviso nel Regno di Candia negli ultimi anni della venetocrazia* (Nr. 1063). – Gasparis.

Balard M., *Les flottes de la Croisade (1189–1221).* – **Piatti P.** (a cura di), *The Fourth Crusade revisited. Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'Ottavo Centenario della IV Crociata, 1204–2004. Andros, Grecia, 27–30 maggio 2004* (Nr. 2039) 95–105. – Berger. [1912

Cosentino S., *Writing about war in Byzantium.* Revista de História das Idéas 30 (2009) 83–99. – Berger. [1913

Dawson T., *The Walpurgis Fechtbuch: an inheritance of Constantinople?* Arms and Armour 6 (2009) 79–92. – Über den möglichen byzantinischen Ursprung des sog. Bucklerfechtens. – Berger. [1914

Elgood R. F. W., *Arms and Armour.* Encylopaedia of Islam^3 2007 Lieferung 2, 151–158. – Brandes. [1915

Fodor P., *Ottoman warfare, 1300–1453* (Nr. 890). – Kaegi.

Gorecki D., *Constantine VII's Peri ton stratioton* (Nr. 109). – Kaegi.

Kardaras G., *Η πολεμική τέχνη των πρώιμων Σλάβων (ΣΤ'–Ζ' αι.).* Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα 18 (2008) 185–205. http://www.byzsym.org/index.php/bz/article/view/932. With English summary. – On the equipment, the tactics, the art of ship building, the use of the horse, the art of siege and the fortifications during the 6th and 7th c. AD, based on written sources and archaeological data. The early Slavic warfare was influenced by contacts with nomadic tribes, and the Avars in particular, while inversely the Byzantine army adopted the Slavic light spear. – Leontsini. [1916

Kingsley S., *Great voyages, great ocean-going ships?* – **Mundell Mango M.** (ed.), *Byzantine trade, 4th–12th centuries. The archaeology of local, regional and international exchange* (Nr. 2033) 323–326. – Stathakopoulos. [1917

Kyriakidis S., *Byzantine responses to the battlefield tactics of the armies of the Turkoman principalities: the battle of Pelekanos (1329)* (Nr. 902). – Berger.

Luttwak E. N., *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire.* Harvard, Harvard University Press 2009. 512 p. 13 maps. ISBN 978-0-674-03519-5. – Broad analytical coverage of Byzantine political and military strategy from the mid-fifth century to the eve of the Crusades by the author of the Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire (1976). Concise and useful concluding section on the Operational Code of Byzantine strategic culture. This book was in preparation for more than two decades. Extensive bibliography. / Wird besprochen. – Kaegi/Berger. [1918

Nicolle D., *Archery.* Encylopaedia of Islam^3 2007 Lieferung 1, 155–160. – Brandes. [1919

Ravegnani G., *I Bizantini e la guerra. L'età di Giustiniano.* Roma, Jouvence 2004. 206 p. ISBN 978-88-7801-331-5. – D'Aiuto. [1920

G. TECHNIK UND TECHNIKGESCHICHTE

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C. LEXIKA

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Игнатий Диакон, Игнатий Стиронит, «Игрушки императрицы Феодоры», Игумен, Иеракс, Иеремий Палестинский, Иерийский Собор, Иерокл, Иеромнимон, Иероним Иерусалимский, Иерофей иеромонах, Иерофей Венгерский, Иерусалимская Православная церковь, Иерусалимские мученики, Иерусалимский устав (Iviron Portaitissa icon, Iviron monastery, Ignatios of Kios, Ignatios of Bathys Rhyax, Ignatios of Chrysorroiatissa, Ignatios of Macherassa, Ignatios II of Antioch, Ignatios the Deacon, Ignatios the Steironites, “The Toys of the Empress Theodora”, Hegoumenos, Hierax, Jeremiah of Palestine, Hieria Council, Hierocles, Hieromnemon, Hieronymos of Jerusalem, Hierotheos the hieromonk, Hierotheos of Hungary, Jerusalem Orthodox Church, Jerusalem martyrs, Jerusalem Typikon). – Ivanov. [2071

Ueding G. (Hrsg.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik 9, St–Z.* Tübingen, Max Niemeyer 2009. 1638 S. ISBN 978-3-484-68109-5. – Das Werk ist mit diesem Band abgeschlossen. Obwohl Byzantinisches in den Artikeln ausdrücklich kaum eine Rolle spielt (vgl. Anzeige Band 8, BZ 101, 2008, Nr. 3794), ist es auch für das Studium der rhetorischen Literatur von Byzanz ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel. – Tinnefeld. [2072

Wittke A.-M./Olshausen E./Szydlak R. (Hrsg.), *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt.* Der neue Pauly, Supplemente, 3. Stuttgart u.a., Metzler 2007. XX, 308 S. 170 Karten (vierfarbig), 65 Karten (sw.), Tabellen. ISBN 978-3-476-02031-4. – Byzanz ist durch folgende Karten repräsentiert (jeweils eine Seite Kommentar und eine Seite mit der entsprechenden Karte): S. 236 f. „Das Römische Reich unter Iustinian (527–565) (Literatur auf S. 263 f., eigenartige Auswahl!), S. 238 f. „Die byzantinische Themenverfassung (7.–9. Jh. n.Chr.)/Konstantinopolis“ (Literatur auf S. 264, ebenfalls eigenartige Auswahl!). Herakleios wird als Erfinder der Themenordnung angeführt! Bei der Nennung der Themen des 7. Jh.s wird Thrakesion vergessen. S. 240 f. „Die byzantinisch-sāsānidischen Auseinandersetzungen im 6. und 7. Jh.“ (Literatur auf S. 264; die hier aufgezählten „Quellen“ enthalten nicht einen einzigen byzantinischen Text! Nennung der Quellen auf S. 240 verzichtet auf bibliographische Angaben.). Der Kommentar ist z.T. absurd (bzw. reproduziert Ostrogorskys veraltete Ansichten), so begibt sich etwa Herakleios (622!) „nach Abschluss seines umfassenden Reformwerkes“ auf seinen Feldzug gegen die Perser. S. 242 f. „Die Einigung und Expansion der Araber unter den ersten vier Kalifen (632–661)“. In den Literaturangaben wird Tilman Nagel mit Walter E. Kaegi verwechselt; die Transkription einiger arabischer Namen ist fehlerhaft; die angebliche Besetzung Zyperns 649 war nur ein Plünderungszug; Quellenangaben ohne bibliographische Details. Auf der Karte selbst fehlt Amorion. Die Belagerung/Blockade Konstantinopels 664/68 wird ignoriert. S. 244 f. „Das byzantinische Reich unter Basileios II. (976–1025)“. An Quellen werden allein Skylitzes und Kedrenos genannt! Selbst hier taucht Herakleios als Erfinder der Themenordnung nochmals auf! S. 246 f. „Die Wirtschaft im Mittelbyzantinischen Reich“. S. 248 f. „Die ersten drei Kreuzzüge 1096–1192“ (Literatur auf S. 264, sehr ergänzungsbedürftig). S. 250 f. „Die östliche Mittelmeerwelt zur Zeit der Romania (1204–1261)“ (Literatur auf S. 264). S. 252 f. „Das Byzantinische Reich unter den Palaiologen (1261–1453)“ (Literatur auf S. 264 f. – eigenartige Mischung von Literatur- und Quellenangaben). Dieser Supplementband des „Neuen Pauly“ muß den Byzantinisten betrüben. Insofern bleibt das Unternehmen sich treu, denn schon die eigentlichen Bände des NP – angeblich Byzanz bis zum 8. Jh. umfassend – sind für unser Fach ein einziger „Reinfall“. Vor der Benutzung wird ausdrücklich gewarnt! Hätten die Her-

ausgeber nicht einfach einen Byzantinisten fragen können, anstatt dilettantisch selbst ans Werk zu gehen? – Brandes. [2073

14. BYZANZ UND DIE SLAVISCHE WELT (BIS ENDE 16. JAHRHUNDERT)

A. HOCHSPRACHLICHE UND VOLKSSPRACHLICHE LITERATUR

Anguševa A./Dimitrova M., *Словата за пророк Илия от Климент Охридски и от Григорий Цамблак в контекста на библейските текстове и византийската традиция (Интертекстови полета и стратегии на подбора)* (The sermons on Eliah by Kliment of Ochrid and Grigorij Tsamblak in the context of biblical tradition and Byzantine literature. Intertextual nets and strategies for selection). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 370–403. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2074

Atanasova D., *Как с думи се вършат неща: Апотропейната мощ на мъчението на св. Никита* (How to do things with words: the apotropaic power of the Martyrdom of St. Nicetas). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 169–185. With English summary. – The research is based on the Old Slavic translation of the Greek passio of St. Nicetas, namely the redaction of the text, included in the pre-Metaphrastic South Slavic menaia-cheti. – Nikolov. [2075

Azbelev S. N., *Устная история в памятниках Новгорода и повгородской земли* (Storia orale nei monumenti di Novgorod e della sua regione). St. Peterburg, Dmitrij Bulanin 2007. 294 p. ill. ISBN 5-86007-535-9. – D'Aiuto. [2076

Bibikov M. V., *Пророческие и историко-апокалиптические тексты в Византии и на Руси* (Nr. 1). – Nikolov.

Boneva N., *Житието на св. Петър Атонски и исихастката традиция на Света гора през XIV век* (The Vita of St. Peter of Athos and the 14th-century Athonite hesychastic tradition). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 186–199. With English summary. – The author analyses the 14th-century hesychastic redaction of the pre-Metaphrastic vita, made by St. Gregory Palamas. On the basis of comparison between the copy of the Slavonic vita in MS 4/8 from Rila Monastery collection, preserving the Tărnovo tradition, and the oldest known copy in MS 307 from the National Library in Sofia states that the text had a translation earlier then that in Tărnovo. – Nikolov. [2077

Diddi C., *Epica come storia, ovvero: Sull'uso delle fonti orali per la ricostruzione storica.* Europa Orientalis 27 (2008) 317–355. – Intervento a margine di Azbelev S.N., Устная история (no. 2080). – D'Aiuto. [2078

Diddi C., *Sul problema delle traduzioni dal latino in paleoslavo (annotazione in margine).* Europa Orientalis 26 (2007) 181–202. – D'Aiuto. [2079

Feder W. R., *Блажената амма Сара. За заболяванията на текстовете* (The blessed Amma Sarra. On diseases of texts). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 330–339. With English summary. – The paper argues that no Slavonic text before 1479 is free from disease and that all require as it were medical attention. The dossier of Amma Sarra († before ca. 407) consists of 9 apophthegms, transmitted orally in Coptic until ca. 450, committed to writing in Greek before ca. 550 (divided over two different collections, viz. Alphabetic CPG 5560 and Systematic CPG 5562), and translated into Latin (550–560) and Slavonic (before 885). – Nikolov. [2080

Gjuzelev V., *Ново тълкуване на три сведения за св. Климент Охридски (умр. 916)* (Eine neue Deutung von drei Quellen über den Heiligen Kliment Ochridski, gest. 916). – **Christova B./Velkov A./Nušev Z.** (éds.), *Échanges avec l'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Stoyanka Kenderova à l'occasion de son 60ème anniversaire* (Nr. 1970) 114–119. – Im vorliegenden Aufsatz versucht der Verfasser drei bereits veröffentliche Berichte über den bulgarischen Schriftgelehrten und Heiligen Kliment Ochridski in neuem Licht zu interpretieren. Es geht um 1) Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (14. Jh.); 2) Notiz im Sammelband der Bibliotheka Angelica (Roma), 14. Jh.; 3) Synodikon der bulgarischen Kirche (14.–15. Jh.). Der Autor spricht von der Notwendigkeit eines Quellencorpus zum Leben und der Tätigkeit des berühmten altslavischen und altbulgarischen Schriftgelehrten. – Nikolov. [2081

Gjuzelev V., *Победата в битката край Одрин през 1205 г. в старобългарския книжовен спомен и в историописта* (Nr. 2131). – Nikolov.

Jordanova M., *Климентовото Похвално слово за Успение Богородично – текстологични наблюдения* (St. Kliment of Ochrid's enkomion on the Dormition of Theotokos – text critical observations). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 232–241. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2082

Jovčeva M., *Календарът на миней Григ. 1/5 от ОГНБ (Втори Добриянов миней)* (The calendar of Menaion Grigorovich 1/5 of OGNB – second menaion of Dobriyan). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 83–104. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2083

Kabakčiev K., *Търновските книжовници за историята на старозаветния превод на елински и славянски* (Die Schriftgelehrten aus Tărnovo über die Geschichte der alttestamentarischen Übersetzung ins Hellenische und Slawische). – **Rašev R./Vitljanov S./Sivriev S./Panajotov V./Stojanova G.** (Hrsg.), *Проф. д. и. н. Тотю Тотев и столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1989) 377–390. Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Nikolov. [2084

Karadžova D., *Еленът и неговата символика в някои агиографски текстове* (The deer and its symbolics in some hagiographical texts). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 62–82. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2085

Miltenova A., *Метаморфозата (Един непубликуван южнославянски текст от ръкопис Arundel 527 от Британската библиотека в Лондон)* (The Metamorphosis. An unpublished south Slavic text from the manuscript Arundel 527 in British Library, London). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 404–416. With English summary. – The author reveals data from the Greek Manuscripts Arundel 527 from the third quarter of the 15th c., in which (f. 129v–131v) a story about the metamorphosis of the devil into angel is included. – Nikolov. [2086

Miltenova A., *Неизвестно историко-апокалиптично съчинение за турското нашествие в препис от XVI век. Археографски и текстологични бележки* (Eine unbekannte historisch-apokalyptische Erzählung über die türkische Invasion in einer Abschrift aus dem 15. Jh. Archäographische und textologische Notizen). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 574–581. – Dokumentiert nur durch ein Manuskript in altbulgarischer Sprache im Besitz der Rumänischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Nr. 494). Dazu existiert keine bisher bekannte Parallele in der griechischen Überlieferung. – Nikolov. [2087

Petkov G., *Един неизвестен препис от проложното житие на Йоан Нови Сучавски от Григорий Цамблак* (A unknown copy of Grigorij Tsamblak's prologue Vita of John the New Martyr of Suchava). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 200–210. With English summary. – It is the earliest of all six known copies of the service and the verses. The prologue verses and prologue vita of John the New Martyr of Suchava by Grygorij Tsamblak are published in an appendix. – Nikolov. [2088

Petrova M., *За култа и агиографската традиция на св. Марина* (The cult and the hagiographical tradition of St. Marina). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 134–154. With English summary. – The article deals with the popular belrefs and the hagiographic prose (four Lives and synaxarion notices preserved in Cyrillic manuscripts dating from the 14th to the 17th c.) about one of the most venerated saints on the Balkans, St. Marina of Alexandria (feast date July 17). – Nikolov. [2089

Stankova R., *Видинска служба на св. Петка Търновска* (Die Akoluthie von Vidin zu Ehren der Heiligen Petka von Tărnovo). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 105–122. Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Die Akoluthie zu Ehren der Heiligen Petka (bekannt als Paraskeva von Epivat) ist am Ende des 14. Jh.s in Vidin verfasst worden, als die Gebeine der Heiligen dorthin überführt wurden (und nicht nach Rumänien oder Russland, wie bis jetzt angenommen wurde). Im Anhang zwei Abschriften. – Nikolov. [2090

Tomin S., *Perceptions of women in Serbian medieval literature.* Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano 10/2 (2006) 75–99. – D'Aiuto. [2091

Tomova E., *Кирило-Белозерската редакция от XVI–XVII в. на търновското проложно житие на св. Иван Рилски* (The 16th–17th c. Cyrill-Belozersk redaction of the Tărnovo Prologue Vita of St. John of Rila). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 38–49. With English summary. – A newly discovered redaction (K.-B., Nr 11.1250, 16th c.). With text appendix. – Nikolov. [2092

B. PALÄOGRAPHIE, KODIKOLOGIE, DIPLOMATIK

Koch Ch., *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der slavischen Schriften.* Europa Orientalis 26 (2007) 7–46. – D'Aiuto. [2093

Lomagistro B., *La genesi della scrittura cirillica: osservazioni paleografiche.* Νέα Ῥώμη 5 (2008) 147–167. 4 tav. f.t. – D'Aiuto. [2094

Popov G. V., *О скриптории Спасо-Андроникова монастыря времени Андрея Рублева* (On the scriptorium of the Spaso-Andronikov monastery in the time of Andrey Roublev). – **Zacharova A. V.** (ed.), *Образ Византии: Сборник статей в честь О. С. Поповой* (Nr. 1981) 399–412. With English summary. – Etinhof. [2095

C. SPRACHE, METRIK, MUSIK

Caldarelli R., *Quantità, timbro e ridondanza: osservazioni sul sistema vocalico slavo comune.* Europa Orientalis 27 (2008) 7–23. – D'Aiuto. [2096

Dimitrova D., *Преводът на гръцките субстантивирани конструкции в житието та Теодор Студит* (The translation of the Greek substantivized constructions in the Vita of St. Theodore of Stoudios). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 211–223. With English summary. – Some constructions were a challenge for the Old Bulgarian translator, as there are no exact corresponding means of expression in Slavic languages. – Nikolov. [2097

Mirčeva B., *Свети Еразъм Формийски (Охридски) във Versio Slavica* (Der heilige Erasmus von Formia [von Ochrid] in der Versio Slavica). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 453–462. – Diskutiert wird die Etymologie des Namens Ochrid. – Nikolov. [2098

Myers G., *A historical, liturgical, and musical exploration of Kondakarnoie Pienie – The Deciphering of a Medieval Slavic Enigma.* Sofia, The Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences 2009. 274 p. with musical examples. ISBN 978-954-9787-16-0. – Primarily devoted to the study of sources with Russian Kondakarian notation, the author includes a series thorough studies of their relation to Byzantine counterparts. It is concluded that the double line-system of the Kondakarian notation had "no precedent in Byzantium … at any … time". – Troelsgård. [2099

Popkonstantinov P., *Пр́уложение книгъ и гръцкият език в средновековна България по епиграфски данни* (Preloženie knig und die griechische Sprache im mittelalterlichen Bulgarien nach epigraphischen Angaben). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./ Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 413–422. – Die griechische Sprache in der Hofkanzlei, der Liturgie, den Skriptorien und der Ausbildung. – Nikolov. [2100

Popović M., *Continuity and change of Byzantine and Old Slavonic toponyms in the valley of the river Strumica (FYROM)* (Nr. 1044). – Rhoby.

Rašev R. (†), *Българската езическа култура VII–IX век* (Nr. 2168). – Nikolov.

Ševčenko I., *On the Western roots of OCS «mošti», "relics", and «pricestenije», "communion"*. Ricerche slavistiche 49, n.s. 3 (2005 [2006]) 5–12. – D'Aiuto. [2101

Soustal P., *Place names as a source for migration and settlement: continuity and change in Byzantine Chalkidiki* (Nr. 1057). – Rhoby.

D. KIRCHE UND THEOLOGIE

Andreev J. (†), *Мощите на св. Иларион Мъгленски в Търново* (Die Gebeine des heiligen Hilarion von Moglena in Tarnovo). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./ Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 355–359. – Behandelt wird das Schicksal der Gebeine nach der türkischen Eroberung von Tărnovo im Jahre 1393. – Nikolov. [2102

Atanasov G., *Първата българска патриаршеска катедра в Дръстър и патриарх Дамян (927–971)* (The first Bulgarian patriarchal cathedral in Drăstăr and Patriarch Damian, 927–971). – **Georgiev P.** (ed.), *Изследвания по българска средновековна археология. Сборник в чест на проф. Рашо Рашев* (Nr. 1983) 179–196. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2103

Avgustin Archimandrite, *Студийский монастырь и Древняя Русь (из истории русско-византийских церковных связей)* (The Stoudios Monastery and the Old Rus', from the history of Russian-Byzantine ecclesiastical relations). Al'fa i Omega 1 (54) (2009) 329–345. – Ivanov. [2104

Beljaev L. A., *Иерусалим видимый и невидимый: о типологии византийских отражений Святой Земли в древнерусской культуре* (Jerusalem, the visible and invisible: a typology of reflections of the Holy Land in medieval Russian culture). – **Lidov A. M.** (ed.), *Новые Иерусалимы: Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств* (Nr. 2026) 202–220. With English summary. – Etinhof. [2105

Capaldo M./Diddi C., *Materiali e ricerche per l'edizione critica di Vita Constantini. IV. Edizione della redazione vaticana.* Ricerche slavistiche 49, n.s. 3 (2005 [2006]) 63–151. – Ad opera del solo Capaldo M. è, in questa puntata dello studio, l'edizione critica, con traduzione italiana a fronte, della redazione vaticana della Vita di Costantino-Cirillo.

Di tale redazione si discute nella premessa la datazione, e si delinea sinteticamente la tradizione manoscritta. – D'Aiuto. [2106

Češmedžiev D., *„Бялата пчела" в безименното (народното) житие на св. Иван Рилски* («L'abeille blanche» dans la Vie populaire de St. Jean de Rila). – **Miltenova A./ Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 50–61. Bulgare avec résumé en français. – Nikolov. [2107

Dančeva-Vasileva A., *За някои моменти от живота на манастира „Св. Богородица Петрицонитиса" в тема Филипопол през Средновековието* (Nr. 421). – Nikolov.

Dančeva-Vasileva A., *Контактите на българската държава и църква с римокатолическата църква през XIII–XIV в* (Nr. 375). – Nikolov.

Dobrev I., *Йоан презвитер екзарх български и устройството на Българската църква през Първото ни царство* (John the Presbyter and Exarch of Bulgaria and the constitution of Bulgarian church during the first Bulgarian tsardom). – **Miltenova A./ Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 356–369. With English summary. – Discusses the contamination between John the Exarch of Bulgaria and archbishop (patriarch) John, the head of the Bulgarian Church in 1018. – Nikolov. [2108

Dončeva-Panajotova N., *Жизненият път на Григорий Цамблак и мястото на литовско-руския период в него* (Das Leben des Grigorij Tzamblak und der Stellenwert der litauisch-russischen Periode darin). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 502–523. – Nikolov. [2109

Gaidenko P., *Русская церковная иерархия в 988 г.: византийская митрополия или пресвитерская миссия, руководимая князем?* (The Russian church hierarchy in 988: was it a Byzantine metropolitanate or a presbyterian mission guided by the prince?). Vestnik Pomorskogo Universiteta: Gumanitarnye i sotsial'nye nauki 14 (2008) 30–39. – Ivanov. [2110

Gjuzelev V., *Папството и българите през Средновековието (IX–XV в.)* (Nr. 380). – Nikolov.

Hristov J. M., *Култът към покръстителя в средновековна България през X век: аспекти на утвърждаването, признанието и съществуването* (The cult of the Baptist ruler in medieval Bulgaria during the 10th century: aspects of endorsement, establishment and existence). Istoričeski pregled 64/5–6 (2008) 28–51. With English summary. – Discusses whether Boris I († 907) was canonized as a saint. – Nikolov. [2111

Iliev I., *Охридската архиепископия и първите владетели на възобновеното Българско царство (края на XII – средата на XIII в.)* (Das Erzbistum von Ochrid und die ersten Herrscher im wiederhergestellten Bulgarischen Zarenreich, vom Ausgang des 12. bis Mitte des 13. Jh.s.). – **Ganev G./Bakalov G./Todev T.** (Hrsg.), *Държава и църква – църква и в българската история. Сборник по случай 135-годишнината от*

учредяването на Българската екзархия (Nr. 2186) 87–103. – Eine wichtige Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Erzbistums von Ochrid. – Nikolov. [2112

Iliev I., *Ромейска законност и варварско беззаконие в актите на Охридската архиепископия от началото на XIII век* (Nr. 331). – Nikolov.

Ivanova K., *Агиографски и панегирични произведения за св. Димитър Солунски в южнославянските календарни сборници. Предварителни бележки* (Nr. 723). – Nikolov.

Jerkov Capaldo Ja., *Un apocrifo sulla Dormizione in un libro slavo pubblicato a Venezia nel 1572.* Europa Orientalis 27 (2008) 25–39. – Considerazioni sul testo slavo attribuito a Gregorio Taumaturgo, del quale viene fornita una traduzione italiana in appendice. – D'Aiuto. [2113

Kostova R., *Патронаж и манастирска география в България през втората половина на IX и в X в.* (Patronage and Monastery Geography in Bulgaria in the Second Half of 9th and 10th c.). – **Petrunova B./Aladžov A./Vassileva E.** (Hrsg.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova* (Nr. 1991) 199–214. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2114

Krăstanov T., *Титлите Екзарх и патриарх в българската традиция от IX до XIX в. Св. Йоан Екзарх от Рим и патриарх на българските земи* (Die kirchlichen Titel Exarch und Patriarch in der bulgarischen Tradition vom 9. bis zum 14. Jh. Der Heilige Joan, in Rom zum Exarchen ernannt, und Patriarch der bulgarischen Lande). – **Ganev G./ Bakalov G./Todev T.** (Hrsg.), *Държава и църква – църква и в българската история. Сборник по случай 135-годишнината от учредяването на Българската екзархия* (Nr. 2186) 73–86. – Es wird die Hypothese aufgestellt, der Boljar Joan, der später zum Exarchen ernannt wurde, sei auch der erste bulgarische Patriarch im Jahre 917 gewesen. Ebenso originell wie nicht nachweisbar. – Nikolov. [2115

MacRobert C. M., *On the role of memory and oral tradition the early transmission of the Church Slavonic Psalter text.* – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 340–355. With Russian summary. – Nikolov. [2116

Mineva E., *Някои общи мотиви във византийската и южнославянската химнография от XIV–XV в* (Nr. 773). – Nikolov.

Mirčeva B., *Свети Еразъм Формийски (Охридски) във Versio Slavica* (Nr. 2098). – Nikolov.

Musakova E., *Паметта на св. Димитър, отразена в графичната система и текста на българските кратки изборни евангелия* (Der Tag des Hl. Demetrios im graphischen System und im Text der bulgarischen abgekürzten Evangelistare). – **Garabedjan A./ Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 494–501. – Nikolov. [2117

Neralić J., *Giovanni di Ravenna e la prima evangelizzazione dei Croati di Dalmazia e Istria.* – **Tagliaferri M.** (a cura di), *La Chiesa metropolitana ravennate e i suoi rapporti con la costa adriatica orientale* (Nr. 2049) 83–99. – D'Aiuto. [2118

Pavlikjanov K., *Един вековен спор между атонските обители Зограф, Ксенофонт и Есфигмен. Ново документално свидетелство за метосите „Св. Филип" и Ваница от 1568 г.* (Ein Jahrhunderte langer Streit zwischen den Athosklöstern Zographu, Xenophontos und Esphigmenu. Ein neuer Beleg für die Metochia „St. Philipp" und „Vanitza" vom Jahr 1568). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./ Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 534–547. 1 Abb. – Im Anhang der griechische Text des Dokuments. – Nikolov. [2119

Pavlov P., *Св. Теодосий Трапезундски – един малко известен българин от XIV в.* (St. Theodosius of Trebizond – a scarcely known Bulgarian from 14th c.). – **Dimitrov D./ Mutafova K./Ivanova M./Lečev V./Jordanov S.** (Hrsg.), *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвреме. Т. II. Научна конференция 31 октомври 2007* (Nr. 2185) 53–60. With English summary. – The Bulgarian monk from Kostur (Kastoria) was abbot of Philotheou monastery on Mount Athos (1348), abbot of the Manganon monastery in Constantinople (1351–1370) and bishop of Trebizond from 1370 until his death. – Nikolov. [2120

Popović D., *Цветна симболика и култ реликвија у средњовековној Србији* (Nr. 1207). – Maksimović.

Schreiner P., *Eine neugriechische Version der Erzählung über die vierzehn Märtyrer in Bulgarien.* – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./ Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 588–592. – Die Handschrift Nr. 2609 aus der Nationalbibliothek Athen (vom Jahr 1651). Im Anhang der Text der Narratio in der Originalfassung des Theodoros Studites und der volkssprachlichen Version. – Nikolov. [2121

Simeonova L., *Лиутпранд Кремонски за така наречения ужасяващ събор (Synodus horrenda) от 897 г* (Nr. 389). – Nikolov.

Subotin-Golubović T., *Култ Светог Николе у средњевековној Србији* (The Cult St. Nikolaos of Myra in Medieval Serbia). – **Miltenova A./Tomova E./Stankova R.** (eds.), *Християнска агиология и народни вярвания. Сборник в чест на ст. н. с. Елена Коцева* (Nr. 1971) 29–37. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2122

Taft R. F., *Proper Slavonic Opisthambonos prayers.* Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano 10/2 (2006) 133–166. – D'Aiuto. [2123

Taft R. F., *The "Prayerbook of Great Prince Volodymyr" in NY Public Library Codex Sav. 1. A manuscript and its legend.* Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano 9/2 (2005) 93–124. – Sul manoscritto, databile alla seconda metà del XIV secolo, sul suo contenuto liturgico – analizzato da T. in dettaglio – e sulla sua fortuna critica. – D'Aiuto. [2124

Tikhova M., *Who is Saint Castor from the Chernoglavtsi inscription of 18 September 6463 (954/955 AD)?* – **Rašev R./Vitljanov S./Sivriev S./Panajotov V./Stojanova G.** (Hrsg.), *Проф. д. и. н. Тотю Тотев и столицата Велики Преслав* (Nr. 1989) 352–360. With Bulgarian summary. – Saint Castor from this inscription most probably was considered a patron of stonecutters and masons, honored in this way until today in the Western Christian tradition. – Nikolov. [2125

E. GESCHICHTE

a. Politische Geschichte

Bibikov M., *Byzantinorossica. Свод византийских свидетельств о Руси* (Byzantinorossica. A corpus of Byzantine evidence on Rus') Vol. 2. Moscow, Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevnej Rusi 2009. 522 p. ISBN 978-5-9551-0333-4. – Ivanov. [2126

Božilov I., *Цар Калоян и латинския Запад* (Der Zar Kalojan und der lateinische Westen). – **Nedelčev N.** (Hrsg.), *800 години от битката при Одрин. Сборник статии* (Nr. 2187) 21–36. – Nach 1205 war das Lateinische Kaiserreich keine Bedrohung mehr für die orthodoxe Welt, und Byzanz war gerettet. – Nikolov. [2127

Dimnik M., *Mstislav Mstislavich 'the Bold' (d. 1228): a unique prince of Kievan Rus.* Mediaeval Studies 70 (2008) 67–113. – Includes evaluation of his role as a grand prince and his status as last dynast of Rus' to be interred at Kiev before the Mongol invasion. Genealogical tables. – Kaegi. [2128

Gagova K., *Жан Сервион и българската средновековна история* (Jean Servion et l'histoire bulgare du Moyen Age). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 482–487. – L'article contient de l'information pour la campagne d'Amedeo VI sur la côte bulgare de la Mer Noire pendant l'an 1366–1367. – Nikolov. [2129

Gjuzelev V., *Българинът Райко, братанец на Момчил юнак и кефалия на крепостите Търлис и Броди в Сярска област през XIV в.* (Der Bulgare Rajko, Neffe des Momčil, Kämpfer und Kephale der Festungen Tărlis und Brodi im Gebiet von Serres im 14. Jh.). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 259–264. – Nach dem Tod Momčils (7. Juni 1345) ging Rajko in den Dienst des serbischen Herrschers Stefan Dušan über. Präzisiert wird der Heimatort der zwei Bulgaren, das Gebiet nordöstlich von Serres. – Nikolov. [2130

Gjuzelev V., *Папството и българите през Средновековието (IX–XV в.)* (Nr. 380). – Nikolov.

Gjuzelev V., *Победата в битката край Одрин през 1205 г. в старобългарския книжовен спомен и в историописта* (Der Sieg in der Schlacht bei Adrianopel im Jahre 1205 in der altbulgarischen schriftlichen Überlieferung und in der Geschichtsschreibung). Istoria 14/1 (2006) 1–13. – Nikolov. [2131

Gjuzelev V., *Три етюда върху българския XIV век* (Drei Studien zum bulgarischen 14. Jh.). Izdatelstvo "Paradigma" Sofia 2009, 206 S. ISBN 978-954-326-093-5. – Die Studie ist auf Grund vom Autor neuentdeckter Quellen verfasst. Die drei Teile des Buchs gelten 1) den Beziehungen zwischen Bulgarien und Venedig in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jh.s – Handel und Politik; 2) den Beziehungen des Bulgarischen Zarenreichs mit Genua in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jh.s, und 3) dem letzten bulgarisch-byzantinischen Krieg (1364) sowie der antibulgarischen Koalition (1365–1369). Im Anhang stehen bulgarische Übersetzungen von Auszügen der Quellen aus Venedig, Genua und By-

zanz sowie Register der Termini, Namen und geographischen Bezeichnungen. – Nikolov. [2132

Gjuzelev V., *Чудотоворната икона на св. Димитър Солунски в Търново през 1185–1186 г.* (Die wundertätige Ikone des Heiligen Demetrius von Thessaloniki in den Jahren 1185–1186). – *Любен Прашков – реставратор и изкуствовед* (Nr. 1982) 36–39. – Behandelt wird das Schicksal der Ikone, die durch Bulgaren nach der normanischen Eroberung von Thessaloniki nach Tărnovo gebracht wurde. – Nikolov. [2133

Ivanov I., *Битката при Адрианопол от 14 април 1205 година в контекста на средновековното военно изкуство* (Die Schlacht bei Adrianopel vom 14. April 1205 im Kontext der mittelalterlichen Kriegführung). – **Nedelčev N.** (Hrsg.), *800 години от битката при Одрин. Сборник статии* (Nr. 2187) 96–108. – Behandelt werden die Kriegsstrategie und Taktik in der Zeitspanne vom 10. bis zum 13. Jh., die Zusammensetzung und zahlenmäßige Stärke der Heere, der Kampfbeginn, die Häufigkeit und Dauer der Gefechte, der Opferzahlen sowie die Rolle der Kumanen. – Nikolov. [2134

Leszka M. J., *Образът на българския цар Борис II във византийските извори* (Das Bild des bulgarischen Zaren Boris II. in den byzantinischen Quellen). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 145–152. – Nikolov. [2135

Maksimović Lj., *Византијски свет и Срби* (Die byzantinische Welt und die Serben). Beograd, Institut für Geschichte 2008. 535 S. ISBN 987-86-7743-070-2. – 30 Aufsätze, die zwischen 1970 und 2005 in verschiedenen Ländern veröffentlicht wurden, werden jetzt für das einheimische Publikum in serbischer Übersetzung zusammengestellt und veröffentlicht. Die Einteilung: Raum, politische und ideologische Darstellungen, Staatsverwaltung, Menschen und Geschehnisse, Quellen. – Maksimović. [2136

Ziemann D., *The rebellion of the nobles against the baptism of Khan Boris (865–866)* (Nr. 879). – Brandes.

b. Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte

Bakalova E., *В търсене на чудото: поклонничество при чудотворни икони. Исторически аспекти и съвременни практики* (Auf der Suche nach dem Wunder: Pilgerfahrt zu wundertätigen Ikonen. Historische Aspekte und zeitgenössische Praktiken). – *Любен Прашков – реставратор и изкуствовед* (Nr. 1982) 40–55. – Angeführt werden Beispiele aus dem 10. und aus dem 13. und 14. Jh. – Nikolov. [2137

Biljarsky I., *Примери за ранно влияние на Империята върху формирането на българската публичноправна терминология: воевода, чигот, чванчий* (Examples for early influence of the [Byzantine] Empire on the forming of Bulgarian public-juridical terminology: Voevoda, Chigot Chvanchiy). Istoričeski pregled 64/5–6 (2008) 16–27. With English summary. – Nikolov. [2138

Dragova N., *Старобългарски „воински сказания" в Стратегикон (XI век) на византийския военачалник Кекавмен* (Nr. 103). – Nikolov.

Euangelu E. G., *Η ιδεολογία του Β΄ Βουλγαρικού Κράτους στο συγγραφικό έργο του Ευθυμίου Τυρνόβου* (Nr. 795). – Kotzabassi.

Giambelluca Kossova A., *Ol'ga, arkhondissa di Rhôsia, dalla natia Pskov alla dignità dell'altare.* – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 524–533. – Nikolov. [2139

Gjuzelev V., *Етюди върху Калояновата победа край Одрин през 1205 година* (Studien zu Kalojans Sieg bei Adrianopel im Jahre 1205). – **Nedelčev N.** (Hrsg.), *800 години от битката при Одрин. Сборник статии* (Nr. 2187) 7–20. – Eingegangen wird auf die Resonanz des Sieges in der altbulgarischen Literatur und der modernen Mediävistik im 19.–20. Jh. – Nikolov. [2140

Jončeva Z., *Династически бракове и въпросът за престолонаследието в Сърбия, XII – началото на XIV век* (Dynastische Eheschließungen und die Frage der Thronfolge in Serbien vom 12. bis zum Anfang des 14. Jh.). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 227–238. – Nikolov. [2141

Koch Ch., *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der slavischen Schriften* (Nr. 2093). – D'Aiuto.

Markov N., *Балканите през погледа на един френски рицар от началото на XIII век. Бележки върху хрониката на Робер дьо Клари* (Nr. 802). – Nikolov.

Nedelčev N., *Римското политическо наследство и владетелската институция в държавата на Асеневци* (Das römische politische Erbe und die Institution des Herrschers im Staat der Aseniden-Dynastie). – **Nedelčev N.** (Hrsg.), *800 години от битката при Одрин. Сборник статии* (Nr. 2187) 179–190. Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung. – Nikolov. [2142

Panova R., *Ползването на водата – елемент от културата на столичните градове от Първото Българско царство* (Water use: part of the culture of capital cities of the first Bulgarian Tsardom). – **Georgiev P.** (ed.), *Изследвания по българска средновековна археология. Сборник в чест на проф. Рашо Рашев* (Nr. 1983) 197–203. With English summary. – Some archaeological evidence about water-supply in the old Bulgarian capitals Pliska and Veliki Preslav. – Nikolov. [2143

Radojčić S., *Идеја о савршеном граду у држави кнеза Лазара и деспота Стефана Лазаревића* (Nr. 450). – Maksimović.

Zervan V., *Konstantinopel – Präfiguration Jerusalems?* – **Radová I.** (Hrsg.), *Laetae segetes iterum* (Nr. 2042) 414–421. – Der Beitrag behandelt primär die Forschungsgeschichte zur Bezeichnung „neues/zweites Jerusalem" für Konstantinopel. – Rhoby. [2144

F. GEOGRAPHIE, TOPOGRAPHIE, ETHNOGRAPHIE

Aladžov Ž., *Тюркоезични или ираноезични са прабългарите?* (Were the Proto-Bulgarians Turkic or Persian-speaking people?). – **Georgiev P.** (ed.), *Изследвания по българска средновековна археология. Сборник в чест на проф. Рашо Рашев* (Nr. 1983) 41–43. With English summary. – On the basis of evidence from archaeological excavations and epigraphic monuments the author defends the hypothesis that the Proto-Bulgarians were Turkic-speaking people and the presence of Persian elements in their language was due to the influences which the ancient Bulgarians underwent in their migration from Altai to Europe. – Nikolov. [2145

Bonev Č., *За приемствеността Античност – Средновековие в светлината на наизвестен античен хидроним – Apiar* (Über die Kontinuität Antike – Mittelalter im Lichte eines unbekannten antiken Hydronyms – Apiar). – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 68–73. – Behandelt werden die slavischen Siedlungen am rechten Ufer der Donau im 7. Jh., und es werden Beziehungen zu heute existierenden ethnographischen Bevölkerungsgruppen in Dobrudža hergestellt. – Nikolov. [2146

Rabovjanov D., *Извънстоличните крепости и отбранителната система на Първото Българско царство* (Nr. 1036). – Nikolov.

Rašev R. (†), *Българската езическа култура VII–IX век* (Nr. 2168). – Nikolov.

Salamon M., *The oldest mention of Bulgaria in a medieval Polish chronicle. Chronica by master Vincent.* – **Garabedjan A./Gjuzelev V./Stateva E./Simeonova L./Kajmakamova M./Kočev N./Rakova S.** (eds.), *Византия, Балканите, Европа. Изследвания в чест на проф. Василка Тъпкова-Заимова* (Nr. 1987) 463–471. – From the 13th c. – Nikolov. [2147

Živković T., *Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Kastra oikoumena in the Southern Slavs Principalities* (Nr. 111). – Maksimović.

G. ARCHÄOLOGE UND KUNSTGESCHICHTE

a. Ostslavischer Bereich

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TOTENTAFEL

Jordan Andreev	22. 02. 2008
George Dennis	7. 3. 2010
Traianos Gagos	24. 4. 2010
Nikolaj Kočev	30. 11. 2007
Gustav Kühnel	10. 7. 2009
Martin Sicherl	11. 10. 2009
Mark L. Sosower	27. 12. 2009
Antoine Wenger	22. 5. 2009

NACHRUFE



Ihor Ivanovič Ševčenko (10.2. 1922–26. 12. 2009)

Am 26. Dezember 2009 verschied Ihor Ivanovič Ševčenko in Cambridge (Mass.) nach längerer schwerer Krankheit, die zu spät erkannt wurde und ihn bis zuletzt hoffen ließ. Mit ihm verlor die Byzantinistik den letzten Vertreter einer an Namen glanzvollen Epoche, der das Fach in seiner vollen Breite beherrschte und vermittelte.

Sein Leben war im äußeren Ablauf von ständigen Veränderungen geprägt, die ihn, wie viele seiner Generation, zu einem Wanderer zwischen den Welten werden ließen. Am 10. Februar 1922 in Radość (heute einem Stadtteil von Warschau) von ukrainischen Eltern im Exil geboren, verbrachte er seine Schul- und Gymnasialjahre in Warschau. 1940 nahm er seine Studien der klassischen Philologie an der deutschen Karls-Universität in Prag auf und kam so erstmals auch aktiv mit dem deutschen Sprach-und Kulturkreis in Berührung, dem er immer eng verbunden blieb. Die politischen Veränderungen nach dem Ende des 2. Weltkrieges veranlassten ihn nach dem Abschluss eines deutschen Doktorats, seine Studien in Brüssel und Louvain unter der Leitung des großen, eben aus dem amerikanischen Exil zurückgekehrten Gräzisten und Byzantinisten Henri Grégoire fortzusetzen und mit einer Arbeit über Nikephoros Chumnos abzuschließen, die ihm das belgische Doktorat einbrachte. Als Staatenloser, nur im Besitz des von den Eltern ererbten Nansen-Passes, wurde

ihm ein normales Leben in Belgien damals unmöglich gemacht, so dass es eine Erleichterung darstellte, als er 1949 mit einem Stipendium in die Vereinigten Staaten einreisen konnte. Erst später erwies sich dieses Jahr als die große Wende in seinem Leben, denn seine gesamte weitere akademische Karriere verlief nun dort: Berkeley, Ohio State University, New York (Columbia University) und schließlich 1973, als Krönung jeder amerikanischen Universitätslaufbahn, der Ruf an die Harvard-University, auf den Lehrstuhl für byzantinische Philologie und Literatur. Mit Europa blieb er durch die Fundstellen für seine wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten in den Museen und Grabungsstätten der Türkei und Griechenlands, und die Bibliotheken in Rom und Paris weiterhin verbunden, die er oft mehrmals jährlich besuchte. Er blieb weiterhin der große Wanderer, aber auf die Dauer hielten ihn seine familiären Beziehungen und das große Netz an Kollegen und Freunden doch in Amerika, so dass er den Verlockungen nicht folgte, nach Europa, das immer seine geistige Heimat war, zurückzukommen. Seine sterblichen Reste blieben in Cambridge, an der Seite der Mutter, aber eine Kenotaphplatte (mit lateinischer Inschrift) am Grab des Vaters in Warschau zeugt von dem Wunsch, auch in seiner geliebten polnischen Heimat präsent zu sein.

Präsent bleibt Ihor Ivanovič der Welt der humanistischen Wissenschaften (die für ihn nicht nur Byzanz bedeuten) in der Breite seiner Forschungen, die auf einer unerreichbaren Kombinatorik der modern- und klassischsprachigen Literatur in Verbindung mit höchstem philologischen, historischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Wissen beruhte, gekrönt von einem glänzenden Gedächtnis und einer steten Neugierde nach anderen Themen, Methoden und Gegenständen. Seine exzellente Beherrschung vieler moderner Sprachen erleichterte und beschleunigte das Eindringen in neue Materien, wie ihm auch das Versteck im Elfenbeinturm stets fremd war. Er war voll vertraut mit dem klassisch lateinisch-griechischen, dem orthodox-byzantinischen und dem slavischen Kulturkreis, und verfolgte diesen bis in die eigene Gegenwart.

Die Vielschichtigkeit der Interessen brachte es mit sich, dass die „große Monographie" nie sein eigentliches Ziel war, wohl aber die ausgefeilte und tiefgründige Untersuchung eines Textes, die dann auch den Umfang einer Monographie annehmen konnte. Für den Philologen Ševčenko war der Text immer Ausgangspunkt der Überlegungen, blieb aber nie Selbstzweck und wurde immer eingefügt in den literarischen oder historischen Rahmen, dem er seine Entstehung verdankte. Ein Musterbeispiel für diese verbindende Gesamtschau ist seine 1957 in Dumbarton Oaks erschienene Neuinterpretation des Anti-Zeloten-Traktates des Nikolaos Kabasilas, der von einer neuen kritischen Edition des Textes begleitet und dann durch ein ausführlichen Resümee inhaltlich zugänglich gemacht wurde. Er untersuchte in der Folge die Rede in der bisherigen Bibliographie und wies auf die (gerade auch vom falschen Verständnis der schwierigen Sprache) bedingten Missverständnisse und

Fehlinterpretationen in der Vergangenheit hin, denen er schließlich seine eigene Sicht entgegenstellte. Damit schuf er die Grundlagen für eine Diskussion gerade dieses Textes, der nicht nur in der ideologischen Auseinandersetzung des 14. Jhd. eine große Rolle spielte, sondern eine vielleicht noch größere im „kommunistisch-kapitalistischen“ Wissenschaftskonflikt der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jhd, wie dreizehn ausführliche Stellungnahmen zu Ševčenkos Studie zeigen. Überhaupt entwickelte sich die Geistesgeschichte der Paläologenzeit zunehmend zu einem Schwerpunkt. Wenig später, 1960, widmete er sich einer anderen sozialkritischen Schrift desselben Jahrhunderts, dem „Dialog zwischen den Reichen und den Armen“ des Georgios Makrembolites. Auch hier ist seine Textausgabe, diesmal zusammen mit einer vollen Übersetzung, maßgeblich für die kaum minder lebendige Diskussion, die, wie die jüngste italienische Übersetzung (2007) zeigt, bis heute anhält. Im eigentlichen Zentrum seiner Interessen stand jedoch, schon seit der belgischen Studienzeit, die Persönlichkeit des Theodoros Metochites, dessen polemischen Auseinandersetzungen mit Nikephoros Chumnos eine 1962 erschienene Monographie galt. Er wandte sich diesem einzigartigen byzantinischen Gelehrte und Literaten wieder zu, als 1975, zum Abschluß der archäologisch-kunsthistorischen Dokumentation über die Kariye Camii, ein Colloquiumsband erschien, in welchem Ševčenko in einem monographischen Beitrag Theodoros Metochites als Intellektuellen im Rahmen seiner Zeit charakterisierte. Den lange gehegten Plan, den unediert in Wien ruhenden „Ethikos Logos“ zu edieren, hat er schließlich nicht realisiert. Als (1995) eine Ausgabe von anderer Hand erschien, äußerte er etwas resigniert: „Ich war eben etwas zu langsam“.

Zu langsam war Ševčenko sicher nur selten. So hat er bei einem Besuch des Sinai-Klosters sehr rasch erkannt, welchen „Sprengstoff“ eine Bibliotheksquittung aus der Feder Konstantin von Tischendorfs in sich barg, und führte das Dokument sogleich einer Edition zu (1964), die zu einer jahrzehntelangen Diskussion Anlass gab und erst jetzt durch entlastende Zeugnisse beigelegt zu sein scheint. Noch stärker folgte Ševčenko seinen kriminalistischen Neigungen, als es darum ging, den vieldiskutierten „Toparcha Goticus“ als sichere Fälschung zu entlarven (1971), im selben Moment, als eine neue Ausgabe erschien, die den Text als vollgültige Quelle retten wollte.

War die Sicherheit der textlichen Grundlage für Ševčenko der Ausgangspunkt aller Forschungen, so begnügte er sich nicht damit, allein einen philologisch zuverlässigen Text vor sich zu haben. Sein Interesse galt immer auch dem Kontext, der Einbindung in die Handschrift, dem Kopisten, den Datierungsfragen. Diese Beschäftigung mit dem Umfeld war ein Teil seiner Neugierde, die ihn auch zu einem führenden Paläographen und Kodikologen werden ließ. Er studierte die Handschrift immer als einen Gesamtkörper und prüfte auch Handschriften, die zunächst nur beiläufig für eine bestimmte Fragestellung von Bedeutung waren, oder ganz einfach solche, die er einmal

sehen wollte. Auf diese Weise entdeckte er in der berühmten Madrider Skylitzeshandschrift Gedichte auf den Tod Leons VI. und Konstantins VII., die in kleiner Schrift eng an den Rand kopiert waren. Ševčenko hat sie durch die Edition (1970) „gerettet“, da seit dem Erscheinen der Facsimile-Ausgabe (2000) das Original nicht mehr eingesehen werden kann, gerade diese Textstellen in der Reproduktion aber nur lückenhaft erkennbar sind. Ebenso bemühte er sich um eine Handschrift, die bisher fast ausschließlich die Kunsthistoriker in Händen hatten: das Menologium Basilii (Vat. gr. 1613). Sein scharfer Blick erkannte, dass alle 430 Miniaturen signiert waren und es gelang ihm, unter anderem auch mit kodikologischen Überlegungen, die Namen der acht Maler zu ermitteln.

Seine Neugierde, auch die Liebe zur Form des Geschriebenen und das nötige Wissen und Können, Verborgenes und Fragmentarisches sichtbar und zugänglich zu machen und in philologischer und historischer Kombination für die Forschung zu erschließen, charakterisiert den Gelehrten Ševčenko und prädestinierte ihn, sich auch den Inschriften zuzuwenden und damit eine Disziplin zu fördern, die sich im Rahmen der byzantinistischen Studien noch nicht etabliert hat. 1965 erscheint ein erster spezifischer Beitrag zur Inschrift des Sisinnios (a. 813), die ihrer groben Formen und der verwilderten Orthographie wegen von Ševčenko zurecht als ein Sinnbild ihrer Zeit gesehen wurde. Die Unterstützung von Cyril Mango (der ihm die Archäologie als philologisches Arbeitsfeld erschloss), aber auch anderer, trug entscheidend dazu bei, dass mustergültige Einzeleditionen entstanden, unter denen jene besonders hervorgehoben werden soll, die durch literarische Vergleiche eines Epigramm-Textes die sichere Identifizierung der Polyeuktos-Kirche ermöglichte (1961). Ein geplantes und weit fortgeschrittenes Corpus datierter byzantinischer Inschriften (besonders aus Konstantinopel) harrt leider immer noch der endgültigen Bearbeitung. Zurecht wurde Ševčenko zu einem Spezialisten der Schrift, ihrer Formen und ihrer Datierungsmöglichkeiten, die auch Museums- und Ausstellungskatalogen von Nutzen war: seine epigraphischen Korrekturen (1998) zum Ausstellungskatalog „Glory of Byzantium“ (1997) zeigen, wie nötig der Kunsthistoriker diese Mithilfe braucht.

Für Ševčenko war, wie schon gezeigt, der Text in erster Linie Mittel, einen historischen oder literarischen Raum zugänglich zu machen. Doch beherrschte er auch die Methode der großen Edition. 1982 erschien, bearbeitet zusammen mit Herbert Hunger, der Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς des Nikephoros Blemmydes und dessen Paraphrasen. Das letzte editorische opus magnum, die Vita Basilii des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, konnte er in seinen letzten Lebensjahren in Textgestaltung und wissenschaftlichen Apparaten noch vollständig zu Ende bringen, doch reichte die Kraft nicht mehr, auch die Einführung so zu gestalten, wie er es für angemessen hielt, und er vertraute diese Aufgabe Cyril Mango an.

Obwohl sein Interesse gleichermaßen auch der Paläoslavistik galt und er dafür alle sprachlichen Voraussetzungen besaß, fehlte die Zeit, hier ebenso viele und umfangreiche Studien zu schaffen wie dies auf byzantinistischem Sektor geschehen war. Er war jedoch sehr stolz gerade auf diese Arbeiten und war, da sie oft an recht entlegenen Stellen erschienen waren, daher glücklich, dass viele von ihnen in zwei unterschiedlichen Bänden 1991 (Byzantium and the Slavs) und 1996 (Ukraine between East and West) publiziert werden konnten. In seinem letzten Lebensjahrzehnt wandte sich sein Interesse vermehrt Maxim Grek zu, der wie kein anderer klassische und byzantinische Gräzität nach Rußland vermittelt und die russische Sprache so perfekt erlernt hatte, dass er auch schwierige Texte adäquat übersetzte. Er publizierte kleinere Passagen und kritische Anmerkungen in der amerikanischen Zeitschrift «Palaeoslavica», die der Initiative von Alexander und Olga Strachov entsprang, in deren Umkreis Ihor Ševčenko in seinen letzten Lebensjahren auch eine familiäre Einbindung erfuhr.

Der Verfasser dieser Zeilen kann wenig aus eigener Erfahrung über den akademischen Lehrer Ševčenko sagen. Er erlebte ihn in diesem Rahmen nur einmal, im Sommersemester 1968 in München, als Vertreter von Hans-Georg Beck, mit einem Seminar über byzantinische Epigraphik, das ein absolutes Novum darstellte. Ševčenko wußte (fast) alles über Inschriften und hatte auch erstklassige (vielfach selbst gemachte) Photos zur Verfügung, aber er drängte nie seine Meinung auf, ließ die Teilnehmer nachdenken und ihre Argumente entwickeln. Er setzte eine gute, ja vorzügliche Kenntnis der Sprache voraus, und exakte Vorbereitung war selbstverständliches Gebot. Zwanzig Jahre später, als er mich in Köln vertrat und die Studenten in die Geheimnisse der Kodikologie und Paläographie einführte, erlebte ich selbst, wie genau er Texte vorbereitete, auch wenn er den Gegenstand schon von früher her bestens kannte. Er war ein Vorbild für disziplinierte Arbeit und scheute auch vor strengen Worten nicht zurück.

Diese eigene disziplinierte und methodische Arbeit hatte auch rasch seine akademische Laufbahn in den Vereinigten Staaten gefördert, wobei ihm auch die Unterstützung vieler emigrierter europäischer Kollegen zu Teil wurde, allen voran Ernst Kantorowicz, und nicht zum wenigsten half ihm das Potential des Dumbarton Oaks Centers in Washington und die Leichtigkeit, mit der er soziale Kontakte anstrebte und zu erhalten wußte. Er war bis in hohe Jahre gerne auf Kongressen und Colloquien präsent, schätzte aber auch den Einzelvortrag in der Universität und hatte immer ein offenes Ohr für die Anliegen der akademischen Jugend. Seine Darlegungen waren sprachlich und sachlich immer Höhepunkte. Er liebte die Pointe, man darf sogar sagen den Effekt, und veränderte, zum Entsetzen von Veranstaltern, Dolmetschern oder Übersetzern, oft noch im letzten Moment den Text. Nie scheute er, begleitet von vielen Koffern, weite Reisen, und manche Einladung erschien ihm auch deshalb at-

traktiv, weil er noch nie an dieser Stelle gewesen war. So galt auf seinem letzten öffentlichen Vortrag im Dezember 2007 in Greifswald sein Interesse, die Stadt Caspar David Friedrichs kennenzulernen und das Slavenheiligtum in Kap Arcona auf Rügen besuchen zu können.

Ihor Ševčenko unterstützte, wo er konnte, auch die Arbeit anderer und half Schülern und Kollegen mit Rat und Tat: kein Brief blieb unbeantwortet, kein Gesprächstermin verstrich unbeachtet. Als er auf dem Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress 1986 in Washington, in der Nachfolge von Herbert Hunger, zum Präsidenten der Association Internationale des Études Byzantines gewählt wurde, galt, in einer Periode des großen Umbruchs, seine ganze Sorge einer weltweiten Organisation des Faches und einer Hilfe in jenen Ländern des Ostens, in denen wissenschaftlicher Neuaufbau und finanzielle Unterstützung besonders dringend waren.

Seine wissenschaftlichen Leistungen haben weltweite Anerkennung gefunden, die auch nicht ohne Rückwirkung auf eine Disziplin war, deren Verankerung im Kanon der Wissenschaften nicht immer und nicht überall hinreichend gesichert ist. In vier Sammelbänden (1981, 1982, 1996) sind weitverstreute byzantinistische und slavistische Arbeiten zusammengefasst worden, aber viele (vor allem umfangreichere) unter den 225 Titeln seines Oeuvre konnten dabei nicht berücksichtigt werden. Der sechzigste, der achtzigste und der fünfundachtigste Geburtstag boten Gelegenheit zu Festschriften. Die Universitäten Köln, Warschau, Lublin und zuletzt die Freie Ukrainische Universität in München verliehen ihm die Ehrendoktorwürde. Er war Mitglied der Medieval Academy of America, der American Academy of Arts and Sciences, der American Philosophical Society, der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Palermo, der Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Krakau, der British Academy und der Ukrainischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kiew.

Ihor Ševčenko liebte Forschung und Wissenschaft, aber er liebte auch das Leben, die Menschen und den gesellschaftlichen Umkreis, derentwegen er auch manche Arbeit zurückstellte. Seine Beschäftigung mit George Orwell (dessen Animal Farm er ins Ukrainische übersetzte) und seine persönlichen Kontakte mit Vladimir Nabokov formten sein Bild der modernen Literatur, der gegenüber er immer aufgeschlossen war und in der Diskussion auch professionellen Kennern gewachsen war. Er war einer der wenigen Humanisten unter den Gelehrten seiner Generation.

München *Peter Schreiner*

Johanna Flemming (26. 3. 1926–22. 1. 2010)

Am 22. Januar 2010 ist in Jena unerwartet Johanna Flemming, Spezialistin für byzantinische, georgische und europäische mittelalterliche Kunst, verstorben. Sie war geboren am 26. März 1926 in Erfurt als Tochter des Pfarrers Hans Flemming, der bereits 1938 an den Folgen von Schikanen im Militärdienst verstarb.

Seit 1946 hat Johanna Flemming in Jena zunächst Geschichte, Germanistik, Philosophie und Kunstgeschichte studiert, wozu bald, angeregt durch die Kirchen- und Kunsthistorikerin Hanna Jursch, die intensive Auseinandersetzung mit der spätantik-frühchristlichen Archäologie sowie – unter dem starken Eindruck der Persönlichkeit Karl Heussis – das Studium der Kirchengeschichte kamen. Seit 1952 war sie wissenschaftliche Assistentin an der 1917 von Hans Lietzmann ins Leben gerufenen und seit 1952 von Hanna Jursch geleiteten „Sammlung für Spätantike Kunst“ der Jenaer Universität. Bei Hanna Jursch wurde Johanna Flemming 1953 mit der – ungedruckt gebliebenen – Arbeit über „Die Ikonographie von Adam und Eva in der Kunst vom 3. bis zum 13. Jh.“ promoviert, die sie später selbst als „unfertig“ bezeichnete, die aber doch ein weitgestreutes Material erfaßt und mustergültig untersucht. Ihre Habilitationsschrift von 1964 „Der Lebensbaum in der altchristlichen, byzantinischen und byzantinisch beeinflußten Kunst“ stellt ein weit verstreutes, unterschiedlichen kulturellen Kontexten angehörendes Material vor und untersucht – die literarische Überlieferung stets einbeziehend – neben detaillierten ikonographischen weitreichende ikonologische und soziologische Fragestellungen. Daß diese Arbeit, die das Verständnis des Lebensbaumes auf eine völlig neue Basis stellte, ungedruckt blieb, ist noch heute zu bedauern.

Ihre Forschungen behandeln häufig Werke der Schatzkunst und sind selbst sorgfältig geschliffene Edelsteine. J.F. gab nur aus der Hand, was sie gründlichst verifiziert und untersucht hatte. Manche Arbeit mit wichtigen neuen Gedanken ist deshalb nicht ans Licht der Öffentlichkeit getreten. Wir verdanken ihr grundlegende Untersuchungen zu den Werken der Schatzkunst im Halberstädter Dom, besonders zu den byzantinischen Stücken.

Den Möglichkeiten folgend, wandte sich J.F. in ihren Forschungen der osteuropäischen und besonders der georgischen mittelalterlichen Kunst zu, zu deren Erschließung für Zentraleuropa ihre Arbeiten wichtige Beiträge leisten. Ihre soziologisch orientierten Studien zu Werken der Kleinkunst in Georgien, deren kunstpolitische Bedeutung sie als erste überzeugend nachwies, fanden große internationale Beachtung.

Johanna Flemming war eine leise, aber sehr nachhaltige akademische Lehrerin. Wer ihre Vorlesungen zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst oder der russischen, armenischen und georgischen Kunst hörte, war bald be-

eindruckt von ihren weitreichenden Kenntnissen, aber auch von ihrer Fähigkeit, die Hörer mitzunehmen in die Welt der östlichen Christenheit, von ihren sorgfältigen Formulierungen und treffenden Charakterisierungen. Wer unmittelbar bei ihr arbeiten durfte, erfuhr eine fast unmerkliche Hinführung zu Erkenntnissen, die die eigenen schienen, aber dem sanften Impuls zu verdanken waren. Kritische Bemerkungen, anregend formuliert, trafen das Wesentliche und führten weiter. Trotz diesem Ideal eines akademischen Lehrers konnte sie als überzeugte Christin in der DDR nie den ihr gebührenden Rang eines Professors erhalten. 1983, im Alter von 57 Jahren, wurde sie schließlich noch zur außerordentlichen Dozentin berufen.

Jahrzehntelang hat sie eine große Schar kulturell interessierter Jenaer Bürger in einer „Kulturbund"-Interessengemeinschaft mit byzantinischer, west- und osteuropäischer mittelalterlicher Kunst vertraut gemacht. Ihre Exkursionen zu Kirchen und Klöstern, unter den schwierigen DDR-Verhältnissen organisiert, sind noch heute legendär.

Bis zuletzt hat Johanna Flemming an ihren Untersuchungen zum Bildteppich der Quedlinburger Äbtissin Agnes aus dem späten 12. Jh. gearbeitet. Neben sehr sorgfältigen technischen Beobachtungen und ikonographischen Neudeutungen war es ihr Anliegen, die Bildmotive mit ihren vielfältigen spätantiken Bezügen in einen philosophisch-historischen Kontext einzubetten und einen Kosmos weiblicher Bildung im 12. Jh. zu rekonstruieren.

Sie wird fehlen, aber sie bleibt in ihren Arbeiten, und jeder, der sie als akademische Lehrerin erleben durfte, wird sich immer ihrer Begeisterung für die Denkmäler, ihrer gütigen Strenge, aber besonders ihrer Liebenswürdigkeit und ihrer Wärme erinnern.

Jena *Annegret Plontke-Lüning*

NACHRICHTEN

CENTRE FOR CYPRIOT STUDIES IN BELGRADE

The Centre for Cypriot Studies was established as a new teaching and research unit at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade at the beginning of 2010. The Centre for Cypriot Studies in Belgrade will attempt to provide the institutional framework for better and closer cooperation between institutions dedicated to studying all the aspects of history and culture of the island of Cyprus, including organizing symposia, lectures and various cultural events. The Centre for Cypriot Studies in Belgrade aspires to become an internationally recognized research and teaching centre of excellence with a fully developed Program in Cypriot Studies.

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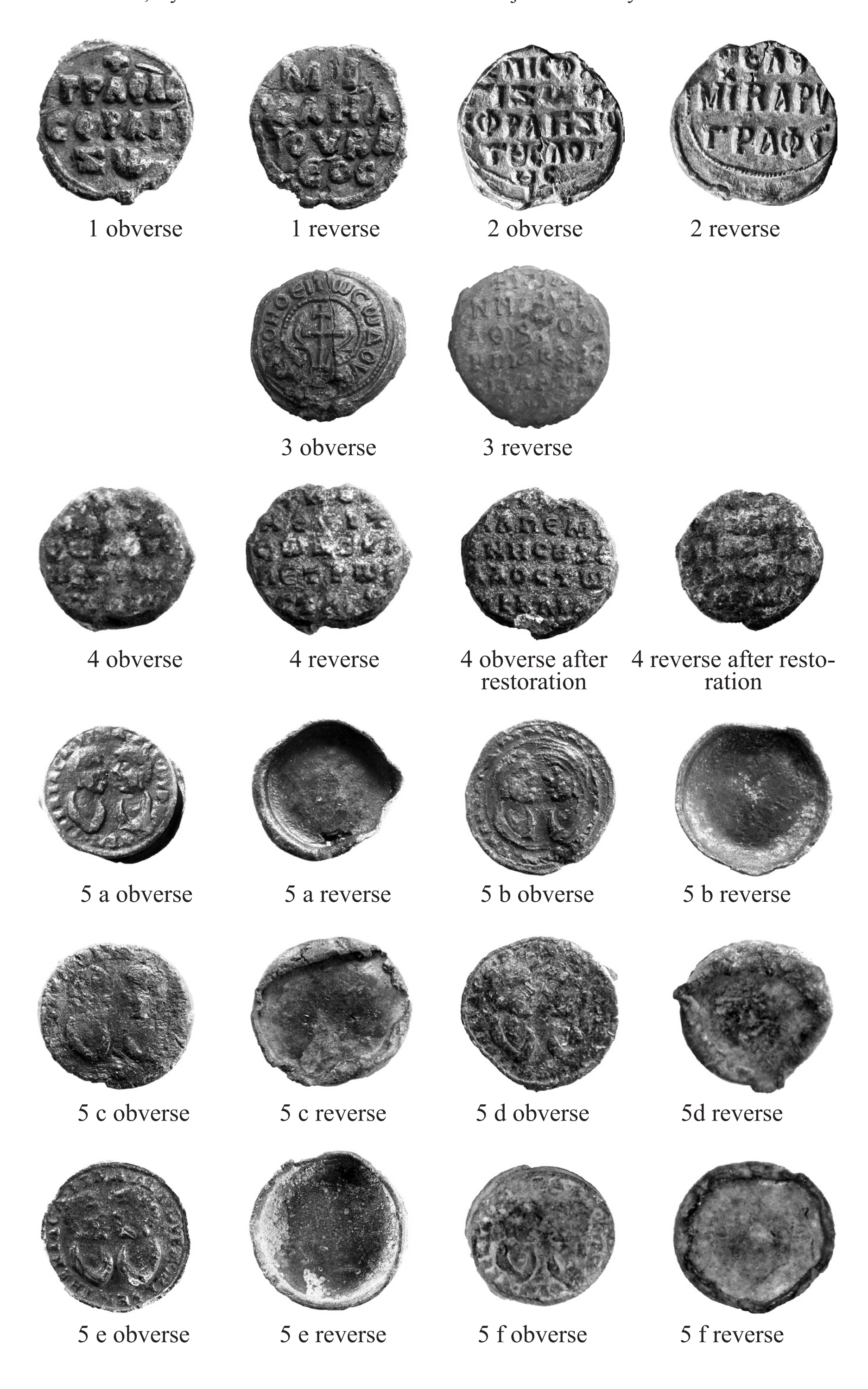
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1 obverse 1 reverse 2 obverse 2 reverse

3 obverse 3 reverse

4 obverse 4 reverse 4 obverse after restoration 4 reverse after restoration

5 a obverse 5 a reverse 5 b obverse 5 b reverse

5 c obverse 5 c reverse 5 d obverse 5d reverse

5 e obverse 5 e reverse 5 f obverse 5 f reverse



6a. Byzantine olive-press



6b. Byzantine olive-press